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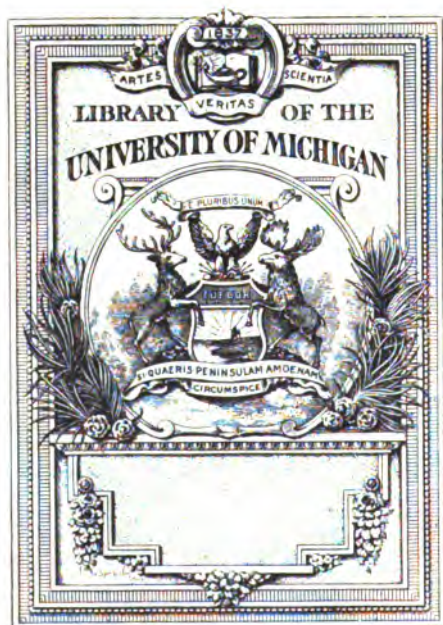
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MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. XV.



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Modern History :

BEING A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
Universal History.

BOOK XVI.

CHAP. IV.

The History of Abissinia, or Upper Ethiopia.

SECT. I.

Giving an Account of the principal modern Authors, quoted through the Course of this Chapter; and of sundry Stratagems made use of to open a Commerce with that Empire.

WE have already given in our ancient history ^a the best account we could of this vast, and, in most respects, unknown empire, its limits, inhabitants, cities, &c. as far as they were known to the ancient writers, and the records they have left us of them would allow; and if the greater part of what not only they, but others of a more modern date, have written of it, be either too fabulous or uncertain, either with regard to its true situation, extent and boundaries^b, as well as with relation to its nature, climate, &c. it must be chiefly ascribed to that erroneous notion, which reigned so long among historians and geographers, that all the countries that lay so near the equinoctial line, were, for the most part, waste and uninhabitable; and to the same cause we must attribute that so much less hath been written of it than of many others, and that what we meet with concerning it,

Abissinia little known to the ancients and moderns till frequented by the Portuguese.

^a Vol. xviii. p. 253, & seq. ^b Confer Atlas JOHNSON, MERCATOR, JOHN DE PARROS Decad. Asia 3. & 21.

*Why so
great dif-
ference still
in their ac-
counts of it.*

before the *Portuguese* found means to introduce themselves into it, appears at the best uncouth and unsatisfactory; so that it is entirely to the discoveries which these have been enabled to make by their abode in those parts, and their own intimate acquaintance with their inhabitants, that we are obliged for that more perfect knowledge we have of them; perfect only, we mean, in comparison of what we had before they published their accounts of this great empire; tho' still vastly short of it, on account of the dissonancy we find between them, in many respects, for want of proper means, as well as time, for making their observations with greater exactness and certainty, concerning the true situation of the whole country in general, and that of most of its provinces and places of note in particular. We should perhaps more truly account for the great difference and imperfection which reign thro' the greatest part of their maps, both with regard to the extent, limits, longitude and latitude, &c. as well as in their descriptions of the inland parts, if we were to say, that those good fathers, jesuits and others, who were sent missionaries thither, to reduce the *Abissinian* church to the obedience of the see of *Rome*, had their hearts and minds too full of this one important point, to find leisure for lesser discoveries; which being of such a nature as would rather excite the jealousy than admiration of that rude and ignorant people, they thought might be more fitly postponed till the main end of their mission was once gained; after which they might, with more pleasure and safety, attend to the other less momentous branches of it. The misfortune was, that their untimely zeal for obtaining the one, brought such a dreadful and general persecution upon them, as hath at once quashed all the hopes and prospect of regaining either; not only the missionaries of all denominations, but the very names of *Portuguese* and *Franks*, by which they called the *Europeans*, are become detestable to the whole *Abissinian* nation, and are hardly ever mentioned without some curse or hateful epithet.

*Their over-
zeal to
convert
the na-
tives occa-
sions their
expulsion.*

*All parts
of it be-
come inac-
cessible to
the Euro-
peans.*

WHAT occasioned this sudden and surprising change, after the *Portuguese* had been so kindly invited thither by one of their empresses, had done her and some of her successors such signal services, for which they were raised to the highest degree of esteem and confidence in the *Abissinian* court, will be best seen in the course of this history: at present, it will be sufficient to say, that for their sakes all access to any part of that kingdom is, since their expulsion, become to the last de-

* TELLEZ, PONCET, LUDOLPH, MAILLET, & al. plur.

gree

gree dangerous, and in some measure impracticable, to all *Europeans*, in any disguise, or under any pretence whatsoever. All the passes to it are guarded with the utmost diligence; and no sooner doth a stranger offer himself at any of their frontiers, but he is immediately examined from head to foot, to see whether he carries any arms, letters, books, writings, or any other thing that is liable to suspicion: his skin, hair, complexion, shape, &c. are scrupulously scrutinized, and especially whether he carries with him the scar of circumcision; which examen is the more easily made, as the travellers into those hot climes hardly wear any other covering than a blue linen shirt; for none here, not even subjects, are permitted to wear either cap, hose, or slippers; that being the peculiar privilege of the emperor. The knowledge of the *Ethiopic* language, and the dark olive complexion, are no less necessary to help an *European* to pass unsuspected, than the mark of circumcision: and this fear of admitting any spies or dangerous persons into their dominions, not only makes them thus strict and diligent in examining every passenger, but likewise very severe on all those who run the risk of coming thither unprovided for such a scrutiny^d; an instance of which strict severity the reader may see in the margin, out of the last quoted author^y who resided at *Cairo*, as consul to the *French* nation, many years after the time in which it happened (A).

UPON

^d MAILLET descript. d' Egypte, vol. ii. letter 8, Hague edit. p. 82.

(A) The *Abissinian* emperor having heard some of his officers, whom he had sent to *Cairo*, give a certain Capuchin friar, then residing in that city, large commendations for his excellent skill in physic, and surprising success in curing variety of diseases, sent him a kind invitation to come and settle at his court, which he readily complied with; but whilst he was making preparations for that journey, some other monks, of the same Franciscan order, took it into their heads that that invitation might extend to all that were skilled in that art, of which most of those good fathers take care to gain a com-

petent knowledge, that being the most effectual means of introducing them among those (otherwise jealous) princes, and procuring them an honourable protection and livelihood.

In this persuasion, some of them ventured, unknown to the Capuchin, to get to that court some time before him, in hopes of meeting the same reception there; and upon their first appearing on the frontiers, news were dispatched to the emperor of their arrival; who sent immediate orders to have them safely conveyed to him, not doubting but his Capuchin was at the head of them, and that the others were only his assist-

A 2

ants

The obser- UPON the whole, whoever compares these observations of
vations of those missionaries, will find them so different and imperfect,
the Portu- that he will have reason to conclude they were made in haste,
guesse and without that accuracy which we observe them to use in all
made with other countries, where they make a longer residence, and have
precipita- better means and instruments for such a work. Whoever reads
tion. those who seem to have taken the most pains to review their
 observations, and reconcile them to each other, such as father
Tellez, *Ludolph*, and others of equal capacity, will find still
 variance enough amongst them to make us wish for, what we
 are not likely to see in haste, a more accurate survey of the
 country. To give an instance or two of this remarkable dif-
 ference, we need but compare the situation of the town of
Giesim, which was reckoned the mid-way between the town
 of *Sennaar* and the confines of *Ethiopia*, as fixed by father
Brevedent's own observations, who is allowed to have been
 an excellent astronomer, and one who accompanied the phy-
 sician *Poncet* into *Ethiopia*, but died in the way thither, and
 places that town in the 10th degree of north latitude (*); and
 the situation which father *Tellez*, and Mr. *Ludolph* after him,
 give it in their map of this empire, and we shall plainly see that
 one of them must be greatly out; and yet *Brevedent* took his
 observation upon the spot. Another proof how little *Tel-*
lez's map is to be depended upon, is the situation which an-
 other *Portuguese* jesuit assigns, from his own observations
 likewise, to the kingdom of *Dembea*; which is such, accord-
 ing to him^c, that both the poles are visible, and that the
 antarctic appears the higher of the two; which is the very re-
 verse of what *Tellez* and *Ludolph*'s maps represent it.

*Material
 difference
 between
 them.*

* See PONCET's Voyage to Ethiopia, p. 33.

c FERNANDEZ, ap. Codign, lib. i. c. 11. p. 69.

ants or attendants. But upon farther examination, finding, by his officers above mentioned, that he was not of their number, he was so exasperated at the boldness of their attempt, that he caused them to be all put to immediate death. This, our author tells us, happened 50 or 60 years before his coming to reside in *Egypt* (1); since which time the same vigilance and severity were still observed with

the same strictness; and their history furnishes us with a great number of instances of the like nature; though none of them have been sufficient to deter him and others from contriving new stratagems and devices to facilitate an entrance to their missionaries into that kingdom, in spite of all the care and caution which those princes take to prevent it (2), and the extreme danger of attempting to elude it.

(1) *Maillet*, ub. sup.

(2) *Id. ibid.*: p. 83, & f. 9.

It was probably this dissonancy between those authors, that induced a late famous geographer to his imperial majesty to try to give the world a more accurate map, not only *Corrected* of this empire, but of all *Africa*; which he caused to be *by a new* printed some years ago at *Nuremberg*, with some critical re-*map of* marks upon those which father *Tellez* and Mr. *Ludolph* have *Asia* given us of the *Abissinian* empire: but as this new one hath not met with the success and approbation which the compiler seemed to promise himself, we shall content ourselves with referring our reader for a farther account of it, as far as relates to our present subject, to the subsequent note (B).

We need not therefore wonder if some of the writers of *Why its li-* the *African* part of the world, particularly some of our *mits so far* atlas's (^f), have extended the limits of this empire so far *extended by* beyond its due bounds; to say nothing of those of older date, *old geogra-* who have stretched its southern ones so vastly beyond the *phers*. equinoctial line; though they are found to come so short of it by the common consent of all our more modern geographers. They were altogether in the dark about the coun-

^f Vid. inter al. MERCATOR, JOHNSON, and DE LISLE.

(B) We are told by Mr. *De la Croze*, late professor in philosophy, and library-keeper to the late king of *Prussia*, of a map of *Africa*, printed at *Nuremberg* by *J. Bapt. Heron*, geographer to his Imperial Majesty, in which are these words: *Benevole spectator, Ludolphum hactenus incaute secuti sunt, qui quodam novo sistemate originem Nili tabulis suis perperam injeruerunt. Nos auctoritatem viri maxime Rev. P. Henrici Schereri, S. J. Geographi celeberrimi, qui ex veris, P. P. Missionariorum sue societatis relationibus tale nobis quale hic posuimus, sibi utriusque Nili albi & atrii Fluminis, praefiguravit, amplectimur; Curiososque historicae veritatis indagatores ad ipsum auctoris opus sumptibus prae nobilis viri*

J. Caspari Bencardi, &c. Bibliopolae Augustani praestantissime editum, remittimus. This map, we are told by our author, places the sources of the *Nile* and *Niger* a great way beyond the equinoctial line, and makes it to flow immediately from the lake *Zaire*; which paradox is pretended to be founded on the authority of the jesuit missionaries, but without producing any of them. Loth not this strange discord and difference of opinions, flowing from the same source, and founded on the same authorities, give us sufficient cause to wish for some new observations and discoveries, which might put an effectual end to them, and give us a more certain knowledge of those curious and important matters (4)?

(4) *Matth. Veyssier, La Croze Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie 1739, p. 70, & seq. See also what hath been said on the source of that river, Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 477 & seq. xviii. p. 265, & seq.*

tries that lay beyond it on that side; and had no other way to supply that great chasm of 600 or more leagues, than by bringing all that vast tract within the limits of it, and bestowing upon its emperors, all that immense territory which they knew not how to dispose of otherwise. By this means they have stretched it from 22° north to 16 or 17 south, and given it an extent of 39 or 40 degrees; which is above twenty-one more than it really hath (C), as we shall shew very soon from the more authentic testimonies, and more accurate observations, of those *Portuguese* fathers, whose long residence and acquaintance with these (till then unknown) parts, have enabled them to give us a more satisfactory knowledge of them; of whom, therefore, it will not be improper to give some previous account, before we proceed farther, and by way of introduction to the following history,

The Portuguese THE empress *Helena*, grandmother to the emperor *Dautid*, having received a kind of congratulatory ambassy from *Emmanuel* king of *Portugal*, was so highly pleased with it, that she resolved to send the like to him, with a view of entering

(C) This is the case, among others, of the modern *Mercator* and *Johnson's Atlas*, in which they were led by a wrong scent; the authors they followed having placed the head of the *Nile* about 16 or 17 degrees of south latitude, where lies the lake *Zambre* and *Zayre*, (so their maps call the south and north sides of the *Dambean* lake, thro' which that river flows after a long course from its spring head) it was natural for them to stretch the south boundaries at least so far as the source of that river, since it was allowed by all to spring in this empire of *Abissinia*. And it was no less natural for *Mercator* to place the kingdom of *Goiam* along the coasts of that lake, since this was supposed to be the source of that river, and that kingdom the most southern in the whole empire. How the ancients came

to be so far out in their judgment about the one and the other, as to lead so many moderns into the same error, we have formerly endeavoured to account for (5); neither could those moderns above-mentioned be possibly made sensible of their mistake, but by a discovery that the true situation of that source, as well as the distance of the southern boundaries of the empire from it, were fixed by more certain observations: and for these we are chiefly beholden to *Cosmas* the hermit, who was the first that traced out the way to that so long sought for spring; and next to him, to father *Pais*, and other *Portuguese* missionaries, who by his help arrived at the very spot, where, by proper and repeated observations, they attained to the certainty of its situation (6).

(c) See *Ancient Hist.* vol. i. p. 407. & seq. xviii. c. 255, & seq. (6) See *Pais*, *Lebo*, *Tellez*, *Ludolph*, *Le Grand Kéiaq*, & *Abissin. Dissert.* 3, p. 209, & seq.

into

into a strict friendship and alliance with him ². She made ^{nia} by the choice of one *Mathew*, an *Armenian* merchant, who safely ^{empress} arrived at *Lisbon* in that quality; and having performed the ^{Helen.} purport of his commission, returned to *Abissinia* by the way of *Goa*, in the *Portuguese* fleet, accompanied by a fresh ambassador from the *Portuguese* court. This was a man of quality, named *Galvam*, who in his return to *Abissinia* died at *Camaran*, an island in the *Red Sea*; so that the *Portuguese* vessels, which had brought him thither, were obliged to sail back to *Goa*. However, the matter was thought of such importance, that a new ambassador was sent thither some years after, viz. *Roderigo de Lima*; who after a tedious voyage, landed at length at *Massawa*, near *Arkiko*; which places, as well as the island of *Sowakem*, did then belong to the *Abissinians*, tho' since then, taken from them by the *Turks*, who have kept possession of them ever since. *Roderigo* had with him one of the king's domestic chaplains, named *Francisco Alvarez*, a person of no extraordinary learning, but yet a man of sound judgment and great integrity, and who was appointed almoner of this embassy; and it is to him that we are beholden for that plain and honest description of this empire, the first of the kind that ever was published, which he printed, together with a relation of his voyage, at *Lisbon*, an. 1540; and, tho' short, hath been justly admired for its plainness and sincerity. It hath been since that often reprinted, and translated into other languages, particularly in *English*; tho' this last is rather an abridgment of *Alvarez*, and is only to be met with in *Purchas's* collection. The next that wrote of the *Abissinian* affairs, was father *Bermudes*, who went likewise into *Abissinia* with *Don Roderigo de Lima*, and with the character of patriarch, but openly only as an attendant on him, and under the name of master *John*, for fear of awakening the jealousy of the *Abissinian* clergy. What he hath written concerning this country, is chiefly what happened to the *Portuguese* general, *Christopher de Gama*, his victories, defeat, and death. His account, which is dedicated to *Don Sebastian*, king of *Portugal*, and appeared in print an. 1565, is so filled with fabulous stuff, that father *Tellez* tells us, in his general history of *Abissinia*³, that he is only to be credited in those things which he affirms to have seen, but not in that which he had only by common report.

THE next to him is the celebrated father *Peter Pair*, the ^{Father} first *European* who went to view the head of the *Nile*, and ^{Peter Pair}

Ambassies between king Emanuel and her frustrated.

Alvarez writes the first history of Abissinia.

1540.

Father Bermudes writes the next.

² ALVARES, BERMUDES, TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, et al. Hist. Abissin.

³ Chap. xx. p. 198.

writes
next.

Father
Emanuel
Almeyda
travels
thro' the
inland
parts of
the empire.

who resided in *Abissinia* a considerable time in quality of a missionary, and died there *an.* 1622. His manuscript was sent thence to *Rome*, where it is still preserved, and reaches from the year 1556 to that of his death. He was succeeded by another of his society, viz. father *Emanuel D'Almeyda*, who was rector, or superior, of the convent of *Fromona*, which the jesuits had been permitted to build there; a man who had not only resided there a considerable time, but who had taken indefatigable pains to travel thro' most part of the empire, and from whom we have the most complete account of the inland provinces and kingdoms that are subject to it, and of all the monstrous high ridges of mountains that run thro' the far greater part of them¹, and in comparison of which, the *Alps*, *Apennines*, and *Pyrenees*, are but pigmies for height; some of the most considerable of which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel. The next to him in rank and time was father *Alphonso Mendez*, who was constituted patriarch of *Ethiopia* by the pope, and wrote the history of it in *Latin*, after having resided there ten years (D).

Father
Lobore-
sides there
nine years,

THE last we shall mention is father *Lobo*, who likewise resided there nine years, and the greatest part of that time in quality of rector of the college of *Fromona* above-mentioned, whose description of that empire, and history of his travels,

TELLEZ, LE GRAND preface to LOBO.

(D) We omit the relation of father *Domingo de Urreta*, a Dominican of *Valentia*, which is allowed by all to be a mere heap of lies and forgeries (7), as the reader may see, by the extract given of it at the end of this chapter. It is mostly levelled against the jesuits, between whom and his order, there hath passed little else besides bitter jars and invectives. And this it was that engaged the jesuit *Codinglo*, then at *Rome*, to answer his book, tho' without naming him, by compiling a history of *Abissinia* point blank contrary to that, under the following title; *De Abassinorum Rebus, deque Aethiopia Patri-*

archis, Joanne Nonio Barreto & Andrea Ovicdo, libri tres, P. Nicolao Godigno, societatis Jesu, Auctore. Lugduni, M.DC.XV.

We likewise omit *Damian de Goes*, a Portuguese gentleman, the recollect *Rogers, Jarris*, and some others, who either have only transcribed what they mention occasionally concerning this empire, from the chief authors above-mentioned, or confined their lucubrations to the chief difference between the *Abissinian* and *Roman* church, with respect both to their doctrines and church discipline, of which we shall have occasion to speak in a more proper place (8).

(7) Le Grand's preface to his version of father Lobo, p. 10, & s. q.

(8) *Dam. a Goes opuscul. Rogers Etat. de la Palestine, Jarris.*

tho' simple and succinct, gives us a more lively idea of all the ^{and writes} places he hath been at, than any other before him; and es-^{an account} pecially as, if we may believe father Balthazar Tellez, he ^{of it.} travelled above 38,000 miles in this empire; insomuch that he scruples not to apply to him that verse of *Virgil* *;

Nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit.

His history hath been since translated into *French*, and enriched with fundry curious dissertations, and other anecdotes, by Mr. *Le Grand*, and printed at *Paris*, an. 1738. From the above-mentioned relations, and the annual letters which were sent by the *Abissinian* missionaries to the college of jesuits at *Lisbon*, it was, that father Balthazar Tellez wrote his more ^{From these} comprehensive history of *Abissinia*; in the compiling of which ^{father} work, he had the advantage of consulting all that had been Tellez printed and written by the aforesaid authors, as he engaged ^{compiles} in it at the desire of the whole society; and it is perhaps this ^{his general} very motive that hath inclined him to some partiality for that ^{history.} order, thro' which, however, every judicious reader will see clearly enough, (as it extends little farther than the endeavouring to justify that society from the charge, in all likelihood but too justly) laid to them, of having been the cause, ^{Why so} thro' their hasty and indiscrete zeal, of the reduction of the ^{partial to} *Abissinian* church to the obedience of that of *Rome*, of the ^{his society.} cruel persecution and irreconcilable hatred, the effects of which fell soon after so heavily, not only upon their own society, but upon all missionaries and *European* Christians without distinction. This is but the same complaint which they have given just cause for in other countries, particularly in *China*, *Japan*, &c. as we have shewn in some of the foregoing volumes *. In other cases, where the credit of his society, and the interest of the *Romish* church and court, is not concerned, he hath judiciously and candidly followed his authors, and from them compiled by far the best and fullest history of that empire we have extant; and it is from him that even Mr. *Ludolph* hath been beholden for the greatest part of his history; tho' he takes all opportunities to contradict him, and those of his fraternity. Father Tellez published the work above-mentioned in the *Portuguese* language, an. 1660; it was printed at the university of *Conimbra* in *Portugal* under the following title: *Historia General de Ethiopia alta ò Preste Joan, e do que nella Obrarum os Pudres da Compania de Jesus. Compõsta na Misõna Ethiopia per lo Padre Manoel D'Almeyda, Natural Vileu provincial e Visitador que foi na India. Abreziada com nova releycam e Methodo pe lo padre Balthazar Tel-*

* *Æncid.* † See before, vol. viii. p. 508, & seq. ix. p. 25, & seq. lez

lez *Natural de Lisboa provincial da provincia Lusitana, ambos da Misnia Companhia.*

Poncet, a French physician, writes an account of it. AMONG the *French*, we have *Poncet*, a physician, who was sent by the *French* consul at *Kayro* into *Abissinia* to cure the emperor of some stubborn disease, in the year 1698¹, and hath wrote a pretty succinct account of what he saw in those parts of the country thro' which he travelled, and of what he learned from the inhabitants he conversed with, concerning the religion, laws, customs, &c. of the *Abissinians*; but as he went thro' but a small part of the country, and was obliged to keep himself incog. during his short stay there, of scarce one year; it was not possible for him to give us more than a concise and imperfect description of so vast an empire^m. Besides, this gentleman had since the misfortune, whether thro' any thing that dropped from his pen in his aforesaid relation, or some imprudent steps he took after his return to *Kayro*, to disoblige the whole society of missionaries to such a degree, that they have left no stone unturned to blacken his character, and that of his book. They have decried him as a vile cheat, quack, mountebank, impostor, and a man capable of every kind of basenessⁿ, and have even ventured to affirm that he never was at the *Abissinian* court, and that what he says of it, and of his reception and success there, is mere forgery^o. Lastly, to complete his character, they make him forsake his lawful wife, whom he had married in *Ethiopia*, to go and seek his fortune in the kingdom of *Yemen*, in spite of all his oaths and imprecations to return to *Prester John*, to rob him of the physical chest, which that prince had caused to be made at his own and the public charges, and to pass from *Yemen* to *Surat*, and thence to *Hispahan*, where he died like a rogue and vagabond, as he had lived^p. These are the invidious colours in which they have had the boldness to draw a man, who, by his long residence and success at *Kayro*, had gained the character of a skilful physician, and had been pitched upon by the judicious Mr. *Maillet*, then consul in the same city, to be sent into *Abissinia*, not merely to cure the emperor of his disease; tho' even in this case a gentleman of his great discernment would hardly have sent thither such a pitiful quack as he is there represented; but he was, under the character of a physician, to discharge a commission which was thought of much greater moment, viz. to negotiate an

Why blackened by the jesuit writers.

His character vindicated.

¹ PONCET's voyage into Abissinia, an. 1698, & seq. ^m LE GROND's supplement to LOBO, p. 157, 161, 328, 362, 372, & alib ⁿ Id. ibid. p. 401. ^o Ibid. p. 168.
^p Ibid. p. 328, alib. plur.

alliance and good correspondence between the *French* and *Abissinian* court, in order to facilitate a fresh attempt of re-uniting the *Abissinian* church to that of *Rome*; and, since the very name of *Portuguese* was become so odious thro' that whole empire, to try what *French* policy and munificence would do to reconcile the emperor and his court, and by that means the clergy and people, to the *French* nation, to the *Gallican* church, and the Pope's supremacy. And can it be supposed, that a person of the *French* consul's character would have entrusted an affair of such importance, which required the highest degree of sagacity, caution, zeal, and secrecy, to such an abandoned vagabond? However, we have not yet been able to find that any of this load of invective and calumny hath been able to lessen the credit of his relation; he is still quoted as a person of discernment and sincerity; and where can be the doubt, that a person who was earnestly pressed by that emperor to come on such an errand to his court, and was by his express order to be received in every place of his dominion thro' which he passed, to be treated with all possible respect and deference, should have all the opportunities that could be wished to see or be informed of every thing he hath given us an account of, either with respect to the religion, government, customs, climate, and natural history of that country, as well as of the many other curiosities that fell under his own observation during his three years travel thro' those parts. It is plain, however, that he hath advanced nothing in his book that either contradicts the accounts of those fathers who wrote before him, or appears fabulous or absurd; and if there had, our readers may be well assured we would not give it a place in a work of this kind: and as to matters of weight and moment, he will hardly find any thing quoted out of him, but what is well backed by the testimony of some one or more of the authors above spoken of.

THE last, and indeed the most voluminous writer on the *Ludolph's Abissinian* affairs, is the often mentioned Mr. *Ludolph*; a gentleman who hath taken indefatigable pains, and spent the greatest part of his life, to make himself a complete master of the *Abissinian* tongue, in order to get the best intelligence he could of their religion, politics, government, &c. from their own writings, and to enable others to do the same, by the help of the grammar and lexicon he hath given us of it; and yet the small benefit which he or his curious readers have reaped from his labours, would rather deter any one from following his steps. We have already taken notice, that most of his history is taken from the *Portuguese* authors above spoken

His commission to the emperor of Abissinia.

Reception.

Great skill in that tongue.

Abbot

Gregory's
character.

spoken of, tho' he omits no opportunity to contradict them, where-ever they seem to clash with his Abbot *Gregory*; a person, to say the best of him we can, but little qualified for the task he had undertaken, and much more unfit to be so closely followed or relied on, either in point of learning, capacity, or integrity, above all other men. Mr. *Ludolph* himself, whatever high qualifications he might find in him in other respects, doth yet complain, in the preface of the last edition of his dictionary, *that he found him ignorant with respect to the language of Ethiopia, that he was often at a loss for the meaning of sundry words and idioms; that many others were wholly unknown to him; that he very often gave them a quite contrary meaning; and that he scrupled not to own his ignorance to him, both by words and in writing.*

Ludolph's
history
decried
by the
Jesuits.

If this was the case of the *Abissinian* abbot, we shall have little encouragement to rely on his testimony; tho' we should be loth to carry our suspicion so far as some of the *Romish* writers have done, that Mr. *Ludolph* had such an artful way of proposing his questions to him, as naturally led him to make him answer them as he wished, in order to confirm what he had most in view in the writing of his history, in contradiction to all the other accounts that have been given us of the *Abissinian* religion⁹; viz. that it comes much nearer, both in faith and church discipline, rites, &c. to the *Lutheran* than to the *Roman* church; for this is what they all with one consent charge him with, tho' we shall have occasion, in the sequel of this chapter, to explode a good number of instances they give us of this partiality, both with relation to the *Abissinian* religion, and to other historical facts they pretend to have been misrepresented by him. It were to be wished indeed that Mr. *Ludolph*, instead of drawing most of his intelligence from a person of his abbot's character, and, where this failed him, that, instead of consulting an *Armenian* merchant (E) about such points as these, which

⁹ See LE GRAND Dissertat. p. 177, & seq.

(E) This was one *Morat*, who had been often in *Abissinia*, and other parts of *Asia* and *Africa*; and being then at *Batavia*, was, at Mr. *Ludolph's* request, questioned about the present state of *Abissinia*, particularly that of their religion; and in several instances quoted the one in confirmation of what

he had been informed of by the other. But besides that persons of his character seldom trouble themselves about any thing but their own commerce, much less about religion; the *Armenians* being commonly the most ignorant of their own; *Morat* was moreover an arrant rogue, who, under pretence of having

which were intirely out of his province, and whom he owns to have been so ignorant, that he could neither read nor write; he had endeavoured to draw his intelligence from more authentic witnesses, such as the *Abissinian* liturgies, formularies, catechisms, and other such *Ethiopic* books, which, he tells us, he had in his possession; and if he had gone so far as to give the public a faithful version of them, every one would then have been much better able to judge of the merit of the controversy, than it is possible to do from the precarious testimony of two such witnesses[†]. Mr. *Ludolph* doubtless wanted neither materials nor capacity, much less zeal, for such an expensive and laborious task. Nor was he insensible how much more convincing any proof drawn from such books was, *His apo-*logy, than the evidence of twenty such witnesses; whom therefore, if we may believe his own words[‡], he no farther relied on, than as they confirmed or agreed with those books. But the question is, what encouragement he then had, either from the public or from the booksellers, to bestow so much time and cost upon it, after he had *been obliged*, as he himself tells his correspondent, *to submit to the defraying the new impression of his Ethiopic dictionary, unless he had resolved to deprive the world of his labour and talents*[§], which his booksellers told him they did not think of consequence enough to meet with a quick sale. But, after all, had he thought fit to run the hazard of such a copious work, and given the world an edition of all their liturgies, catechisms, and other such theological books, from the best copies, whether printed or in manuscript, with the most faithful version of, and most impartial and judicious notes upon them, would it not have been liable to frequent criticisms and endless disputes? would it not have given birth to new depositions and confessions, obtained, to use his own words, *prece vel pretio*, by favour or bribery, to support a contrary reading or interpretation?

[†] LE GRAND, ub. sup. 178, & seq.

[‡] See his letter to Mr. PIQUES, in LE GRAND's relation de l'Abissin. p. 180, & seq.

[§] See PIQUES's answer to him, ibid. p. 182.

having a more than ordinary influence on the *Abissinian* emperor, had engaged, by his interest with him, to establish a most beneficial commerce on the *Red Sea*, and coasts adjacent, in favour of the *Dutch*; for which they paid him a good round sum before-hand: but when their ships came thither, they found themselves cheated, and were forced to return without success (9).

(9) *Lobo, Tellen, Le Grand, &c.*

But

The main
contro-
versy be-
tween him
and them
of small
import-
ance.

Except
what it
makes
them disco-
ver each
other's
faults.

But whatever merit the zeal of either of the contending parties may make them imagine worth all that artifice, indecent language, and bitter invectives, which have been used to gain their point; to us, and we hope it will do so to every serious and unbiassed Christian, it appears of little moment, whether the *Abissinian church*, confessedly allowed on all hands to consist of a very ignorant and positive clergy, and a blind bigotted laity, which received the first fundamentals of their Christianity from an avowed heretical sect of Christians, to whom they have paid ever since a most implicit obedience, comes nearer, in its faith and discipline, to the *Romish, Lutheran, Greek*, or any other church. If Mr. *Ludolph* had any such view in writing his *Abissinian* history, as the jesuits so boldly, tho' we think, unjustly, charge him with (F), we are more ready to pity than imitate his zeal. But one special advantage we shall be enabled to make in the course of this history, from the frequent altercations we meet with between him and those missionaries, and the pains they have so warmly taken to discover each other's faults, that we shall thereby more easily come at the truth, and be less apt to be biassed to either side.

Maillet's
account of
Abissinia.

MONS. *Maillet*, in his description of *Egypt*, where he had resided a good number of years as consul of the *French* nation, hath written something concerning this country, particularly about the great danger and difficulty there hath been, ever since the expulsion of the *Portuguese*, of penetrating into any part, and especially into the *Abissinian* court*, and

* Vol. ii. p. 80, & seq. Hague edit. 12^{mo}.

(F) This charge, after having been laid home to that gentleman by several of the jesuitical fraternity (10), notwithstanding his most express and solemn declaration against it, was very learnedly and strongly confuted by the learned *Vesfiere De la Crose* (11); nevertheless, the next that took the cause in hand against him, hath not scrupled to revive all the former calumnies, as if nothing had been said to confute them, but begins his dissertation on the

Abissinian hierarchy in these words: "It is not difficult, for any one that reads Mr. *Ludolph's* *Ethiopic* history, to see, that he did not undertake it with any other view, than to shew the difference which he pretends to be between the church of *Rome* and that of *Alexandria*, on the one hand, and the conformity which he thinks to have discovered between that very church of *Alexandria* and that of the Protestants (12)."

(10) *Renaudot*.

(11) *Europe Savante*, tom. x. part ii. p. 237, & tom. ii. part i. p. 29. See also his *Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, p. 83, & seq.

(12) *Le Grand Relat. de L'Abissinie*, Dissert. xv. p. 352.

hath

hath proposed some new expedients for removing it, and eluding the care and jealousy of the *Ethiopians*. But we do not find that any thing like it hath been tried since, at least with any success. He there speaks likewise of some other considerable memoirs, written by him some time before on the same subject, and afterwards published at the end of father *Lobo's* relation of *Abissinia*, by his *French* translator *Le Grand*; *Strives in* but they contain little concerning that country, except an account of his ill success in endeavouring to promote an *ambassy* *a mission* between the then emperor of it and the king his master, *introduced,* by the assistance of the physician *Poncat* above-mentioned; *but dis-* in the pursuit of which project they took some steps, which *pleases the* proved so displeasing to some of the jesuits concerned in it, *jesuits.* that they have since declared themselves against it, exposed the *Abissinian* envoy as a cheat, a person of mean birth, and worse character, and who only took upon him that public employ to impose on the *French* king, and obtain some considerable presents from him. His name was *Murat*, or *Morat* *The am-* *rat*, a *Syrian* by birth, and a near relation of that *Murat* *bassador* who had cheated the *Dutch*, as we mentioned in a late note. *Morat* *cried down* He had been in *Abissinia*, and was known to, and employed *by them.* by, the emperor in some commercial affairs, but pretended moreover to have credential letters as his ambassador to the *French* king, together with some presents, and a commission to negotiate an alliance of commerce with that court; but the greatest part of those presents he pretended were either lost at sea, or taken from him by the *Turkish* bashaw of *Masfousa*; and as for the emperor's letter, which he carried in a rich brocaded silk bag, he refused to deliver it up to any but to the king of *France's* own hands; so that the consul, who was eager, notwithstanding all these obstacles, to prove the ambassy, was forced to make use under-hand of the bashaw *The con-* *of Kayro's* authority to wrest the letter from him by force, in *sul's treat-* order to examine the contents of it. But whilst the consul and *ment of* the fathers of the *Holy Land*, who were his creatures, *him.* endeavoured to support his character of ambassador, the jesuits were as zealous in destroying it; and affirmed the king's signet, which was a kind of cypher, or hieroglyphic, of the breadth of a crown-piece, to be counterfeited, which they had discovered by comparing it with that of another letter, sent by that monarch to the patriarch of *Alexandria*: they likewise represented *Morat* as a vile fellow, a great bragger, liar, and drinker, who had served as cook in several mer-

† See his apology addressed to the French ambassador at the Port, ap. *LE GRAND*, p. 359, & seq.

chants houses, and had at length assumed the character of ambassador, to raise his fortune ^a.

Dares not It is not unlikely the consul knew all the foibles of this
send him to man, tho' he still resolved to make the most of his letters and
the French pretensions, in order to reimburse the expences he had been
court. at on his account; yet not daring to trust such a drunken and
 lying fellow to the *French* court, chose rather to send his own
 chancellor thither, with the patched-up credentials and pre-
 sents. *Morat*, seeing himself thus over-reached, and as he
 rightly guessed, frustrated of the presents he expected to re-
 ceive there, behaved like a man distracted; and was with
 difficulty, and the joint authority of the bashaw and consul,
 hindered from turning *Mohammedan*, and betraying the whole
 secret; but was at length sent away with some small presents;
 and embarking for *Surat*, went and died at *Hispahan* ^a.

De Route THE consul had at that time provided another string to
sent am- his bow; viz, one *Le Noir*, commonly called *De Route*, a
bassador creature of his, who was thoroughly acquainted with all the
into Abis- particulars, of *Morat's* embassy, and was pitched upon by him
finia. on the like errand, and sent with the same character to the
Abissinian court as from the *French* king. But this last met
 with a much worse fate than *Morat*; and after a tedious and
 dangerous voyage, and other disappointments, was at length
 assassinated by order of the king of *Sanaar*, after having been
 received at his first arrival with all the marks of favour and
 distinction due to his public character ^b. Some say that it
 was done pursuant to a private order which that monarch re-
 ceived from the Negus, or emperor, of *Abissinia*; and others,
 that his death was owing to a dislike which the grandees of
Sanaar had taken against him, on account of his too great
 intimacy with the then prime minister *Ali Zogoyer*: and a
 letter was afterwards trumped up, pretended to be written
 by the Negus to the Pope, but since brought to his son *Tek-
 la Haimanout*, who had by this time dethroned him; which,
 if genuine, wholly clears him from having had any hand in
 that assassination. The misfortune is, that most of our ac-
 counts from those parts are so often contradicted by the op-
 posite parties on both sides, that no sure dependence can be
 given to them ^c; and this only we can be certain of, that his
 death not only put an end to that consul's project, but
 that the very notion of a mutual embassy so exasperated the

^a Vid. LE GRAND, ub. sup. p. 162, & seq. 359, & seq. 393,
 & alib. pass.

^b Id. Ibid. & p. 428, & alib. pass.

^c Vid. eund. ibid. & p. 436, 442,
 449.

clergy and people, that they readily joined with the emperor's son above-named to dethrone his father, as the encourager of it, tho' more probably quite innocent and ignorant of both.

BUT as we shall have occasion to say something more of these (whether pretended or real) ambassies in the following history, we shall only add here, that the author last mentioned hath published some farther memoirs, written by several hands both for and against, but which leave us still much in the dark about the validity and other circumstances of that embassy⁴, as well as how far the consul and some of the *Unter-* good fathers who assisted him in it, were innocent or guilty *tain wbe* of all that strange artifice that was used to support and make *ther the* it pass for current at the *French* court. But upon the whole, *ambassy* they do but too plainly shew, that its miscarrying was not owing *was true* to their want of zeal, or of using all possible endeavours to *or false.* make it succeed, whether it was real or pretended.

BUT whilst the consul was taken up with the management *The jesuits* of this affair, which his sanguine hopes made him consider as *project an-* a matter of the greatest advantage both to the *French* com- *other* merce and to the *Roman* church, the jesuits, more refined po- *scheme, in* liticians things of this nature, had projected and carried on to a great forwardness another scheme of their own, which was *which* every way more promising to answer that end. The patriarch *the Alex-* of *Alexandria*, on whom the *Abissinian* church wholly de- *patriarch* pends, had been so far wrought by those dexterous fathers *joins with* in favour of the *Romish* church, and the Pope's supremacy, *them.* as to dispatch an ambassador to the courts of *Paris* and *Rome*, with vast offers of assisting with all his power and authority the *Romish* missionaries, thro' all the countries belonging to his patriarchate, in re-uniting the *Coptic* church to that of *Rome*. The person pitched upon for this embassy was one *Ibrahim Channah*, a *Maronite*, who was strictly charged to execute it with the utmost secrecy in both courts, whilst the good fathers loaded him with letters of recommendations and other encouragements, which procured him an honourable reception where-ever he came, but more particularly at the court of *Sends an* *Versailles*, where he was admitted to the royal presence, and *ambassa-* caressed by all the prime ministers; and after a stay of about *dor to Pa-* four months, (that is from *August* 24 to *November* 25. 1702, *ris and* during which time he was treated with all the honours of an *Rome.* ambassador) was dispatched with new credentials and recommendatory letters to the Pope, several cardinals, and other

⁴ See Differtat. Le GRAND, ab. sup. p. 406, & seq. 421, & seq. 428, & seq. & alib. pass. * Id. Ibid. p. 164, & seq.

Whom the
consul ex-
poses as a
cheat at
Rome.

members of the society *de propaganda fide*. The misfortune was, that this project was so highly relished at the *French* court, that they thought it necessary to send their consul at *Cairo* express orders to act in concert with the patriarch and the jesuits, and to forward it with all his power; and this it was that occasioned its ruin; for the consul, whether out of dislike to it, or to those who had formed, and who were the same that opposed his own, and exposed his ambassador as a cheat, or whether it was innocently done, divulged the whole secret by his imprudent conduct, and his publicly examining the old patriarch about it, who, now sensible of the imminent danger he was in, not only from the *Turks*, but from his own clergy and laity, that he had no other way to evade it, than by denying the whole purport of *Ibrahim's* ambassy, and alleging that the two letters he had entrusted him with to the Pope and *French* king, were only letters of compliment, which he thought might be of service to him: Upon which the consul sent no less than three certificates one after another, to the court of *Rome*, signed by several monks and his own chancellor; all which were shewn to his holiness by cardinal *Fabroni*; so that he had not resided long at *Rome*, before he found a quite different treatment than he had met with at *Paris*, his public character not only questioned, but exposed as a vile forgery and imposition, and calculated only with a view of some considerable gain. The fathers of the mission of the *Holy Land*, a set of monks quite opposite to the jesuits, and who now acted under the consul's direction, were the most zealous of all in discrediting him, and exploding all he alleged in his own defence. This obliged him to present a memorial to the Pope, complaining of the unjust methods which some people had taken to discredit his commission, and thereby to prevent the good intentions of the patriarch, and the so much desired conversion of the *Ethiopians*; and begging his holiness to send some proper person into *Egypt*, to be fully satisfied of the whole matter from the patriarch's own mouth, to the end that if he was proved a cheat, he might be punished as such; and if a faithful messenger, he might have justice done to his character. The proposal was thought so reasonable, that his holiness immediately appointed Don *Gabriel*, a *Maronite*, of the order of *St. Antony*, to go to *Kayro*; which he did with all possible expedition, but spent near two years in that journey.

His defence
and me-
moir to the
Pope.

The patri-
arch com-
p'lains
against

BUT not long after his departure, *Ibrahim* received a letter from the *Alexandrian* patriarch, telling him, that he was surprized to find, that, instead of observing the secrecy he had so earnestly enjoined him, he had so far divulged that impor-
tant

tant affair, that it had reached the ears of the *French* consul at *him and Kayro*, and all that part of the world; infomuch that the *the consul*, fathers of the *Holy Land* were come in one body to question him in a public manner, whether it were true that he was come over to the *Latin* church, and had sent an exprefs messenger into *France*, to confirm an alliance with it; that upon his asking them what reason they had to put such interrogatories to him, they answered, they were ordered by the court to do so; upon which he told them, that the letters which he had given to him were only for his private service. He then desires him to go and acquaint the Pope, that he had assembled all the bishops under him to consecrate the oil which is used at the coronation of the *Abissinian* monarchs; a thing which had not been done during the space of twenty years; and to beg his holiness's blessing upon it. He received another some time after, in which he tells him, that he had finished the consecration of the holy oil, and had sent some of it into *Abissinia* by the hand of father *Bisbot*, a jesuit, who was to go privately into that country, in company with *Du Route*, lately mentioned, whom he had entrusted with a letter to the empefor, and another to the *Abissinian* abuna, *Ibraim's* or patriarch's delegate there. In both those letters he acknowledged *Ibraim* to be his agent and confident, and himself to be an humble dependent on his holiness, to whom, as *legacy to the Pope* justified such, he gave an account of his actions; so that, if these letters were really sent by that patriarch (G), nothing could be confirmed by the patriarch more.

(G) Whoever hath read the different accounts we have of these transactions, and the many pretended anecdotes that have been trumped up by both sides, in plain contradiction to each other, will easily agree with us that this caveat is far from impertinent; and that if both parties do without a scruple charge each other with sundry forgeries of this nature, we shall not be censured for too scrupulously calling any of them in question.

But this letter of the patriarch's is still more liable to suspicion, even allowing him to have been as zealous for the church of *Rome* and the Pope's supremacy as the jesuits repre-

sent him, as it exposed the writer, not only to the loss of his patriarchate, but of his life; especially at this particular crisis, when all the *Roman* missionaries had been expelled out of the *Turkish* empire, under the severest penalties; and, on the other hand, the *Alexandrian* clergy and laity were so justly alarmed at the public manner in which the consul and his *Holy Land* fathers had questioned him about his legacy and conversion. Whom could he confide such a dangerous witness against himself with? How could he be sure that the messenger would not betray him, or be intercepted in his voyage to *Rome*?

B a

But

more effectually justify the character of *Ibraim* against the clamours which the *Holy Land* missionaries had raised against it at the court of *Rome*. But what did it still more effectually, was the return of father *Gabriel* from *Kayro*, who confirmed all the particulars of *Ibraim's* embassy, as well as the contents of the two letters above-mentioned, in a new one, which he brought from the patriarch to the Pope.

IBRAIM, thus justified by so many unquestionable hands, was very pressing at the *Romish* court for a proper reparation to his character; but after many delays and excuses, was told, that *Rome* was not a proper place to obtain justice against the fathers of the *Holy Land*; and that as to the *French* consul, he must apply to the *French* court for redress. At which being highly dissatisfied, he left that city about the end of the year 1705, leaving behind some presents, which the Pope had designed to send by him to the *Alexandrian* patriarch, but which were afterwards conveyed to him by another hand.

But no re-
paration is
made to
him.

Is ship-
wrecked in
his way
home.

Ibraim was soon after shipwrecked on the coast of *Cyprus*; and having lost all his effects, and the greatest part of his papers, and obtaining a certificate of his misfortune, went and settled at *Saïde*[†]; which put an end at once to his public character and embassy, and to this promising and deeply concerted scheme of the society, as they had done to that of the *French* consul.

The Abis-
sinians
more jea-
lous and ir-
reconcilable
by those
ambassies.

CAN we therefore wonder at the vigilance of the *Abissinian* monarchs to keep all the avenues to their territories so strongly and closely guarded against all approaches of the *Europeans*, when they see what plots and contrivances they are capable of, what dangers, labours and expences they will expose themselves to, and what their views and designs tend to, in endeavouring to gain at any rate a fresh entrance into them? On the other hand, where there reigns such jealousy and

[†] LE GRAND, ub. sup. p. 166, & seq. 478, & seq.

But for *Ibraim* or his patrons to counterfeit such a letter, had nothing either so hazardous or difficult, and may the more easily be supposed to have been the case, as we do not find that either the Pope, or society *de propaganda fide*, paid any great regard to that, or to the next which he produced from the same patriarch; and we may add, to the confirmation which father *Gabriel* brought with him

from *Kayro*, as may be reasonably inferred from their avowed refusal to make due reparation to his character, and the strange manner in which he was dismissed from that court; which behaviour can hardly be any otherwise interpreted, than as a plain discountenancing of the whole affair, and putting an effectual end to that negotiation, without publicly exposing those who had set it on foot.

emulation,

emulation, not to call it by a worse name, between those missionaries of different orders, who yet profess to have the same meritorious views, the reducing of that whole country under the Pope's subjection, can it be at all surprising that the accounts we have from thence should come to us so lame and dissonant, unsatisfactory, and misrepresented by the opposite actors and writers of them? We cannot finish these remarks on the conduct and relations of those indefatigable zealots, better than with the words of one of the most sagacious among them. They seem, by the tenor of them, to be directed to the *French* consul above-mentioned, tho' his name is carefully avoided, and are to this effect. — " I never did myself the honour to speak to you about this new invention of ambassies, nor about the envoys which it hath set on foot, Signor Morat and Mr. Du Roule. You have doubtless had a more ample account of that matter at *Kayro*; it being of such a nature, that the bare recital at once discovers and destroys what money and obscurity had kept up. It was not possible to discover in *France*, things that had been concerted at such a distance from it. Had that court been rightly informed concerning those two *Ethiopic* ambassies, the *French* would not have risked their lives in those countries, nor the public money been so lavishly spent upon them. But that scene is now at an end; and the court will learn all the main particulars relating to it from you. I shall only add, that tho' there were no danger to be feared from the unbelieving *Mohammedans*, and other savage nations, and hot climates thro' which one must pass, they would be sufficiently felt in *Ethiopia* itself. The *Abissinian* Christians are under subjection to the patriarch of *Alexandria*; they are born and brought up in that belief and dependence: they have been under it from the earliest ages of the church, and of that patriarchate, in the same manner as *France*, *Spain*, &c. have been under that of *Rome*. To endeavour at this time to alter that dependence, is to endeavour to change an ancient law or custom, which is impracticable; and for one man to act alone in it, and without assistance, can never be the way to succeed in it. The same thing had been formerly attempted by the way of the *Atlantic* ocean, but to as little effect. To succeed in an attempt of this nature, one should begin at the foundation, and its chief, that is, at the church and patriarch of *Alexandria*, which are no less obliged than the rest to acknowledge the superiority and supremacy of *Rome*; and then you may hope, by

Some wise
reflexions
on those
and the
like wild
attempts to
convert
the Abissinians.

"their joint assistance, to meet with better success in *Abissinia* *,"

By this time we hope our readers are so well apprised of the character of the several writers who have obliged the world with their relations of *Abissinia*, and the various motives, views and interests which have occasioned that great variety which is found in their respective accounts of that country, and of those transactions which they have either been witnesses to or concerned in, that they will be less liable to be biassed to, or imposed upon by, either side; so that we may now more safely venture to lead them thro' the several parts of this history.

S E C T. II.

The Situation, Division, various Names, Extent, Limits, Provinces, &c. of the Abissinian Empire; with an Account of the Gallas, and their several Conquests.

The geography of Abissinia.

THIS empire is situate entirely under the torrid, and, as some imagined, uninhabitable zone; and lies between the 8th and 17th degrees of north latitude, and between the 31st and 40th of west longitude from our *London* meridian. The former is taken by drawing a strait line from the old country of *Focay*, lying a little above *Swakem*, and forming its northern boundary under the 18th degree, quite to that of *Bergamo*, its utmost southern boundary, which lies under the 17th, and will consequently be about nine degrees in length. But as at this present time the country of *Focay* is dismembered from the empire, (so that we must reckon only from one degree above *Mazowa*, that is, from the 16th to *Bergamo* above-mentioned) it will be still shorter by one degree. Hence appears the great error of old geographers, who extended its southern limits so far beyond the equinoctial line, as to place the head of the *Nile* several degrees south of it; which is, by the latest and most accurate observations, found to be almost 13 degrees on this side of it *

Situation and length.

Breadth.

THE breadth of the empire is commonly computed from the coasts of the *Red Sea*, eastward, to the banks of the *Nile*, in that part where it winds itself most westward, and surrounds the greatest part of the kingdom of *Gejam*, in the form of a peninsula, and where it extends itself somewhat

* Vid. LE GRAND, ub. sup. p. 434, & seq.

* ALMEIDA, MENDEZ, LOBO, et al. pl.

above

above nine degrees, or, according to *Almeyda*, who had travelled it over more than once, about 140 *Portuguese* leagues ^b. In other parts, however, both southwards and northwards, those limits are much contracted, as the reader may see by the map annexed; but not to such a degree as to require a farther descent.

THIS empire, however, hath formerly been vastly more extensive, having been since stripped of above one half of those kingdoms and provinces which were once subject to it; the greater part of which were either invaded by the *Gallas*, *Kingdoms* a barbarous people we shall have occasion to mention in the and *pro-* sequel, or revolted from it. Of these latter, some had made *vinces sub-* themselves independent, and had princes of their own; and *ject to it.* others had put themselves under the protection of the *Mohammedans*, long before the *Portuguese* set foot into it, and several others have done the same since, out of dislike to the extraordinary partiality which some of the *Abissinian* monarchs had expressed for the church of *Rome*, as we shall see in the sequel of their history. How many more may have followed their example since we have lost all correspondence with those parts, time may perhaps discover: however, as to those kingdoms or provinces which were still in subjection to the empire at the time when Don *Alphonso Mendez* was there, they are as follows. Among the first 1. *Tigre*, 2. *Dambea*, *Those tha* 3. *Begameder*, 4. *Gojam*, 5. *Amahara*, 6. *Dancali*, 7. *Narea*, *are dis-* and 8. part of *Xaoa*. The latter are, 1. *Mazaga*, 2. *Salent*, *membered* 3. *Ogara*, 4. *Abargale*, 5. *Holcuit*, 6. *Salgaad*, 7. *Semen*, *from it.* 8. *Sakwa*, 9. *Oleca*, and 10. *Douba*; amongst which, some of the kingdoms, as well as the provinces, are wholly subject to the *Abissinian* emperors; and others are only vassals, and pay a kind of tribute to them of horses, corn, &c. according to their extent and fertility, as will be farther seen in the sequel.

THOSE that had been dismembered from it are as follow. 1. *Angot*, 2. *Dowaro*, 3. *Ogge*, 4. *Balli*, 5. *Adea*, 6. *Ahnala*, 7. *Oxelo*, 8. *Gantz*, 9. *Bethzamora*, 10. *Guragua*, 11. *Buzana*, 12. *Suffgamo*, 13. *Bahargamo*, 14. *Cambat*, 15. *Bexa*, 16. *Cumar*, 17. *Conch*, 18. *Damot*, 19. *Doba*, 20. *Motta*, 21. *Awra*, 22. *Holeca*, 23. *Oylat*, 24. *Guedem*, 25. *Ganh*, 26. *Marvabet*, 27. *Manz*, and 28. *Bizamo* ^c. By the loss of these last, the extent and size of which the reader may see in the map, one may judge how greatly inferior this empire is to what it hath formerly been.

^b Id. ubi sup. ^c Id. ibid. vid. & DAVITZ, DAPPER, LUDOLPH, PONCET, & al.

Boundaries and extent.

It is at present bounded on the north by the kingdom of Nubia, or *Senaar*; on the east, by the *Red Sea*, and the coasts of *Abex*, or *Abasb*, which have been since dismembered from it, and make a province of the *Turkish* empire; and lower southwards, by the kingdoms of *Dongali* and *Dowaro*, and part of the country of the *Gallas*; on the south, by lower *Ethiopia*; and on the west, by the river *Maley*, which divides it from *Shankala*, or the country of wandering *Ethiopians*, and falls into the *Nile*, after it hath run a good way into the *Nubian* dominions^d. Hence it appears, that this empire, even when in its utmost extent, was for the most part inland, being contiguous to no ocean, except in that small part on the east, which adjoins to a tract along the coasts of the *Red Sea*, upon which the *Abissinian* emperors had formerly some considerable ports, whence they drove a commerce with other parts of the world; but since the *Turks* have made themselves masters of them, the whole empire is so inclosed on every side by variety of nations at enmity with, and beyond measure jealous of them, especially since they had given so kind a reception to the *Portuguese*, that all access to it from any side is become, if not absolutely impracticable, at least extremely difficult and dangerous, as was hinted a little higher^e.

Inclosed on all sides.

THIS country, whatever its extent may have formerly been (A), is with no small probability believed, by most learned

^d ALF. MENDEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, PONCET, LUDOLPH, & al. sup. citat.

^e See before, p. 20, & seq.

(A) By this we do not mean only whilst it held those above-mentioned provinces which have since revolted from it, but that much vaster extent which it is affirmed to have had when it spread itself from the *Red Sea* to the kingdom of *Congo* westward, and from *Egypt* to the *Indian* sea, southward; at which time it is said to have contained no less than thirty-four large kingdoms, and about eighteen considerable provinces (1); which prodigious extent may be justly looked upon as no less fabulous, as the pretended

lineal descent of their monarchs, through an interrupted series of the same imperial family, from *Ham*, the son of *Noah*, the founder of their monarchy, down to *Basilides*, who so kindly invited the jesuit missionaries, an. 1624, and gave them those great encouragements to establish the Pope's authority in that empire, which we have taken notice of in the foregoing section.

But not to dwell on such improbabilities, we may justly enough join opinions with many great and learned men, that their dominions, in ancient times,

(1) Vid. Lobo, p. Le Grand Relat. de l'Empire d'Abissin. p. 63, & seq.

learned men, to have been the *Sheba* of the *Old Testament*, supposed whence that great queen, whom *Josephus* calls *Nicaulis*, and the ancient styles queen of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*¹, and the Evangelists, kingdom of queen of the south², who came from those remote parts to *Sheba*. hear the wisdom of *Solomon*³. It is likewise believed to have been the kingdom of the famed queen *Candace*, stiled queen *And of the* of *Ethiopia*, whose eunuch, or, as he is there called, her high queen *Candace*, treasurer, or prime minister, came to worship at *Jerusalem*; dace. and, in his return homewards, was baptized by *Philip* the deacon⁴, and from whom the *Abissines* acknowledge they afterwards received the gospel. With what pomp and magnificence the former paid her solemn visit to the *Hebrew* monarch, both the sacred text, and *Josephus*, informs us⁵; and the grand manner in which the minister of the latter travelled to and from *Jerusalem*, gives us reason to think she was not inferior to her in power and magnificence: and we are farther assured, by some of the ancient writers⁶, that this country was commonly governed by queens, and, that a good *Governed* number of them had already reigned there in their time, by queens. under the name, or rather title, of *Candace*, supposed to have been common to them all, as that of *Pharaoh* was to all the kings of *Egypt*; the term *Candace* importing their sovereign authority (B).

AGAIN,

¹ Ant. l. viii. c. 2. ² Matth. xii. 42. Luke xi. 31. ³ 1 Kings, x. pass. See Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 106. ⁴ Acts viii. 26, & seq. ⁵ Ub. sup. vid. & 2 Chron. ix. pass. ⁶ Plin. l. vi. c. 29. Strab. l. xvi. c. 17.

times, extended still much farther than they are allowed to have done, before those large provinces and kingdoms were dismembered from them; and that it might then include those of *Nubia*, *Habex*, and *Ajam*, so as to be bounded on the north by *Egypt*, and the *Barcan* deserts; by the *Red Sea* and eastern ocean, on the east; by *Zanguebar* and *Nigritia*, or *Negro-Land*, on the south; and by *Nigritia*, and *Zabara*, on the west; or, in

other words, all the vast tract of land that lies between the 5th and 20th degrees of north latitude, all which was included under the common name of *Western*, or *African*, *Ethiopia* (2), as distinguished from the *Eastern*, or *Asiatic* (3).

(B) The first of these queens, whose name the sacred text doth not mention, the *Abissinians* call *Nicaula*, and *Macheda*; and the translation of their gospel, *Nag-hista Axeb*, or queen of the south.

(2) *Id* *ibid.* vid. *Es* *Tellen*, *Histoire General d'Ethiop.* *Ludolph*, *Es* *al.* *sup.* *cit.* (3) *De his* vid. *Hom.* *Odys.* l. ii. *Herod.* l. ii. iii. & vii. *Dionys.* *Hesiod.* & *al.* vid. & *Anc. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 251, & *seq.* *D'Herbelot* *Recherches* *sub.* *Hab.*

The ancient Meroe. AGAIN, this country is the so much celebrated island, or rather peninsula, of *Meroe* of the ancients, whose queens are said to have borne that common name, or title, we have already plainly shewn in our ancient history ^m, against those who have placed it in *Egypt*, or any-where else, that we shall not need any farther proofs for it here. Lastly, this country is supposed by many moderns, to be the so much sought for dominions, whether real or imaginary, over which *Prester John* is pretended to have been sovereign; and are still called after his name by them, as we shall see in some of the subsequent paragraphs,

Its various names.

Whence derived.

It is indifferently called *Abissinia*, *Abyssinia*, *Abbyssinia*, and *Abassia*, but more properly *Habessinia*, with a strong aspiration, from the *Arabic Habesh*, which signifies, a mixture, or confusion; the country being peopled by a mixt variety of nations ⁿ. If we may believe *Strabo*, that name was given to it on account of the vast wildernesses, and stoney deserts with which it abounds, and which the *Egyptians* call *abasses*. Some others conjecture it to be taken from *Abaxa*, the capital city of the kingdom of *Adel*, whose monarchs were once masters of this ^o; all which etymologies, another judicious author, with no small shew of reason, rejects, as uncertain and frivolous; and thinks the name of *Abissinia* to have no more certain signification, than those of many other kingdoms, better known to us by our acquaintance with the people, than by the original of their denominations ^p. However that be, it is plain the *Abissinians* themselves absolutely

^m Vol. xviii. p. 272, & seq. ⁿ Vid. LUDOLPH Hist. Ethiopia, l. i. c. i. ^o MENDEZ Ethiop. l. i. c. i. ^p MANUEL, ALMEYDA, ub. sup.

south. They shew, to this day, the town where, they pretend, she kept her court; which, by its ruins, appears to have been a very considerable place. There is likewise another village, which they call *Saba*, or *Sheba Land*, and believe it to be the place of her birth (4).

The second of these queens they call *Judith*, and believe to have been converted, by her own prime minister, to Christi-

anity, and to have been very zealous in propagating it thro' her empire. So that, according to them, this empire received the *Jewish* religion from the former, who had been converted to it by king *Solomon*; and the Christian from the latter, who was converted to it by *Juda*, her high treasurer, after he had been baptized by the apostolic deacon above-mentioned (5).

(4) Tellez, Almeyda, Ludolph, Lobo, & al. vid. Le Grand Relat. ub. sup. p. 64. (5) lid. ibid. & seq.

reject

reject both the name and its etymons; and affect to call themselves *Itjopians*, and their country *Mangbesta Itjopia*, or kingdom of *Ethiopia*, which is one of the principal names by which that was known to the antients¹; though that be rather an epithet to denote the blackness of its inhabitants². As for the distinguishing epithet of *Upper*, it may have been given to it either on account of the Nile's descending from it into the *Lower*, or on account of its being nearer than it to the Arctic pole, which, with respect to us, is always above us, according to the verse of *Virgil*,

*Illic vertex nobis semper sublimis*³.

BUT there is one name which the *Portuguese*, tho' without *Whence* any foundation, have bestowed upon this empire, or rather *called* emperor; viz. that of *Prefter John*, *Presbiter John*⁴, or, as *Prefter* some others have turned it, *Preste* or *Precious John*⁵. As *John's* this imaginary monarch, and his dominions, which seem *empire* wholly to owe their origin to some *French* missionaries of the *Holy Land*, have been sought for in vain in *India*, and other parts of *Asia*, and been since translated by the head and shoulders into *Afric*, and fixed in this very *Abissinian* empire, without the leave or knowlege either of its emperor, or of any of his subjects, we might perhaps reasonably excuse ourselves from entering further into that dispute, which, tho' of more curiosity than moment, hath exercised the heads and pens of many learned men to so little purpose; especially as the most judicious among them have given up the notion of such a priestly kingdom as chimerical. Nevertheless, as many of our *English* readers may be desirous to know by what mistake or artifice this name came to be fixed to this empire, it will not, we hope, be thought foreign to our general design of this work, if we give them in few words the best account we can meet with of it among the writers of that controversy⁶; for it plainly appears from the unanimous consent of all the *Portuguese* who have been in *Abissinia*, and more particularly *That title* from that of the Jesuits, and other religious missionaries, *not known* who were sent thither, several of whom have travelled thro' *in any part* that whole country from end to end, over and over again, *of Abissinia* that there was not the least trace or footstep to be found of any such name or title as that of *Prefter* or *Presbyter*

¹ See Ant. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 252.

² Ibid. p. 258.

³ Georg. I. ⁴ Vid. J. DE BARROS, Decad. 3. l. 4. DIEG. DE CONT. GODINGHO, l. i. & al.

⁵ Id. Chron. Reg. EMAN. c. 6. Vid. & MENDEZ, LOBO, & al.

⁶ DE BARROS, ALF. MENDEZ, ALMEYDA, TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, GOSS, GODINGHO, Hist. Ethiop. JARRIC. Thesaur. vol. ii. c. 14. & al. plur.

John; nor any of the natives that knew, or had ever heard of, any emperor so stiled or dignified, or any thing in their language that bears any analogy or allusion to it; but, on the contrary, seem to be surpris'd, to hear that the *Portuguese* had taken that unheard-of notion of their *Negus*, or emperor, and his dominions, being stiled *Prefter John*².

Prefter John's dominions in Asia. ON the other hand, it appears from *Marco Paulo*, and other travellers, that there was such a great and potent empire in *Asia*, whose sovereign was a Christian, and was stiled the *Presbyter John*, but was a *Nestorian*, and subject in spirituals to the patriarch of *Babylon*; all which hath been so fully proved by the learned authors quoted above, that nothing material hath been since offered by the other side to

Christians of St. Thomas there. disprove it. Of these heretical Christians, or, as they are commonly called, Christians of *St. Thomas*, or of the mountains, the reader may see a learned and succinct account in the relation of the patriarch *Dom. Alex. Monefes's* journey through those parts, by Father *Ant. de Gouvea*. The monarch above-mentioned reigned in the mountains of *India*; and his name, being *Jochannan*, which in the *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, &c. being the same which the *Latins* and *Greeks* render *Joannes*, and we *John*, was the common name of all the monarchs of that empire, as that of *Pharaoh* was to all the kings of *Egypt*³, and that of *Cesar* to all the *Roman* emperors, &c. The title of *Prefter*, which is only a corruption or abbreviation of that of *presbyter*, was given them, it seems, on account of their having the cross carried before them, in the

Prefter John the common name of these kings.

Other arguments to prove it. same manner as it is before the *Romish* bishops. To these authorities above-mentioned, we might add some others mentioned by the judicious *Du Cange*, in confutation of that exploded notion of *Abissinia* being the country or dominions of *Prefter John*; viz, a letter from *Pope Alexander III.* still extant in *Raoul. de Dicet.* in *Matthew Paris* and *Brompton*, written an. 1180 or 1181, to the monarch above-mentioned, inscribed, by that pontif, *Illustri et magnifico Indorum regi, et sacerdotum sanctissimo*: To the illustrious and magnificent *John*, king of *India*, and most holy priest. A second from *Geoffrey*, prior of the *Dominican* friers, mentioned likewise by *Matthew Paris*; and a third, the testimony of *William of Tripoli*, quoted by *Gerard Mercator*, *Marco Paulo* (C), *Vincent*

² Id. ibid. vid. & LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. p. 233, & seq. DU CANGE, Observ. on Joinvill. & al. ³ See Anc. Hist. vol. iii. p. 250 (E).

(C) This famous author, ed a considerable time at the whose father had been employ- court of the Cham of *Tartary*, from

cent de Beauvais, and Sanuto, all of whom concur in confirming the contrary opinion, that *Prester John's* dominions in question are no-where to be found but in *Asia**, notwithstanding all the specious glosses which some other authors have made use of to invalidate so great an evidence. But we shall remind our readers of a much stronger still, and which we have just hinted at in a former volume †; viz. a full account of that *Asiatic* prince, his dominions, and other particulars, from indubitable authority, but which did not come to our hands till after the whole history of *Asia*, where it properly belongs, was printed off, and all the volumes relating to it completed; upon which account we were obliged to postpone it to the end of this extensive work, where we shall subjoin a supplement of all the material articles which may have been omitted or overlooked in the course of this Modern Universal History.

THE next question, therefore, that naturally occurs, is, by *How it* what mistake or artifice it came to be translated into *Africa*, *came to be* and fixed so positively in this *Abissinian* empire by the authors *brought* on the other side? What gave the first occasion to it was, *into Abis-* without all peradventure, owing to the two first persons whom *finia*. *John II.* king of *Portugal*, sent into *Asia* in search of it. This prince, as well as some of his predecessors, having conceived

* DU CANGE Notes on Joinville ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. p. 234, & seq.
† Vol. iii. p. 264, & 367.

from which he returned *anno* 1272, and who had been himself brought up at that court, and had been intrusted by that prince in some considerable employments during the space of 17 years, says expressly, that *Ung-chan*, who was defeated by *Genghis-chan*, was *Prester John*. *Mercator* likewise assures us, upon the testimony of *Marco Paulo's* father and uncle, who went a second time to the *Cham* of *Tartary*, as well as *William* of *Tripoli*, who passed with them into *Armenia*, that about the year 1098 *Coirem Chan* reigned over all eastern *Asia*; and that

after his death, a certain pastor, or *Nestorian* priest, named *John*, subdued the whole country of *Najam*, and soon after the whole eastern empire under his government; and that the title of *Prester* was given him, and superadded to that of king, on account of his priesthood (6). This kingdom the above-mentioned *Geoffrey* affirms likewise to have been situate near *Armenia*. All which put together, and added to the authorities quoted above in the text, may be reasonably thought sufficient to fix this empire in *Asia*.

(6) *Vid. Loh. Abiss. ap. Le Grand Relat. ubi sup. p. 234, & seq. & al. seq. citat.*

The Portuguese
send two
men in
search of
it.

Covillam
imagines
he has
found it
here.

Sends
word of it
to Portu-
gal.

The notion
passes for
current
there,

an extraordinary desire to find out this so much celebrated empire, in order to enter into an alliance of commerce and friendship with its opulent monarch, sent two of his subjects into *Asia* by land, to get what information they could about it. The one, called *Peter Covillam*, after a long and fruitless search after it, being returned from *India* to *Kayro*, found there some memoirs conveyed thither by *Alphonso de Payva*, the other person whom that monarch had dispatched upon the same errand, but was dead in his journey without having gained any certain intelligence concerning the land he went in search of. However, whether these memoirs furnished him with some hints towards finding it in this *Abissinian*, or whether mere hazard threw them in his way during his stay at *Adem*, *Suakem*, and other parts along the western coasts of the *Red Sea*, he there heard so much talk of the *Abissinian* emperor, in whose dominions he was, and of his being a Christian, and carrying a cross in his hand; that his subjects were all schismatic Christians, who had their bishops, secular and regular priests, sumptuous churches, abbeys, monasteries, and other traces of such a Christian empire as he was in search of, none of which had fallen in his way in any of those parts of *India* thro' which he had travelled, he was easily led to conclude, that he had gone upon a wrong scent; and that this, if any, must be the happy spot so eagerly sought for by, and till now so little known to, the *Portuguese*. What might perhaps still more confirm him in this conjecture, was, that the emperors of this country were all of the priestly order, and must be ordained before they could be crowned; and, after that, still continued to execute the priestly functions. Whether he was really misled by these appearances, or weary of such a painful and fruitless search, or sought only to save his character by imposing upon the king of *Portugal*, we will not determine: but upon this slight foundation he immediately wrote to that monarch, from *Kayro*, whilst he made himself ready to take a journey into *Ethiopia*, to make some farther discoveries to give his notion a still greater currency both at that court and other parts of *Europe*, in which he succeeded even beyond his expectation. Pleasing news being usually rather hastily believed than scrutinised, his account met with such a general approbation where-ever it reached, that the *Abissinian* monarch was every-where dubbed and proclaimed the true *Prestor John*, and that of *Asia* to be a supposititious one, owing perhaps probably to the inattention of the authors on the other side, and their not considering that *Abissinia* is frequently called *India* in *Afric*, or *African India*. However that be, by this pretended

pretended discovery of *Covillam*, the real *Prester John* was soon buried in oblivion, not only in *Portugal*, but all over *Europe*, and the supposititious one cried up and proclaimed in his room.

WHAT seems to have farther contributed to confirm this latter in these his supposed dominions, is, that *Marco Paulo* makes his *Prester John* to have had his usual residence at *Arkiko*, a sea-port upon the coast of the *Red Sea*, and is the first town in *Abissinia* on that side, but since taken by the *Turks*. This is absolutely inconsistent with the notion of his reigning in the *Asiatic India*, much less in the kingdom of *Chatay*, because these two are at as great a distance from each other as *Portugal* is from *Peru*. To this we may add, that *and is still* both the kingdom of *Chatay*, which is supposed the same *believed a* Christian empire mentioned by *S. Antonin*, bishop of *Florence*, *among them* hath been since sought for with so much toil and labour by such numbers of travellers, especially the missionaries, thro' every part of *Asia*, and to so little purpose, so many monstrous lies written and published about it, that the very notion of any such monarchy hath been long since given up as chimerical by the far greater part of them; or, at most, that there remains nothing at present in all those eastern parts but the bare names of the fields on which this celebrated *Cathay* stood, and its emperor *Prester John* once reigned^a; though there are still many, especially among the *Portuguese*, who firmly believe that this famous kingdom will one time or other be discovered and come to light again[†].

THUS far goes the account which those learned authors above quoted give us of the first introduction of this new title into *Abissinia*, which is the point we were most concerned about in this chapter, and about which they all unanimously declare their opinion, that both *Covillam* and *Payva*, who seem the first broachers of that notion, were certainly mistaken. However, as there are still very many, especially *Some rea-* among the missionary fathers, who still persist in the opinion *sons al-* that there is no *Prester John* to be found out of the *Abissi-* *leged for* *nian* dominions, so some of them have mustered up several *it* fresh testimonies, which, if authentic, do at least prove that *Abissinia* those emperors were acknowledged by the title of *Prester John* *allowed to* some score years before those two gentlemen wrote any thing *be* *Prester* about it to the king of *Portugal*. Of this nature is a letter *John's long* from the grand master of *Rhodes* to the *French* king *Charles VII.* *before Co-* in which he informs that monarch of the dreadful overthrow *villam*.

^a *Jesuits Travels*, by BALTH. TELLEZ, ch. i. † See the letter in LE GRAND's dissertation on *Prester John*, p. 245, & seq. which

which this emperor, whom he stiles *Presbyter Johannes, Indorum imperator*, had given to the *Turks*, &c. which letter bears date *July 3d, A. D. 1448.* whereas those two gentlemen were not sent in search of that empire till *an. 1477.* But, besides that the contents of that letter are contradicted by the history of those times^b, if the title of *Presbyter John* was so long before known to belong to this *Abissinian* emperor, what need was there for sending *Covillam* and *Payva* to seek for him so far into *India*? and why to search for his dominions as for an empire altogether unknown to them, as

The improbability of it.

well as to those that sent them? The same objection will hold more strongly against what is urged from the letter of *Pope Alexander* to that prince, which we have mentioned a little higher, and of some others urged on the same subject; for they being still of much older date than that, makes it still more incredible that his title should have been known so long before at *Rome*, and yet be so far a secret to the king of *Portugal*, as to send so far off to find it out; and, still more, that his two messengers should travel so far forward and backward before they could succeed in their search. But we have dwelt

F. Lobo's conjecture about the origin of that title.

long enough upon this trite subject; and shall now close it with a singular conjecture of *Father Lobo*, concerning the origin of this priestly title, as it is related by *Thevenot*, to whom he communicated it, which is to this effect; That the *Abissinians* were very fond of making pilgrimages to the *Holy Land*, and more particularly about the time in which the *French* were engaged in their wars with the *Saracens* in *Asia*; so that by their frequent conversing with the *French* missionaries about their respective countries, government, &c. they might probably enhance the grandeur of their monarch by joining the priesthood to the other pompous dignities which that prince was possessed of; and these missionaries might become the first propagators of it in *Europe*: which conjecture, whether well founded or not, doth at least plainly intimate, that that good father, than whom none was better acquainted with that empire, could find out no other original for this new title of *Presbyter John*, than that of his brethren of the *Holy Land*, and therefore makes no difficulty to stile them the sole authors of it^c.

The kingdom of Tigre described.

WE come now to give our readers a description of the several kingdoms which still compose this great monarchy; and shall begin with that of *Tigre*, or *Tigra*, as the largest and the most

^b See the letter in the *Specilegium Patr.* p. 556. & in *LE GRAND*, Dissert. 4. du Pretre Jean, p. 245, & seq. ^c *LE GRAND*, ubi sup. p. 133, & 146.

considerable

considerable in all respects, and as it is the nearest to the *Red Sea*, and the *Turkish* dominions and conquests. It hath *Nu- Kingdom* *bis* or *Sinaar* on the north; the sea above-mentioned on the *of Tigre*, east; the kingdoms of *Angot* and *Dancali* on the south; *its site and* and those of *Dambee* and *Bagamender* on the west. Its *extent* length, from north to south, which is taken from *Mazowa* (D), or *Arkiko*, now belonging to the *Turks*, to the desert of *Aldoba* and mount *Sement*, is computed about 300 *Italian* miles; and its breadth, from the same desert to the province of *Bul*, about half, or, according to others, almost the same^d. What rendered this kingdom still more considerable before *Metropolis* the loss of its two ports mentioned in the last note, was its *of Axuma*, metropolis of *Axum*, or *Axuma*, which was likewise that of the whole empire, and the place where its monarchs repaired to be crowned. We have formerly given an account of its situation, stately ruins, commerce, and other particulars^e, from which one may judge of its former opulence, though it is now reduced to a poor village, scarcely affording shelter to *its ruins* an hundred inhabitants; yet, ruined as it is, the *Abissinian* monarchs are still obliged to receive their crown there.

ABOUT half a degree south-west of *Axuma*, or, as the *Fremona*, *Portuguese* corruptly write it, *Cathumo*, or *Cachumo*, stands *the residence of the* the town of *Madgoga*, so called formerly from the murmuring *Jesuits* noise of a neighbouring rivulet. It hath since received the name of *Fremona* from the Jesuit missionaries, who had their residence in it, on account of one Father *Frumentius*, the

^d TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, & al. ^e Ant. Hist.
vol. xviii. p. 261, 319, (H). Vid. & auct. sup. citat.

(D) *Mazowa*, *Matxua*, or *kiko* this kingdom extends itself *Maqua*, is a small island on the about 11 or 12 leagues along the coast, as far as *Dafalo*, another sea-port, but less frequented on account of its shallowness. But even this the *Turks* have made themselves masters of, and thereby deprive the *Abissinian* empire of the only two harbours it had; which is justly reckoned an invaluable loss to it, as hath been lately hinted (5).
Red Sea, over-against *Arkiko*; which last is the first sea-port belonging to the continent of *Abissinia*. It was formerly a very considerable place, and lies under the 15th degree of N. latitude; but the *Turks* have since deprived the emperors of this valuable and convenient harbour, the best on the whole coast. From *Mazowa*, or *Ar-*

(5) *De his*, vid. Tellen, Ludolph, Almeyda, Lobo, Pocock, & al. plur. See also before, p. 24.

first of their order that came into these parts. This place became still more celebrated by the long residence and death of Father *Andrea de Oviedo*, sent thither patriarch of *Ethiopia* by the pope; since whose death it still continued the residence and seminary of all the missionaries of that order who came into *Abissinia*, the greatest part of whom lost their lives for the cause they came to preach there, the supremacy of the church and pope of *Rome*, until their final expulsion out of that whole empire, of which we shall give an account in its proper place. Other cities or towns are very few and mean, both in this kingdom, and every-where through the whole empire. This of *Fremona* hath been found to stand in 14 degrees and half of N. latitude, and the whole kingdom lies between the 13th and 16th of the same, being reckoned of about the same extent with that of *Portugal*. It hath, according to the patriarch *Mendez*, 44 governments under it; but, according to Mr. *Ludolph*^f, only 27, besides seven maritime ones, which are dismembered from it, and have governors of their own, whom they stile *Bahrnagasb*, that is, overseers or superintendants of the sea; which prefectures, however, are not to be looked upon as so many distinct governments, seeing one *Barnagasb* may, and hath sometimes two or three of them under his command; so that, according to the last author, this kingdom, or viceroyalty rather, can have, at the most, no more than 34 districts or governments under it. How these different governments are regulated, will be seen in a subsequent section, to avoid repetitions; and we shall only add, that the extent of this kingdom, and variety of its governments, hath in all probability been the main cause why some geographers have split it into no less than four distinct ones in their maps, one of which they call *Tigray*, which they place near the line; a second in ten degrees north, which they call *Tygre*; between these two a third, called by them *Tigra Mahoa*; and a fourth still farther, on which is that of the *Bahrnagasb* above-mentioned &c.

Division
of that
kingdom.

Falsely
split into
four king-
doms.

Angot
kingdom
ruined.

CONTIGUOUS to *Tigre*, on the south, is the kingdom of *Angot*, formerly rich and fertile, but now almost ruined by the *Gallas*, who have dispossessed the *Abissinian* emperors of the greatest part of it; and the small remains they have left them have hardly any thing worth mentioning, except the poverty of its inhabitants.

^f Lib. i. c. 3. ^g Travels of the Jesuits, from TEL-
LEZ, c. 2. p. 9. LUDOLPH, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

THAT

THAT of *Bagameder* (E), or *Bagamedri*, lies west of that *Bagameder* of *Tigre*, and runs almost contiguous to it, extending itself from it quite to the *Nile*. Its length is computed to be about 60 leagues, and its breadth 20, but was formerly much more extensive, several of its provinces having been dismembered from it, and joined to that of *Tigre*. A great part of it is very mountainous and rocky, especially towards the east, which is mostly inhabited by those wild nations mentioned in the last note. Some towns, tho' much decayed, there are still left in this kingdom; particularly the metropolis of its name, where the viceroy is obliged to go and receive a fresh crown, besides that with which he is crowned at the emperor's court. This town, which is in all other respects inconsiderable, is seated on the small river *Bachlo*, or *Baxillo*, which divides this kingdom from that of *Amhara*, on the south side of it: the others are still less worth notice. It is divided into 13 governments, most of them fertile, and well watered by small rivers, besides the *Bachlo* above-mentioned, particularly the third in rank, named *Dabr*; which *Ludolph's Gregory* compares to *Germany* on those two accounts ^{der kingdom, its extent.}.

THE kingdom of *Amara*, or *Amhara*, is contiguous to *Bagameder* on the south, and is divided by the *Nile* from that of *Gojam* on the west side. It is computed to extend itself about 40 leagues from east to west, and is considered as the most noble and honourable in the whole empire, upon several accounts: First, As it is the usual residence of the *Abissinian* monarchs, and consequently of the chiefest of the nobility. 2. On the account of its peculiar dialect, different from all the rest, and, by a new line of emperors brought up in it, is since become that of the whole court, and of the politer part of the empire. Here stand likewise the two famed rocks of *Guechon*, or *Guexen*, and *Ambacel*, where the princes of the blood were formerly confined and educated. Lastly, This kingdom is looked upon as the centre of the ^{Kingdom of Amhara, why the noblest of all. Its peculiar dialect.}

^a Lib. i. c. 3. Vid. & TELLEZ, LOBO, & al. sup. citat.

(E) So called, we are told, that are bred in it; *Meder* signifying land or earth, and *Beg* a sheep (6). We may add, that the mountainous parts, which are mostly inhabited by the wild or wandering *Agaus*, *Gallaï*, and *Caffres*, are the chief breeders of them; those mountains affording great plenty of aromatic herbs to brouze upon, which gives their flesh an excellent taste and flavour (7).

(6) Vid. Lobo ap. Le Grand Differt. 3. de Nilo. p. 109. Vid. & Ludolph, Lib. i. c. 3. Poncez, et al. sup. citat.

(7) Id. ibid.

empire; and, though small in comparison of some others, hath nevertheless no fewer than thirty-six districts or governments, but concerning which we can find little else but their names, which the curious may see in *Ludolph's* history¹.

Kingdom of Gojam. FARTHER west still, and on the other side of the *Nile*, is the celebrated one of *Gojam*, which is almost surrounded on every side by that river, excepting only on the north-east side, where it is inclosed by the *Dembean* lake; on which account, as hath been hinted a little higher, it is now judged by most learned to be the island, or rather peninsula, of *Meroe*^k. Its length, from north-west to south-east, is somewhat above 50 leagues; and its breadth, from east to west, where it is broadest, about 30. Both these sides are bounded by the *Nile*, which, taking its spring at near the middle distance between them, and almost in the centre of the kingdom, as we have elsewhere shewn^l, surrounds, and as it were intrenches it every way by the oval compass it takes about it, in return for its giving birth to it.

Agarens, and other nations, in it. THE country is fertile, but much higher and mountainous towards the middle, and those heights are mostly inhabited by a people said to be the descendants of *Agar*, *Abraham's* maid. The north-west part of the kingdom is likewise mountainous, and inhabited by the *Agaus* or *Agaux*, but different from those of the same name who live in the mountains of *Luska*, and waged a long and bloody war against Soltan *Segued*, from whom they had revolted. These, we are speaking of, dwell mostly about the spring-heads of the *Nile*, and spread themselves a great way. They profess Christianity, but are much addicted to idolatry and superstition: in other respects they are not unlike the *Abissinians*^m. We shall have occasion to speak of some of these stupendous mountains, among the natural rareties of the empire. We are told that some of the highest, towards the north part of this kingdom, are inhabited by *Jews*; but we are more apt to believe them to be some of the antient race of *Abissinians*, who still retain the old *Jewish* rites; for though it be scarcely doubted, that there are great numbers of *Jews* dispersed through the whole empireⁿ, as they are every-where else, yet they are seldom known to prefer such desert habitations before the more inhabited plains and places of commerce: neither is it likely they would chuse to stay to bleach them-

Jews on the north mountains.

¹ Lib. i. c. 3. §. 8, & seq.

^k See before, p. 26.

^l See Antient Hist. vol. i. p. 407, & seq. xviii. p. 265, & seq.

^m TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. 2. p. 202.

ⁿ See BENJ. DE TUDELA Itinerar.

selves on those inhospitable rocks, unless we suppose some rich mines to lie hid amongst them, which keep them more profitably employed.

THIS kingdom contains twenty districts or governments; a greater number of heathens than any other in the empire. Northward of *Gojam* lies that of *Dembeo*, which is parted from it by the lake of its own name and the *Nile*, and is one of the flattest countries in all *Abissinia*; on which account it is frequently overflowed by both, as well as by other rivers which flow from the mountains into them. It is not above 24 leagues in length, from east to west; and about 12 or 13 in breadth, exclusive of its lake. But if we add this to it, which is large enough to be stiled by the inhabitants the sea of *Dembea*, and spreads itself along the southern and south-east side of it, it will have above double that extent from north to south. It hath some mountains of an extraordinary height, the chief of which we shall describe in their proper place. Some geographers likewise mention several considerable cities, and a good number of towns; and yet Mr. *Ludolph*, or his *Abissinian* abbot, mentions none of the former, and but that of *Guba*, or *Gubai*, among the latter, which he says is the queen's residence, as well as that of the emperor whenever he leaves the camp (F).

HOWEVER that be, this kingdom is still considerable, on account of its having been the chief one in which the *Abissinian* monarchs made their usual residence, or kept their principal camp and court, in the time of the patriarch *Mendez*, to whom the emperor *Segued* gave the whole territory of

9 Vid. TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat. LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19. CODIG. l. i. c. 4. 10 Ibid. ubi. sup. Vid. CORNELL, LA MARTINIERE, & al. 11 Lib. ii. c. 11. Vid. & CODIG. lib. i. c. 4.

(F) Those geographers have done the same by almost every kingdom we have already spoken of, as well as by some others that are to follow; and yet Mr. *Ludolph's* *Gregory* assures us, that there are not above five or six towns in the whole empire, worth taking notice of, including the metropolis *Axuma*, now almost ruined (8), and some

others built by the *Portuguese* missionaries; and we shall have occasion to observe in its proper place, that this is by far the most probable, both from the genius and custom of the *Abissinians*, and from the testimony of those missionaries who appear to be best acquainted with this empire.

(8) See before, p. 33. *Ludolph. Ethiop. l. ii. c. 11.*

Anfras, in order to induce the Jesuits and him to settle in it; who accordingly built some stately churches and monasteries, which, together with the royal palace, greatly added to the magnificence of that kingdom. The viceroy of it hath 14 prefectures under him, and takes the title of viceroy of *Dembea Cantiba*; but on what account our authors do not tell us¹. The natural and artificial rareties belonging to it will be mentioned in the sequel, under their proper head.

The kingdom of Narea described; THE last kingdom worth taking notice of is that of *Narea*, or *Enarea*, which is the farthest and last of them all, being situate under the 9th, and part of the 8th, degree of N. latitude, and under the 30th and 31st of W. longitude. It was formerly governed by its own monarchs, who, as well as their subjects, were heathens; but, being since conquered by the emperor *Saghed*, or *Segued*, somewhat above a century ago, as will be seen in the sequel, were obliged to embrace Christianity, with all the errors of the *Abissinian* church; for, till then, no Jesuit or missionary had penetrated into their territories. But there is still a considerable part of it unsubdued, and perhaps unconverted; for that which is so, extends hardly above 30 or 40 leagues on either way.

Rich and fertile: rich trade with the Caffres. However, the whole kingdom is reckoned rich and fertile, producing great plenty and vast quantities of cattle, and driving a very considerable commerce with the *Caffres*, who bring thither abundance of gold, which they exchange for clothes, salt, and other commodities.

THE *Nareans* are, even by the *Abissinians* themselves, allowed to be the best and handsomest people in all *Ethiopia*². They are tall, stout, and well-shaped; and, in their dealings, honest, wise, faithful, and undisguised. They are also brave and warlike, and have always gallantly defended their country against the incursions of the wild and barbarous *Gallas*, though these have proved strong and numerous enough to subdue above half the *Abissinian* empire. The tribute they pay to the *Abissinian* emperor seems rather to proceed from their loyalty, than any force or obligation; as, on the one hand, they receive no assistance from him against those common invaders; neither, on the other, doth he keep any standing forces, garrisons, or fortresses, to maintain them in awe: and, should he moreover have occasion to do so at any time, he would find it a very difficult task, being seldom known to have any to spare, on account of the frequent revolts which

¹ LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 17, 18.
ap. Ludolph, l. i. c. 3. §. 12. Vid. & TELLEZ, LOBO, & al.
sup. citat.

² See Abbot GREGORY

happen in the heart of the empire; and, if he had, they must be obliged to pass through some of the territories of those barbarians. This kingdom is said by some authors to have mines of gold; but that probably is owing to the great quantity of that metal which the neighbouring *Caffres* bring into it; which they would hardly do, if the *Nareans* had any such rich mines of it; unless we will suppose, as is most likely the case, that they, as well as those of other kingdoms of this empire, designedly conceal, and forbear seeking for them, lest the fame of them should move the *Turks*, or the plundering *Gallas*, to invade them, as they have frequently endeavoured to do, and deprive them at once of their liberty, and of the most valuable product of their country. Thus much shall suffice for the most considerable kingdoms that are still subject to the *Abissinian* emperors¹.

THE provinces that continue to obey them are still in a worse case than those kingdoms, being not only heavily taxed by those princes, and cruelly oppressed by their governors, but likewise very much ruined by the *Gallas*; as are several of those other kingdoms who have revolted from their obedience, or been subdued by some neighbouring states, such as the *Turk*, the king of *Adel*, and others at war with the *Abissinian* monarchs; in all which there is little else to be seen but poverty and misery among the subjects, and griping avarice among those that govern them, as may be seen in almost every page of the Jesuits travels through those countries². But as we have had so frequent occasion to mention those *Gallas*, *Galli*, or *Balli*, as they are stiled, who have made such dreadful havock here, it will not be improper, before we go farther, to give our readers some account of those plundering barbarians, especially as they have got possession of so considerable a share of this empire, and have now in some sense acquired a large part, if not by far the largest part of it. For the better understanding of which, we must here take notice, that they are divided into eastern, southern, and western, according to their situation with respect to *Abissinia*. The eastern are seated along the frontiers of the kingdom of *Their Tigre* and *Dancali*, and have seized the greatest part of this last, together with those of *Anget*, *Dowaro*, *Olfale*, *Xoa*, &c. The southern extend themselves along the river *Hoax*, or, as Mr. *Ludolph* calls it, *Howas*, from the frontiers of the kingdom of *Adel* westward, and have made themselves masters of the greatest part of the kingdoms of *Gomar*, *Bergumo*, *Gu-*

¹ TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LUDOLPH, & al. sup. citat.
int. al. ALPHONSO, MENDEZ, LOBO, & al.

² Vid.

ragas, Cambate, Ganza, Ceuta, Damota or Dumut, &c. The western spread themselves all along the river *Maleg*, where they possess those of *Bizamo*, part of *Xoa* or *Shewa*, *Gaffat*, *Gonga*, and some part of that of *Gojam* on the west; but how far up northwards, towards *Niceia*, we are not told. Thus far had these wild people not only dismembered this great empire of a considerable number of its provinces, but likewise hedged it closely in on three sides in the time of the *Portuguese* first coming thither; and how far they have encroached into it after their expulsion, from which time those emperors became still weaker, and less able to suppress their inroads, for want of a sufficient number of forces, artillery, and garrisons to guard their frontiers, we can only guess from the distracted state of the empire at that time, both from the foreign wars and domestic broils that then raged on account of religion, and the partial preference which had been shewn to the *Romish*, against the national church, by the then reigning emperor *Basilides*; for it is not to be supposed that that fierce invading nation would let slip any such opportunity of penetrating still farther into his dominions when they saw him so powerfully beset from within and without (G).

The emperor's want of force to suppress them.

Their original.

THEIR origin is variously conjectured; the generality of the learned think them descended from the *Jews*; but whether from those whom *Shalmanezzer* king of *Affyria*, or *Nabuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, transplanted from *Palestine*, or from those whom *Titus Vespasian*, *Adrian*, or *Severus*, ex-

W Vid. LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 16. TELLEZ, LOBO, DAVIT, DAPPER, & al. sup. citat.

(G) This strange invasion and devastation, we are told by the missionaries, had been in some measure foretold by their too zealous and strenuous patriarch *John Bermudes*, the same who came into *Abissinia* with the famed *Christopher De Gama*, and who, being banished on that account by the emperor *Claudius*, or, as he is otherwise called, *Amal Segued*, solemnly told that prince, upon his departure, that the empire would be shortly ravaged by swarms of black

pismires, as a punishment for his obstinacy and treachery. Soon after which he saw all his dominions invaded by *Turks*, *Moors*, and *Gallas*, some attacking him on the south, others on the north, and especially on the east, where they stripped him of all his sea-ports on the coasts of the *Red Sea*; whilst the *Gallas*, who had attacked him on the south, gave him a fatal overthrow, in which he lost his life, as will be more fully shewn in the sequel (9).

(9) See Lobo op. Le Grand. Relat. ubi supra, pag. 66, & seq. & alib.

pelled

pelled from thence, and settled in some of these parts of *Ethiopia*, they are not agreed. It is plain, however, that, bating the single ceremony which they retain amongst them, in common with the *Jews*, *Arabs*, *Abissinians*, &c. there is so little affinity in their religion, customs, manners, language, or even in their name (H), that we cannot but wonder how that notion came into their minds upon the evidence of one single rite so common among most of the nations in these parts. Were we to be allowed to offer our conjecture about it from their name, and more than a bare conjecture can be offered in this case, we should be more willing to allow both them and it to be of *Celtic* or *Galic* extraction; that name signifying in that language, as we have formerly shewn*, stout or warlike, an epithet which the antient *Celtes* and *Galli*, or *Gauls*, took much pride in, and have made themselves famous by, not only in *Europe*, but in *Africa*, where they erected a powerful kingdom, and held it some centuries, with a bravery answerable to it, till, being at length driven from it by the *Romans*, they might go in search of new habitations farther towards these mountainous parts, as was customary for them to do, rather than submit to a foreign

Supposed to be of Gallic extraction.

* See Ant. Hist. vol. vi. p. 6, & seq. & notes. See also their hist. in vol. xiv.

(H) There is one etymon of their name insisted on in favour of this far-fetched original, which would be scarcely worth mentioning, but for its palpable absurdity; viz. that the word *Galla*, or *Calla*, signifying milk in the *Hebrew*, they were so denominated from the whiteness of their complexion†; as who should say, milk-whites; but, besides that the milky whiteness is no-where known to be the common complexion of the *Jews* almost in any country, much less in this hot one, it is plain to the merest novice in their tongue, that *חלב* *cheleb*, and *חלבה*, and not *Galla* or *Calla*, signifies milk.

It must not be supposed, how-

ever, from this forced etymon, that they are really of a white complexion; for they are not only of as deep a tawny or black as any *African*, but look upon a white man with a kind of wonder and dislike*; nevertheless they may be easily supposed to have been white at their first coming into *Africa*, though they in time degenerated into downright tawny-moors; for such certainly were the *Vandals*, and other northern nations that came hither from *Europe*, and who might probably be deemed to be denominated *Gallai* from their complexion, tho' that was the general name of their whole nation†.

† *Jesuits Travels*, lib. i. c. 12. Ant. Hist. vol. vi. p. 6. (B). xviii. p. 523, & seq. xix. 341, & alib. pass.

* *Lobo ap. Le Grand*, p. 22.

† See

yoke,

yoke, as the reader may see by what hath been said of them in the ancient history ².

How they
came to
adopt the
rite of cir-
cumcision.

THE only difficulty will be, how to account for their adopting, afterwards, the rite of circumcision, to which they seem to have been utter strangers in all their other migrations and settlements; for in all other respects, we shall shew them to bear a greater resemblance to one another, than to any other nation we know of. But here may we not reasonably suppose, that upon their coming to settle in these parts, after their expulsion from their *African* conquests, at which time, the *Abissinian* empire was both more extensive and flourishing, they might be prevailed upon to admit of this ceremony among them, which they saw was practised, not only in all dominions, but by all the neighbouring nations, far and near, either to ingratiate themselves the more effectually with them, or, which perhaps is more likely, in order to get leave to settle amongst them; especially as we have formerly shewn, that this custom hath been received and constantly practised by several nations, who yet used it not in a religious or political, but in a physical sense; that is, to preserve health and cleanliness in those parts, to help procreation and fecundity³; and, accordingly we are told, at their first coming into these parts, they were neither *Christians*, *Mohammedans*, nor Heathens, having neither temples nor idols, nor hardly any knowledge of God. But that since they have been intermixed with the subjects of the empire, who are Christians, and those of the kingdoms of *Adel* and *Adea*, who are *Mohammedans*, they have adopted circumcision, rather as a custom of the country (I), than as a religious rite⁴.

Their ori-
gin, ac-

THIS seems still farther confirmed, by the account which the missionary fathers give us of their origin, upon the testimony of the *Abissinians*, and Mr. *Ludolph*, upon that of his abbot; the former believing, that they were some of the old inhabitants of the eastern coasts of *Africa*, that is, those of the

² Anc. Hist. vol. vi. p. 24. xvi. p. 620. xviii. p. 531, & alib. pass.

³ See Ancient Hist. vol. iii. p. 260, (R), vol. viii. p. 295, (D).

⁴ TELLEZ Travels of the Jesuits, l. i. c. 12.

(I) And we may farther add what father *Lobo* tells us⁵, who conversed some time amongst them, that it is not the children who are circumcised, but the men, and that not till they are past bearing of arms; which may be sooner among them than with us, because their young men are commonly their soldiery, who are allowed to live as it were at random; but after they have quitted that life, they are circumcised, live with their wives, and take care of their children, which till then were left loose to the wide world.

⁵ Relat. de l'*Abissinie*, p. 227.

Red Sea, from which they gradually spread themselves still nearer to the *Abissinian* frontiers; the latter affirming them to have been a band of discontented slaves, who, like all other banditti and free-booters, having gathered themselves into hords, or tribes, seized on all the territories they could get footing in, round about the *Abissinian* confines; and, taking the advantage of an unsuccessful war, which the emperor was then engaged in against the king of *Adel*, first invaded his frontiers, and, by degrees, made themselves masters of the great number of out-provinces which we have lately mentioned; which account, when divested of that usual hatred and resentment, which the *Abissinians* must naturally be supposed to have conceived against them, in consequence of that invasion, and the horrid ravages and cruelties that accompanied it every where, may probably amount to no more than this, that they came thither a tribe of exiles, that had been driven out of their old habitations, and, having been permitted to settle on the out-skirts of the empire, under the protection of its monarchs, took every opportunity that offered to them, not only to shake off their allegiance, but to seize on as many of his dominions as they found incapable to defend themselves against them, and to form themselves into independent states in those new conquests (K).

according to
the Abis-
sinians.

Why most
probably
disguised.

(K) It is not easy to guess at the time of their first settling in these *Ethiopic* dominions; but that of their first shewing themselves in the hostile manner above-mentioned, is supposed to have been about the year 1537, under the reign of the emperor *David*, otherwise stiled *Onag Segued*, of whom we shall speak more fully in the sequel; about which time, the moor *Granbe*, king of *Adel*, had waged a successful war against him, and subdued several provinces on that side; for that gave the *Gallas*, or *Balli*, such an encouragement to attack him on theirs, if they were not privately in league with, and instigated to it by, that king, that they entered his dominions with a numerous host, put all to fire

and sword, and made themselves masters of a large territory on that side also (10).

Father *Lobo* reckons no less than six nations of them, that he must have passed through in his way to *Abissinia* by land, whom he found so fierce and uncivilized, that it quite discouraged him from pursuing his journey, through such vast desert and arduous tracts of ground as they occupied on that side, and made him try a new and more expeditious way, if any could be found, to reach to the *Abissinian* court (11). By this one may guess how far the rest of them may have spread themselves on the two other sides of the empire, where they met still with less opposition than on this.

(10) *Teller, Lobo, Almeyda, Ludolph, Davity, Dapper, & al. sup. citat.*
(11) *Lobo ad Voyag. ap. Le Grand, p. 25.*

Their manners and customs much like those of the ancient Gauls.

Now it would be difficult to shew, that this was ever the practice of the exiled *Jews* any-where; but that it was that of those northern *Galli*, or *Gauls*, that over-ran so many kingdoms and provinces, in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Afric*, is beyond all dispute; and that it was a constant maxim amongst them, which they publicly owned and gloried in, that the longest sword, or strongest arm, gave the justest title, we have formerly shewn ^b; neither did they ever lose sight of it in their practice, except when their power was unequal to it, we have almost as many instances as there are paragraphs in their history.

BUT these are not the only instances in which these *Gallas* resemble the ancient ones; one may find almost the same conformity run through their religion, government, martial discipline, manners, and customs, of which the reader may be an easy judge, by comparing the account we are going to give of the one, with what we have already said in the ancient history of the other ^c, only with this difference, which we hint here as a necessary caveat; *viz.* that as these of *Abissinia*, since their first arrival into this part of *Africa*,

But much degenerated by conversing with the Agaus, &c.

have hardly had any conversation, except with nations much more barbarous than themselves; such as the *Cassras*, *Agaus*, *Gafates*, &c. it must not be wondered, if they are found, in some instances, degenerated from the nobleness, politeness, and martial valour, of those ancient ones; tho', even in this respect, we may safely take a second caution with us, *viz.* that our account of them, coming to us through the hands of the *Abissinians*, whose settlements they so forcibly and unjustly invaded, it is scarcely to be supposed that they should have done them strict justice in it, but rather, that they have either concealed or disfigured their virtues and good qualities, if any they observed in them, and exposed their vicious ones in the most disadvantageous light.

Their religion.

WITH regard to religion, they are allowed to acknowledge a supreme governor of all sublunary things, whom they call *Poul*; but whether they mean by it the heavens, or the sun, or the Creator of them both, we are not told; but it is only said in general, that they pay no outward worship; and that in this, as well as other parts of religion, they appear to be very ill instructed and ignorant ^d. They are also given to very strange superstitions, and have some barbarous customs amongst them; in some of which, if they are not belied, they

Cruel customs.

^b See Anc. Hist. vol. vi. p. 28. & seq. xviii. p. 603 (H), & alib. pass.

^c Vid. int. al. vol. vi. x. & xviii. pass.

^d Lobo.

& al. ap. LE GRAND, ub. sup. p. 66.

seem to out-do even the wild beasts, particularly in their unnatural neglect of their own children, and instead of breeding them up, and providing for them, as even the most barbarous nations are wont to do, during their tender years, *Cruelty to their children.* leave them to wander at random, like little savages; by which means they contract, with their robust hardiness, a natural ferocity, which being afterwards improved, by their being so early initiated into the martial trade, they become not only stout and intrepid, but to a great degree brutal and cruel. They are taught the use of the sword, and that it is an honour and happiness to live by it, as giving the best title to every thing they possess, and being the most effectual means of preserving it: they are brought up to a desire of glory and conquest, and to despise slavery and death. Their youth are not allowed to cut their hair, the doing of which dubs *Their way of gaining esteem.* them men, till they have killed an enemy, or some wild beast, such as a lion, tyger, leopard, &c. after which they are permitted to poll their heads, leaving only a lock on the top, as the *Japonesse*, and other *Indian* nations do; and this inspires them with an uncommon ambition to signalize themselves *Bloody trophies.* by their bravery, as the most effectual means of raising themselves into esteem, and obtain the more honourable seats at their councils, festivals, &c. for the greater number of these actions a man hath performed, the higher he is raised. For this reason, they take care to save all the heads of those enemies they have killed, as trophies of the greatest value; and whenever any contest, or doubt, arises about them, as when there is no beard upon them, and may be supposed to have belonged to a female, they have a law, which obliges the person to produce a more decisive part along with it, else they are not admitted. To prevent, therefore, all disputes, they are obliged to lay those trophies, that are gained in battle, before their proper officers, at the head of their tribes, as soon as the engagement is over: there they are publicly viewed and examined, and, if approved, are entered into the common register; after which, the owner hath liberty to carry them to his own tent, together with his share of the spoil, or plunder, which is adjudged to him according to the share he hath had in the victory: by this method, all collusion and deceit is prevented, or else discovered and punished, it being every man's concern to discourage and detect all such false pretences to merit, as well as that of their commanding officers, to inflict an adequate punishment on the delinquents.

THEY are no less severe in detecting and punishing their *Way of* cowards and runaways. It is even a capital crime among them *fighting,* to

and making in-roads.

to give way after the onset is begun; so that they all fight either to conquer or die, neither giving, nor asking, quarter, and fall on with such vehement fury on the foe, that that there is no possibility of making head against them^c; and this is the reason they have gained so many signal victories over the *Abissinians*, though much superior in number and strength, and provided with better horses and arms than they. Whenever, therefore, the *Gallas* make any of their excursions into the territory of an enemy, instead of trusting to numbers, as the *Abissinians* and other *Africans* do, they commonly chuse a select number of determined youths, to the amount of 8,000, or 10,000 at the most, who, being all sworn to stand by one another to the last, fall on, and fight with such desperate intrepidity, as seldom fails of putting an enemy of twice or three times the number into a speedy disorder: and of this the great emperor Sultan *Segued*, who had often experienced their valour, to his own cost, was so sensible, that he was wont to say, "That the *Ethiopians* never could stand the first shock of the *Gallas*; for which reason, he always suffered them to penetrate a good way into the country, that they might have time to plunder and cool; and at their return, when they had loaded themselves with booty, and were thinking only how to convey it home, and enjoy the prize, and their first fury much abated, he then lay in wait for them in the way, and called them to account for what they had got; by which means, he not only recovered the booty, but sacrificed their lives to his resentment^f."

Mean cavalry.

Way of riding.

Weapons.

THE *Gallas*, heretofore, had no cavalry among them, but have learned, since their coming into *Ethiopi*, to fight on horseback as well as on foot. Their horses, indeed, are mean, in comparison of those of the *Abissinians*; but yet they keep their ranks so close, and engage in such good order, that an enemy seldom can stand the shock. The saddles they use are very light, plain, and easily made, and their stirrups thin and small, because they put not their feet, but only the great toe, in it; all which they have learned of the *Abissinians*, who all ride, the emperor not excepted, barefoot. Their weapons are the bow and arrow, and the dart, when they fight at a distance; at all which they are very expert, and the sword among those of high rank, and the club and pole, with one end hardened in the fire, when they come to close engage-

^c LUDOLPH. & al. ub. sup. letters, c. xii. lib. i.

^f Id. ibid. vid. Jesuits

ment:

ment: they likewise have the use of shields, which are commonly made of strong bull's or buffalo's hide.

THEIR government shews itself no less of *Gallic* extract, than their martial discipline ². They have no kings, but *Govern-* are divided into a great variety of tribes, (some make them *ment.* amount to above sixty) each of which chuses a chief, or general commander, whom they call luva, lowa, or lubo ^h, from *Their Lo-* among themselves, every eight years, or oftener, if one dies *was, or oc-* before that time, and him they obey as their prince or sove- *tennial* reign. The first thing which those luvass do, after they are *chiefs.* chosen, is to signalize themselves by some plundering inroad *Dreadful* into the empire, at the head of a select flying army, killing *inroads.* and ravaging where-ever they come, sparing neither quality, age, sex, or place, in order to gain to themselves and soldiers a stock of wealth and fame; so that it seems as if this unfortunate empire was their granary and magazine, where they go for a supply of all their wants. At his return from this first irruption, which they stile *dela gritto*, or general muster, because it is out of that that he picks up his select flying camp, his authority is confirmed, which reaches only to military affairs, that is, to convene the great council at proper seasons, where all civil matters are finally decided, peace or war resolved; and if the latter, he commands in chief, and distributes to the respective officers under him, their several posts and commands; and in the like manner when the war or expedition *Their* is over, assigns to each man their proper honours and rewards, *power and* according to their merit and behaviour: but if any discon- *office.* tent, or matter of complaint, arises, the national council hath then alone the power to confirm, alter, or abrogate his former sentence or decree; but whether to depose them for male-administration, we are not told; though that is most likely to be the case, among such a fierce and warlike people ¹. To give our *English* readers some idea of the wretched *Excessive* state, and mock grandeur, of these octennial monarchs, we *meanless.* shall oblige them with the description which father Lobo gives us of one of them, and his court, and of the reception and treatment he met with there; but which, to give it no better place than it deserves, we shall subjoin in the following note (L); neither did we find the subjects much better bred,

² See *Anc. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 595. & seq.
sup. p. 23, TELLEZ; LUDOLPH, & al. ub. sup. /

^h Lobo, ub.
¹ TEL-

(L) Being obliged, says the to the lubo, or king, in order
good father, to pay my respects to discover a new way into
Ethiopia,

The people very poor. bred; for having had the complaisance to tear a white handkerchief into a good number of slips, and divided it among them to satisfy their avidity after it, they became so greedy and troublesome for more, and gathered in such tumultuous troops about him, that, to avoid their fury at his refusal, he was forced to barricade himself, and his four *Portuguese* companions, in his hut, and to fire a gun over their heads; the noise of which laid them all flat on the ground, and soon frightened them into a deep submission *. They are nevertheless so proud, with their excessive poverty, that they neither till,

Neglect of agricul- ture. sow, or plant, or gather any thing that the land produces, except, perhaps, when they snatch a cudd out of a cow's mouth to put it into their own, that being reckoned a most delicious morsel among them; so that all their spacious plains and vales only serve to afford their cattle such food as the earth naturally brings forth. They look after their cattle, drink their milk, and eat their flesh raw, which is all their food, except, perhaps, human flesh, which we are told they likewise eat *; so easily are their hunger and thirst satisfied.

Mean food. They have not the use of bread, nor of any succedaneum to

* Lobo ub. sup. Voy. 2. p. 22, & seq.
ub. sup. p. 19.

* Lobo

Ethiopia, I found him with all his wives and flocks about him; the place where he received me being a hut, thatched with straw, but somewhat larger than those of his subjects. His manner of giving audience to strangers is somewhat singular: he appears seated in the midst, with all his courtiers about him, sitting against the wall, each with a goad, or staff, or club, in his hand, longer or shorter according to his rank; the longer, the more dignified. As soon as the stranger enters the place, all those courtiers fall foul upon him, and bastonade him, till he has regained the door, and got hold of it with his hand; upon which they return to their seats, and he is complimented, as if nothing like it had been

done to him. I myself, says he, did not fare one jot better, notwithstanding the peaceable and friendly offices that had passed between us; and when I asked the meaning of so strange a ceremony, I was answered, that it was to make those that came among them sensible of the valour and bravery of their nation above all others, and how reasonable it is for them to behave submissively to it. And well might they think so, seeing they hardly know any other people, except those indigent wretches that cross over mountains and forests to traffic with them; yet, adds our author, they have such high esteem for the *Portuguese*, that they stile them the gods of the sea (12).

(12) Lobo, *ap. Le Grand Relat. de l'Abissinie*, Voy. 2. p. 23, & seq.

it; but when they find any in the *Abissinian* countries, where *Their* ^{rea-} they make their frequent inroads, they seize greedily on it, ^{son for it.} and eat it with a good appetite, yet will not this induce them to sow any corn in their own lands: and this reason they give for it, that the *Ethiopians*, and other enemies, may not be tempted to invade them, and reap the benefit of their labour; for it is their constant custom; whenever they find any neighbouring states to pour in their troops among them, to retire into some remote parts, with all their families and cattle; which last is all their wealth; the carrying away of ^{Strange} which, is carrying away all: so that the enemy, finding ^{away of re-} nothing to subsist upon, during the several days march, and ^{pell} the long barren tracts they have still to go over, to come at them, they must of course be obliged either to go back, or perish; for neither the *Abissines*, nor any of their neighbours, have the forecast to make a sufficient provision of food and drink for such long journies; and, finding two such powerful enemies as hunger and thirst, in the way between them, are more effectually repulsed, than they could have been by all their weapons and brutish bravery. To this strange warlike policy it is, that they are able to secure their conquests against an enemy, in all other respects, superior to them; and to defend themselves, without striking a blow, against them; whilst their poverty, and the barrenness of their country, is as effectual a barrier against all invasions:

THE *Gallas* are not, however, without some good qualities; they are honest, and true to their promise, and are ^{Good qua-} never known to violate an oath. Their ceremony of taking ^{lities.} of them, is, by bringing a sheep to the place, and anointing it with butter; after which, the persons, or if it be taken in the name of a tribe or family, the heads of it, lay their hands upon its head, and solemnly protest, that they will religiously observe every part of their engagement. The explanation they give of this ceremony is, that the sheep is, in some sense, the mother of all that swear, and the butter is an emblem of the mutual love of the mother and her children; and, consequently, that a man ought never to violate an oath which he hath taken upon the head of his mother^m. They ^{Faithful-} have given, likewise, some further marks of their fidelity ^{ness.} and good disposition, both at the emperor's court, and in sundry noblemen's houses, where they had been bred up, and where they proved so tractable and docile, as not to be exceeded even by the *Abissinians* themselves. But that which crowns all,

^m TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, & al:
Voy. 2. p. 24.

^m LOBO, ub. sup.

*Zeal of
some of
their con-
verts.*

if not exaggerated, is, that some of them, who had been converted to Christianity by the *Romish* missionaries, proved as constant in maintaining it under tortures, as they had been ready to embrace it in words ^a. To conclude this digression, if it be really one, concerning these invaders and destroyers of so many rich provinces of this once opulent and flourishing empire, and whom the good fathers last quoted believe were sent thither as a punishment for the heresy of its inhabitants, and their apostacy from the true Christian faith, and what they stile the true catholic church; we may observe, on the other hand, that Providence hath been no less kind and merciful to these provinces, that still continue under its monarchs, by fencing them with such prodigious lofty and rugged mountains, whose height renders them no less inaccessible to their cavalry, which is the main force of these invaders in all their expeditions, than their extreme coldness doth to their infantry: whilst, on the other side, their continual wars and feuds, one tribe and kingdom against another, as providentially prevents their uniting their whole strength against it, which if they had, they would long ago, in all probability, have made themselves masters of the whole °.

S E C T. III.

*The Climate, Soil, Product, Animals wild and tame,
Vegetables, Insects, &c. of Abissinia.*

*Natural
history of
Abissinia.*

Climate.

WE have already hinted, that this was one of the countries which the ancients deemed uninhabitable, on account of its being within the torrid zone, where they imagined, not only men and animals, but even trees and vegetables, must be all burned up. This mistake hath been since sufficiently exploded; and this large empire is so irrefragable a proof of the contrary, that though it lies, as we shewed in the last section, between the 8th and 17th degrees of latitude, yet are we now well assured, that it is so far from being liable to any excessive heat, that it is, for the most part, as cool and temperate as *Portugal* and *Spain*; insomuch that, in many provinces, they are quite free from those scorching heats, which rage among more northern nations in the height of summer; or, to speak still more clearly, are more afraid of the cold than heat ^a. This must, however, be understood

^a TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, ALVAREZ, p. 60, & al. ° TELLEZ Travels of the Jesuits, ub. sup.

^a TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, LUDOLPH, PONCET, & al.

only of some of their vast mountains and high lands; for, as *Difference* to the low and flat, the vallies and sandy deserts, they cannot *of winters*. but be excessively, and at some times intolerably, hot. Another difference of climate we must likewise suppose of course, in a country of such vast extent, not only as they draw nearer to the line, but, as they lie nearer or farther from the *Red Sea* (A). However, in the main, the country is very healthful and pleasant all the rest of the year, the people healthy and sprightly, enjoying a clear and serene sky, and commonly live to a good old age. They divide the year into *Their four* four seasons, as we do, *viz.* the spring, called by them *seasons*. *Matzau*, on account of its following the winter, and in which the fields are covered with verdure, and begin to be enamelled with variety of flowers; it begins with them on the 25th of *September*. The summer, named by them *Fzadai*, begins in *December*, and is that in which they gather their harvest. The third season begins in *March*, and is called by them *Hagain*, but though it immediately follows the summer, yet can it not be properly called autumn, *Winds*. because it is not that on which they gather their fruits, as here in *Europe*, but rather the very hottest season of the whole year. And, therefore, with respect to *Abissinia*, the year might be more truly divided into three seasons, *viz.* the

(A) Accordingly we find, that those ports which are contiguous to that sea, as from *Mazara* to *Dancali*, have their winter in *December* and *January*, much like what it is in *Portugal*; and this mildness reaches about 12 or 14 leagues up the inland, without any extreme cold, or excessive rains; as if nature only dispensed the latter to moisten and refresh the earth, without incommoding its inhabitants; whilst farther up the inland, they are troubled with very fierce and lasting rains, till you come to the high mountains of *Pyxan*, two days journey short of *Dowaro*, where the winter begins about the middle of *June*, and lasts till almost the

end of *September*. And thus, we are told by father *Emanuel d'Almeyda*, he found it to be, in all the parts of the empire through which he travelled (1). So that according to these observations, the winter, through all the inland of *Ethiopia*, is in the same months as it is on the coasts of *India*, from *Diu* to cape *Comari*; and on the coasts it is the same as in *Portugal*: whereas it is the reverse on the opposite coasts of *Arabia*, from the mouth of the *Red Sea* to the islands of *Curia-Muria*, where the winter is from *June* to *September*; as on the coasts of *India*, and up the inland of *Arabia*, it lasts from *November* to *February*, as in *Portugal* (2).

(1) *Tellex Travels of the Jesuits*, lib. i. c. 7. vid. & *Ludolph, Davity, Disp.*
 per, & al.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

spring, which begins *September 25*; summer, which may be divided into two parts, the milder of which, named *Fzaddai*, begins on the *25th of December*, and the hottest, on the *25th of March*; and then follows the winter, which begins on the *25th of June*^b. This last chiefly consists in violent rains, which lay all the low-lands under water, and is thus described by the *Abissinian* abbot: *The winter, with us, doth not consist in the mere rains which come down from the clouds; for, besides them, the earth doth every-where open her mouth, and throws out water; which thing happens in the very houses which chance to be built in low lands; for which reason, we seldom build them but upon high ground* *. As the sphere is almost direct here, so the days and nights are very near equal, and the twilight very short accordingly.

Violent
storms.

As the climates and seasons, differ in this empire, so do the winds; some, especially on their lofty mountains and high lands, being almost constantly refreshing and delightful; others, on the low lands, where the air is less agitated are hot, troublesome, and unhealthy. At some seasons they are violent and stormy, particularly one, which they call *Sendo*, which, in the language of *Ambara*, signifies a serpent; which blows with such fierceness and violence, that it pulls up trees by the roots, overturns houses and every thing, even sometimes the rocks, which it meets in its way, and even whirls them up into the air. *Gregory*, the *Abissinian* abbot, affirms, that these whirlwinds may be seen with the naked eye, the grosser part of them close to the earth, and the rest winding itself upwards like a serpent^c; but whether visible or not, it is certain they are felt in many, if not most other countries, and in as impetuous a manner, though not perhaps so frequently as here.

Whirl-
winds.

Thunder
and light-
ning.

THE great difference of cold and heat between the high and low lands, is likewise attended with terrible thunders and lightnings, which very often prove hurtful to men and beasts, and do great harm to the product of the earth; for these are commonly attended with such prodigious rains, as seem to threaten a second deluge; for at such times, they do not come down in drops, but in torrents, that seem to fill the lower atmosphere: By these, the rivers swell with such prodigious swiftness, and to such a degree, that they quickly lay all the low lands under water, and run with such violence, that they seem as if they would sweep all before them. Nei-

Excessive
rains.

^b LUDOLPH, lib. i. c. 5. DAVITY, DAPPER, TELLEZ, &c.

* Ap. LUDOLPH, ub. sup.

^c Ap. LUDOLPH, ub. sup. l. i.

c. 5. §. 43.

ther

ther are they like our hasty showers, short and fierce, but last the best part of three whole months, and make what is called the winter-quarter among them; during all which time, there is not a day in which it doth not rain, more or less, in the same plentiful manner: but commonly the mornings are clear, and enjoy such a fine sunshine, that where the waters have a free current, the ground appears as if it had received no rain at all; but soon after mid-day, the clouds gather thick and fast; and an hour or two after, a violent storm arises, mixed with dreadful lightning and thunder, so that the whole atmosphere seems to be turned into fire and water; during which time, those that cannot get under some good shelter, run great hazard of their lives from both; for the lightning is no less hurtful and destructive to men, cattle, trees, houses, &c. This storm commonly lasts three or four hours, more or less; after which the sun shines again on the sudden as clear as ever; and thus it continues to be during the whole winter season: for which reason, they seldom build their houses in low, but always as much as they can on high ground. There is another great inconvenience *Their in-* attending these violent and tedious rains, viz. that *conveni-* they make most of their rivers impassable, there being neither *ency and* bridges nor boats among them to help them over, so that *danger.* passengers are often confined some considerable time before they can pursue their journey: they have, indeed, in some provinces, a way to convey themselves over by the help of a rope, which they throw across the river, and fasten to some tree, or post, on both sides. Some will venture over upon some rafters, or floats, fastened together, which is not done without great danger, and many of them lose their lives by it^d.

BUT the greatest inconveniency which attends these great *Unwhol-* and continued rains, is, that they infect the air with a dan- *someness.* gerous malignancy; for, falling upon a ground that hath lain dry and quite parched up near nine whole months, as soon as they begin to fall upon it, they naturally raise such vast quantities of unwholesome vapours, as seldom fail of producing some grievous distempers, from which, even those that keep themselves altogether at home, are seldom exempted^e. Neither doth the danger end here; for the waters that are left in divers parts, begin, with the return of the spring, to corrupt and stink, and cause a fresh infection in the air, and fresh distempers in men and beasts; so that if it were *Bad dis-* *eases caused* *by the stag-* *nated wa-* *ters.*

^d TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, & al. ub. sup. ub. sup. p. 80. PONCET, & al.

^e LOBO,

not for these violent stormy winds, which begin to blow early in the spring, the air would be quickly stagnated, and a pestilential disease reign through the whole empire ^f.

The soil

mostly fer-
tile.

beat and
other
grain.

Harvest.

THE soil is various, according as the ground is higher or lower, stony, sandy, or flat; but, for the generality, where it can be tilled and well watered, it produces very large crops of wheat, barley, millet, and other grain; and would much more, if the people were more diligent than they commonly are, in cultivating it. They have, indeed, two harvests, which in some measure supply their want of industry. Their trees are crowned with a constant verdure; and, if they labour under a scarcity of fruit, it is rather owing to their negligence, than to any fault of the soil, it being manifest it is capable of bearing as great a variety of them as any country in *Afric*. The only kinds they cultivate here, are the black grape, peach, four pomegranate, sugar-canes, almonds, and some citrons, oranges, &c. &c. Roots and herbs they likewise have, which, notwithstanding the heat of the country, grow naturally among them; and more they might have of other kinds, if they were not so idle and incurious about them.

Make no
wine.

THEY do not so much as make wine of their grapes, tho' in all likelihood they would yield a very good kind; whether it be owing to their ignorance, or indolence, or that they prefer those liquors which they draw from their sugar-canes and their honey, which is here very excellent, and in most prodigious quantities, and of many different sorts, as we shall observe in another place. They have a kind of fig, among other sorts, which they call *ensette*, and the *Arabs*, *mauz*, which is not unlike the celebrated one that grows in *India* to a prodigious size, and is that which Mr. *Ludolph* hath endeavoured to prove the *dudaim* of *Moses*; which ours, and other versions, render *mandrakes*; of which we have taken notice already in our *Ancient History* ^h.

Their
fruits.

Grain most
in use.

THE chief grain that is most in use in this country, as being in some measure natural to it, is a small one, which they call *teff*, and yields a good nourishment. It is thin and slender, and so small, that one of mustard will outweigh eight or ten of it, and would make very good and palatable bread, were it but made in a more cleanly way than they generally know, or care to do. But this is not the only instance in which the *Abissinians* display their slovenliness, for they are so in every thing else, even to a very offensive degree.

^f Id. & al. sup. citat.
&c.

^h TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH,
Vol. iii. p. 280, (Y) vid. Hist. Ethiop. lib. i. c. 9.

THEIR

THEIR cattle fare much better; for though here is neither Cattle, oats nor hay, yet they have plenty of barley, with which *how fed.* they feed their horses, camels, dromedaries, and other large beasts. Though their low lands produce very good grass, sufficient to nourish vast numbers of cattle; yet, as they do not make any hay of it, they are obliged to supply that *No hay* defect with that, or some other sort of grain. One misfor- *made.* • tune is, that notwithstanding their plentiful crops, they are often reduced to a kind of famine, either through the vast swarms of grasshoppers that infest them, or, which is still worse, by the frequent marches of their soldiery from one province to another; the former destroying only what they find growing upon the ground, whereas the latter devour all that is laid up in their storehouses, the inhabitants being obliged to find them in provisions where-ever they pass. ¹

THEY have not only the same variety of medicinal and odoriferous plants, herbs, and roots, that are to be met with in *Physical, and other* Europe, and which here grow spontaneously, and without *plants.* cultivation, but a great many more, which are unknown to us, and are all excellent in their kind: amongst them, that which they call amadmagda, hath the specific virtue of reco- *The amad-* vering and healing dislocated or broken limbs, of drawing *magda.* out splinters of broken bones that were left in the flesh. The assazoe hath the most singular virtue, not only against all poi- *Assazoe,* sons, but against all venomous creatures; inasmuch, that the *its singu-* very touching them with it, stupefies and deprives them of *lar virtue* sense; and what is still more surprising, if not exaggerated, *against* the very shadow, or scent of it, drives away the most poi- *serpents.* sonous serpents, or so benumbs their limbs, that they may be handled, or killed, without danger. Those that eat of the root, we are told, acquire such special virtue from it, that they may handle, or wallow naked with, all sorts of serpents, without receiving any hurt ², which virtue they retain for some years (B). This extraordinary plant is so much the greater

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¹ Id. ibid.
c. 9. PONCET, & al.

² TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LUDOLPH, l. i.

(B) This seems most likely surprising familiar with them, to be the plant, which the *Psyl-* made use of among them; but *les*, a people of *Africa*, men- concealed the secret from the tioned by *Pliny* (3), and much rest of the world. famed for their skill in enchant- For we are told by several ing all sorts of serpents and ve- of the jesuit missionaries, that nomous creatures, and being they have seen much the same

(3) *Nat. Hist. lib. vii. c. 2.*

juggling

greater blessing in these parts, as, we are told, they have some kinds of serpents that kill by their breath, at three or four yards distance: they are short, and thick about the middle, and have a wide mouth, at which they suck in a great quantity of air at once, and then breathe it out in as great a quantity, and with such force, against the man or beast they intend to kill, that they seldom fail of effecting it¹.

Cotton, fenna, and other plants. BESIDES the plants above-mentioned, the country produces great quantities of fenna; whole plains are seen covered with cardamom and ginger; the last of which hath a most agreeable scent, and is four times as large as that of India. Here is also plenty of cotton, which grows on shrubs,

Flowers. like the Indian^m. Flowers are here, likewise, in vast quantities, and surprising variety; insomuch, that the banks of their rivers are adorned, the greatest part of the year, with jasmins, roses, lilies, jonquils, and a vast number of other kinds, which are unknown in Europe; and among these is the rose, which grows upon trees, and is much more odorous than any that grow upon shrubs.

Domestic and other animals in great plenty. THERE is scarce any country that produces greater quantities, or variety, of animals, both domestic and wild, than this of Abissinia: among the former, horses, mules, asses, camels, dromedaries, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, &c. are bred in vast numbers, they being the principal wealth of its inhabitants; and a stranger cannot but be delightfully surprised to see the vast herds of stately cows and oxen grazing in the fields, especially in the kingdoms of Tigre, Gojam, and some others of the empire; their fat oxen, in particular, are of so monstrous a size, that they have been mistaken, at a distance, for elephants; whence the notion came, that this country bred horned elephants. These horns are so large, as to contain above ten quarts of liquor, and are used by the people instead of pitchers, or wooden vessels, to carry water, wine, milk, or other liquids; and four of them full, are a load for an ordinary ox. But besides these large ones, that are fatted for slaughter, and have the milk of three or four

¹ Vid. Lobo Relation, ub. sup. p. 116, & seq.
CET, p. 65.

^m PONT

juggling tricks played by some such dexterity, as make them Abissinians, and other Africans, much admired by the populace (4).
in and out of Abissinia, with

(4) Vid. Ludolph, Teller, Lobo, Pontet, & al. vid. & Pliny. ub. sup. lib. xi. c. 25.

cows given them every day, they have an ordinary sort, designed for labour and carriage, whose horns are so soft and flexible, that they hang down like a dead weight *. Neither doth it yield a less delightful prospect, to behold the sheep, goats, and other small cattle, browsing at a distance, and covering the adjacent mountains and steep rocks, where they feed upon such aromatic herbs, as give a particular flavour and taste to their milk and their flesh.

THEY have likewise here some of the finest breeds of *Fine breed of horses.* horses, of all colours and sizes, and as sprightly and mettlesome as those so much famed ones which are bred in *Andalusia*, and other parts of *Spain*; and, when well broke and managed, will gallop, trot, pace, curvet, and wheel about, with as much docile agility, as the best of ours; but the choicest breed among them is the black, of which they have the greatest quantity (C); though there is no want of those of the roan, bay, grey, dapple, cream-coloured, pyc-bald, and other colours; none of which are shod as ours are; they are commonly used for the war only, and must be led by the bridle over the mountains and defiles; but on the plains they are mounted, and run very swift. Their saddles are very light, but sure, like those of our managed horses, only rising a little *Way of riding.* higher both before and behind; their stirrup-leather is commonly long, but the stirrups are small, as they only clap their great toe into them.

INSTEAD of horses, for long marches, they make use of *Mules.* mules, which are commonly very gentle, sure-footed, and fit to go over craggy mountains; these they train up to an easy, yet quick pace, and are most commonly preferred to horses by the *Abissinians*, not only on that account, but much more out of regard to their own pedigree; for, as they boast themselves to be descended from the *Jews*, whose princes, and great ones, are recorded in scripture to have chiefly rode upon mules, so they count it an honour to do the same here, and to have their horses led by the bridle, till some martial engagement obliges them to mount †.

* DAPPER, TELLEZ, & LUDOLPH, ub. sup. l. i. c. 10. LOBO, ub. sup. p. 70, & al. † TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, DAPPER, & al. ub. sup.

(C) Accordingly we are told against the *Saracens*, with whom he was at war, at the head of 100,000 of his negroes, mounted on the like number of these black horses (5). by *Elmacin*, an *Arabic* historian, that *Cyriacus*, king of *Nubia*, who is also said to have reigned at that time over *Abissinia*, appeared in the field

(5) *Vid. Dapper Abissin. & al. sup. citat.*

*Camels and
dromedaries.*

THE last domestic animals worth naming, are, the camels and dromedaries, which are likewise bred up in great numbers, on account of their extreme usefulness for carriage, and long journeys, through those hot and barren deserts: but as these differ little, either in shape or use, from those we have described in our general account of *Africa*, we shall refer our readers to what has been said there of them^o. There is one sort, however, of them in this country, which, tho' of the camel kind, yet is well worth our notice here; they call it *giratacacheme*, or *slender-end*, on account of its uncommon shape, it being much taller than the elephant, but as finely and slenderly made, as that is clumsy and unwieldy; inso-much, that a man on horseback may easily pass under its belly: the common height of its fore-legs is reckoned about twelve spans, or four yards; but that of the hinder somewhat shorter. The neck is proportionable, and long enough to reach to the ground, and graze, grass being its proper food, and the whole, in most respects, answerable to the description which the ancients give of the *camelopardus*.

*Elephants,
all wild
here:*

*Numerous
and de-
structive.*

AMONG the animals of the wild kind, the elephant deserves our first notice, as they breed here in such prodigious numbers; and yet none of them were ever known to be brought up tame in the whole empire; for which reason, we may justly rank them among the wild kind, though they are of a different nature in several countries we have seen through the course of this history^p: however, they seem quite natural to this climate, or rather, a native nuisance to the country, by the dreadful havock they make among the corn, and other grain, of which they destroy ten times more with their large feet, than with their mouths, &c. They root up large trees, and break small ones, to feed on their leaves; by which, in time, they destroy whole forests, as they commonly go in large droves, from fifty to a hundred, or more. The food they affect most, is that of a tree, not unlike our cherries, but which is full of pith, like our alder, but of a delicious taste to them. Their size is so monstrous, that a man, mounted on a tall mule, cannot reach their back by some spans^q. As to their shape, extraordinary docility, and other particulars relating to them, they have been so amply described in some former volumes, that we shall not need add any-thing to it^r. The next is the rhinoceros, a creature of monstrous bulk and

^o See before, vol. xiv. c. 1. ^p Idem ibid. ^q LOBO, ub. sup. p. 69. TELLEZ, ЛУДОВИЖ, & al. ^r See before, vol. v. p. 307, & seq. viii. p. 110, 447, & alib. pass.

make,

make, and a mortal enemy to the elephant: but this creature hath been likewise described already^{*}; and though most scarce of the Portuguese writers affirm it to be a native of this empire, yet we do not meet with any that pretend to have seen it there; from which we may conclude, that they may be as scarce as the elephants are numerous in it (D). Lions are here likewise in great numbers, and very destructive and dangerous: they have them of several sorts and sizes, and particularly those that are stiled of the kingly or royal breed: and as they do a great deal of mischief among the large cattle, the Abissinians are no less industrious and adventurous in destroying them, and will even encounter them with their lances, or with a dagger[†]; for that noble animal, fierce as it is amongst other brutes, will not encounter a man, except he be assaulted by him, or greatly pinched with hunger. They are so large, that some which have been killed by the inhabitants, have measured eight cubits in length, from neck to tail[‡], particularly one in the kingdom of Tigre, near Maegoga, an. 1630, which was destroyed by a shepherd in the open field, with a throw of his dart: this fierce creature was coming down from the mountains, all covered with the blood of the many creatures it had gored and rent in pieces, when the shepherd seeing him at a good distance making towards him, took that interval to dig a great hole in the ground, and upon his approaching within reach of his weapon, he cast it at him with such force, that it pierced him through the shoulder: the monster, after many dreadful roars and leaps, fell luckily into the pit, where he was dispatched by the victorious countryman, not without many

*Killed by
the Abissinians.*

^{*} See before, vol. xiv. c. 1, & seq.
69. TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, lib. i. c. 10.

[†] See LOBO Voy. 2. p.
[‡] Id. ibid.

(D) Some think that the fathers Gaspar, Schot, Coyarruias, and others, have confounded this animal with the Bada, or Abada, mentioned by F. Joban dos Santos, which is about the size of a colt of two years, and hath two horns, differently placed, the one on the fore part of the head, which is about three or four spans long, and of a dark brown, or quite black hue, smooth, and

sharp-pointed, with a small rising on the top; the other on the back of the head, but shorter, and more slender than the other. We are told, that the bones of this animal burnt to ashes, and mixed with water, make an excellent pulvise against all kinds of tumours, draws the peccant matter out of the flesh, and heals the wound it makes in it (6).

(6) Le Grand Dissert. sur la Cote orientale d'Afrique, p. 230.

grievous

grievous wounds *, as well as great danger and difficulty. We shall say nothing of their tigers, leopards, wolves, foxes, various kinds of apes, and other beasts of prey; which, tho' numerous, fierce, and mischievous, have nothing particular in this from those of other hot countries. Many of the *Portuguese* authors affirm the famed unicorn to have been seen in some parts of the empire, particularly in the kingdom of *Damot*; and territories of the *Agaus*, which are both woody countries; but add, that, its flight from one wood to another is so swift, that they had not time enough to examine, much less to shoot at it, though they have ventured to give a description of it, which we shall not repeat here, but refer our readers to what hath been said of it, and its various kinds, in a former volume *.

The zecora, or wild mule.

THE wild mule, or, as some falsely call it, afs, and the *Abissinians*, zecora, or zecora, is also a native of this empire; but having been already described in a * former volume, we shall only say of it, that the *Gallas* are now possessed of the countries where it mostly breeds: it is, however, so much admired for its beautiful shape, colour, and stripes, that kings and emperors look upon one of them as a present fit for them, especially as they can, it seems, be easily tamed, though naturally wild: two thousand sequins have been given for one of them by an *Indian Moor*, in order

Wild afs.

to carry it to the great mogul *. The wild afs hath been often confounded with the zecora, though it be different from it, as it hath horns and cloven hoofs, like the deer kind: it commonly hath a white strake, that comes down from its buttocks to its hams: its furr is harsh, and of an ash colour; its flesh tender, and good to eat. There is another much of the same kind, but with a dark-brown skin, very smooth; its legs are much shorter behind than before, and yet is much swifter of foot than a buck. We shall conclude this article of wild animals, with the description of a singular one, which we shall give in the author's own words.

An extraordinary animal.

" This extraordinary animal, as he styles it, is no bigger than
 " one of our cats, and hath the face of a man, with a white
 " beard; and its voice mournful; it always keeps upon a tree,
 " and, they assured me, that it is there brought forth,
 " and there it dies. It is so very wild, that there is no pos-
 " sibility of taming it: When they have caught one of them,
 " with a design to bring it up, all the care they can take of

* Jesuits Travels, l. i. c. 7.

* See vol. xiv. c. 1.

† See before, *ibid.* * Jesuits Travels, l. i. c. 7. *vid.* & LUDOLPH, & al. *sup.* citat.

" it

" it, cannot prevent its pining itself to death : they shot one
 " of them in my presence, which clung fast to the branch of
 " the tree, twining its legs about it, and died some days
 " after ^a."

AMONG the amphibious kind, the crocodile and hippo-
 potamos, or sea-horse, are the largest, and the most destruc- *Crocodile and hippo-*
 tive to man and beast. The Nile is, as it were, their nur- *potamus.*
 sery, from which they make their excursions into the adja-
 cent lands, and destroy all that come in their way: but, as
 they are likewise common in Egypt, where we have already
 given a description of the former, we shall refer our readers
 to it ^b. The latter, or sea-horse, is twice as large as an ox, *The latter*
 and hath a head near three times as big as that of a bull: its *described.*
 legs are short; the fore-feet, or hoofs, divided into five
 clefts, and the hinder into four: its skin is sleek, hard, and
 of a dark-brown; the jaws wide, and full of teeth, and from *Its dread-*
 the under one come out four fangs, near two spans in length; *ful jaws.*
 two of them are sharp and strait, and the other two crooked,
 like the tusks of a wild boar: some describe him with the
 same number in his upper jaw, but without any foundation,
 unless these of Ethiopia differ, in that respect, from those of
 Egypt, and other countries ^c. His head is the only part
 which hath any resemblance to that of a horse, having a
 white strake, which comes down between his nostrils, and a
 white star on the forehead: he spends the day commonly in
 the water, and the night on land, where he hath his pasture,
 and falls foul on all that comes in his way; and as he is very
 clumsy and large, destroys as much with his feet as he doth
 with his rapacious mouth; and, like the elephant lately
 mentioned, not only devours, but tramples all down, grass,
 corn, herbs, roots, Turkey wheat, and all that the poor inha-
 bitants had sown for their subsistence; but what is still more
 terribly destructive, it stifles both man and beast that come *Terrible*
 under the reach of its claws, with its huge weight, and sucks *barcock.*
 only the blood out of their bodies, leaving the rest to rot on
 the ground, or to become a prey to crocodiles, and other
 voracious creatures ^d: yet is it of so fearful a nature, that it
 flees at the sight of an armed man, and much more so at that
 of fire, or fire-arms: but is much more bold in the water,
 where he will attack boats and barges, and often overturns
 them; especially the females, when they come to have colts,

^a PONCET voyage to Ethiop. p. 66. ^b See Anc. Hist.
 vol. i. p. 420, & seq.

MAILLET, LOBO, & al.

^c Conf. LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 11.
^d See LUDOLPH, lib. i. c. .

MAILLET descript. of Egypt, vol. ii. p. 126, & al. mult.

at which time they part from all the rest, and keep solely to them, and attack all that come in their way : at other times, they keep with the male ; and it is as common to find one of them with many females, as with us to see a bull among many cows ; yet so jealous are they, that one never sees two males together in one herd. They are often troubled with a kind of cramp, or gout, in their limbs ; at which time they have no power to defend themselves, but lie flat upon the ground, with one of their fore-feet under their belly, and shew all the tokens of an acute pain. At such times as these it is that the inhabitants destroy them, chiefly for their teeth, which are of a finer white, and retain it much longer, than any ivory : they likewise esteem their left hoofs, as a sovereign remedy against melancholy. Their skin, bones, fat, and almost every part of them, is turned to some advantage ; which is an encouragement to the natives to hazard their lives in search of them. The misfortune is, that their hide, which is smooth, and near two inches thick, is proof against any of their weapons ; so that there is but one small spot on its forehead at which it may be wounded : the hide of one of them, they say, is a sufficient load for three or four camels, and a man that stands upright in the belly of one of them, can hardly touch the back-bone with his hand. We do not find, however, that any *Nubians*, *Abissinians*, or people of any other nations, ever caught one of them alive, or ever could discover any creature that is its mortal enemy, as the ichneumon, or water-cat *, is to the crocodile ; the sword-fish, to the whale ; or the ibis, to the flying serpent † ; though that doth not prove that the Divine Providence hath left him without such a one, notwithstanding they have not been yet able to discover it : and thus much may suffice to give our reader an idea of that dreadful monster, whose very roaring is so loud and terrible, that it chills the blood of every creature that hears it ‡.

To this we shall only add the water-lizard, called by the natives angueg, and by the *Italians* caudiverbera, from the vast strength and keenness of its tail, with which, they tell us, that creature, which is scarcely bigger, and more slender, than a cat, can cut a man's leg off at one blow : its skin is smooth and without hair, its aspect foul and frightful ; it feeds on the grass when it gets out of the water ; and Mr. *Ludolph's Gregory* gives it the shape and form of a dragon, whatever he meant by that name §.

Subje& to the gout.

White teeth. More valuable than ivory.

Skin proof against weapons.

Monstrous size,

and dreadful voice.

The water lizard.

* See *Anc. Hist.* vol. i. p. 420. † *Ibid.* p. 422. ‡ *TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, LUDOLPH, MAILLET, & al. plur.*
 § *LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 11. TELLEZ, DAPPER, & al. vid. & BOCHART, l. iv. c. 3.*

HERE is likewise great plenty and variety of fish, both in *Fishes* their large lakes and rivers, of which we shall have occasion to *plentiful*. speak in some following section : at present we shall just mention one, on account of its strange properties ; we mean, the famed torpedo, or torpid fish, which is frequently caught in both of *The tor-* them, and is affirmed to be of so cold a nature, that it con- *peds* ;veys an immediate chilness and numbness into the blood of *its strange* every one who but barely touches it ; inso much, that the *quality*. inhabitants make use of it to allay the excessive heat which they suffer under some of those burning fevers which are so very frequent in most parts of this empire ; and this is done by the bare touch of the creature. Some think it might be as efficacious against the gout, though the experiment cannot but be somewhat dangerous : but the *Abissinians* apply it in the cure of tertian and quartan agues ; though the application causes such excruciating pains in all the limbs of the patient, that they are forced to tie him fast to a board all the time : they are even superstitious enough to think it an efficacious remedy to drive devils away ^b. However, as to its strange chilling quality, several *Portuguese* fathers have confirmed it by their own experience ; and add, that the pain that follows the touch is instantaneous, and almost intolerable ¹.

WE should certainly tire our readers, were we to go thro' *Fowls and* the vast variety of fowl, of all kinds, with which this country *birds*. abounds, or even with those that are in some measure peculiar to it. Those that most deserve attention, among the latter, are, the ostrich, the largest and most unwieldy of all *Ostriches*. the volatile kind, and which, though its feathers are not able to raise it from the ground, yet by the strength of them, and the motion of its feet, can move with greater swiftness than the fleetest horse in his full speed. We have formerly given some account of this strange bird, and of the manner of catching it ^b, as well as of the ibis, or bird which destroys *Ibis, or* those innumerable flying serpents, which annoy this country *serpent-* at some times of the year, and would soon reduce it to a wil- *eater*. derness, if the Divine Providence had not appointed that beneficial race to destroy them ¹. This bird is more properly a native of *Egypt*, but is no less a benefactor to *Abissinia*, in clearing it from so destructive a plague ; for which service, he is called in the *Amharan* language, the serpent-eater.

^a LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 11. §. 13. & seq. TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, & al. ¹ Id. ibid. vid. & codig. l. i. c. 11. ^b Anc. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 293. ¹ Ibid. vol. i. p. 422, vid. LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 12. §. 8. & seq. & al. sup.

*Pipi, or
hunter's
guide.*

THE pipi, so called from its constant uttering those two syllables, hath an admirable instinct in directing hunters to their game, and will not leave them till they follow them to the place where it lies; but they must take care not to do so unless they are well armed; for it often leads them to some fierce wild beast, or monstrous creature, as it did once a friend of Mr. *Ludolph's*, and a native of *Tigre*, to a tree, to which hung a serpent of a prodigious size, which obliged him to run away back faster than he came^m. This extraordinary bird, it seems, chiefly lives upon the blood, or flesh, of those crea-

*Stately
abagun.*

tures that are thus killed by his direction. The abagun, or stately abbot, as that name imports, is in some measure peculiar to this country, it being found no-where but here and in *Peru*. It is only remarkable for its beauty, and for a kind of horn growing on its head, instead of a crest, which is short, round, and

*The devil's
horse.*

split at the upper end like a mitreⁿ. The seitan, favez, or the devil's horse, resembles a man armed with feathers, commonly walks with a majestic gravity, or runs with surprising swiftness; but when too closely pursued, expands his wings, and flies away. Its height is near that of a stork, but its shape more genteel and beautiful. That which they call the

Cardinal.

cardinal, from the beautiful redness of all its feathers, except those on its breast, which appear of the colour and smooth gloss, of the finest black velvet, is another of the charming birds that are natives of this country: as is also that which they call the white nightingale, with a tail of the same colour, about two spans long, which, when it flies, looks like a white piece of paper fastened to its rump^o.

*White
nightin-
gale.*

We should never have done, were we to go through all the great variety of the feathered kind, both wild and tame; with which this empire abounds, in common with ours, and other *European* countries, but which excel them, for the most part, either in beauty, goodness, largeness, &c. For we are told, for instance, that their partridges are as big as our capons^p, and that they have several kinds of them, as well as of pigeons, turtle-doves, and a great number of others. We shall therefore conclude this article with one species of them, which seems peculiar, as well as of singular use, to it, viz.

*Large par-
tridge.*

*Maroc, or
honey bird.*

the maroc, or honey-bird, so called from its particular instinct in discovering the hidden treasure of the industrious bees, of which they have also a great variety; some of which are domestic, and kept in hives, others which lay up their honey in hollow trees, and a third sort which hide it in small holes and

^m LUDOLPH, *ibid.* §. 12, & seq.

ⁿ Lobb, *relat.* p. 71.

• *Id.* *ibid.*

^p *Id.* *ibid.* & al. *ub.* sup.

caverns in the ground, but which they take surprising care *Plenty of* to cleanse for their use, and afterwards to stop them so close *honey.* and so artfully, that it is next to impossible to find them out, though they mostly lie along the highways. This last, though of somewhat a darker colour than that of the hives, is not inferior to it in goodness; and it is this kind that the maroc discovers to the inhabitants, by an unusual noise and fluttering of its wings, which, when perceived by the passenger, he has nothing to do but follow him to the place; where the feathered guide takes up a more delicious note, and pursues it till his man hath taken possession of the hidden store; in the plundering of which, he takes care to leave behind a small quantity to his songster, it being the chief food *Laid up* he lives upon. These last kind of bees are in the greatest *under* plenty; and, we are told, their being deprived of the sting, *ground by* which the others are provided with, by the wise Author of *one sort of* nature, is the reason of their thus laying it up safe under *bees.* ground: its wax is much whiter, and fitter for chirurgical applications, as well as the honey is for physical compositions, and both a kind of unlaboured treasure to the inhabitants¹; on which account, as well as for the vast herds of cows they keep, and the plentiful quantity of milk they yield, this land may be said to have the second title to *Palestine*, of being stiled, A LAND FLOWING WITH MILK AND HONEY.

To counterbalance these, and other blessings we have already mentioned, they are not without a proportionable variety of obnoxious animals, serpents, and insects, equally hurtful; besides those wild and dreadful beasts, lately described: among which, we may place in the first rank, those devouring and frequent swarms of locusts, which, in *Locusts* one season, leave whole kingdoms and provinces desolate; *very de-* and the dire effects of which destructive vermin, are inimitably *struative.* described by the prophet¹. *A fire devoureth before them, and behind them a flame consumeth: the land is before them as the garden of Eden, and behind them a desolate wilderness; yea, and nothing escapeth them, &c.* This country being extremely mountainous and rocky, is so much the more apt to breed them; and accordingly doth, in such vast multitudes, that they come like very thick clouds, which cover the whole surface of the earth, and even eclipse the light of the sun at noon-day. Their teeth are so sharp and hard, that they not only devour every blade of grass, root, and branch, and the leaves of the trees and bushes, but even the wood of the

¹ TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LUDOLPH, LOBO, & al. plur. ² Joel, ii. 3, & seq.

*Time of
their go-
ing off.*

*How de-
stroyed and
eaten.*

*Depopu-
late whole
provinces.*

small twigs, and even the bark of the largest trees, leaving on every thing they have touched, a nasty burnt hue, as if it had passed through the fire, which exactly answers the description above quoted out of the prophet; so that the sad effects of them are felt sometimes for two or three years after. They commonly range the whole season, shifting from place to place till about their *Michaelmas* tide, which they celebrate in the month of *November*; about which time, a westerly wind begins to blow, which drives them all into the *Red Sea*. We need not trouble our readers with a fuller description of them, they having of late made such threatening approaches to these isles: Heaven grant they may never come nearer us! for if they did, we should soon be reduced to a worse plight than the *Ethiopians*, and other *African* nations, whom necessity hath taught to turn that destructive plague into a delightful nourishment (E). Notwithstanding which precautions, the devastations they make are so terrible and universal, that whole kingdoms and provinces become depopulated; and the inhabitants, being obliged by the famine which they commonly leave behind, to remove into others for subsistence, where they appear, at their arrival, more like ghosts than men, having nothing left but the bare skin

s LOBO, ub. sup. p. 81, 86. TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, & al. vid. & LUDOLPH, lib. i. c. 13. pass.

(E) They have, it seems, found out several ways of destroying, and dressing them for food. As soon as they see them coming at a distance, the whole country rises up in arms against them: they knock them down with flat wooden, or leather, weapons, not unlike our butchers flie-flaps, but larger, and heavier in proportion: and as they fly in such thick swarms, the ground is soon covered with their carcasses, which they sweep up in heaps, about three or four feet high: to some of these they set fire, which burns their legs and wings, and parboils the rest of their flesh, which is now become such a delicious morsel

with them, that after they have eaten their fill of them, they strew the rest with salt, and preserve it for future food. Others dry them only in the sun, and preserve them for use; and having pounded them in a mortar, make a kind of thick spoon-meat of them; which one of our authors, who tasted it, tells us, had an ill flavour and taste (7); owing probably, to their having been kept too long; but the people, to palliate it, told him, that they only eat them out of devotion and respect to *St. John the Baptist*, who is recorded to have made them and wild honey his constant food (8).

(7) Lobo, *Relat.* 2. p. 81 & 86. vid. & al. sup. citat.

(8) *Math.* iii. 4.
upon

upon their bones, and being scarcely able to crawl or speak. What is still more deplorable, is, that this famine is commonly attended with some pestilential distemper¹, no less destructive than those which, as we lately hinted, are caused by the stagnated waters, after their violent and continued winter rains.

THIS country hath likewise its full share of serpents, and variety of reptiles, insects, and other vermin, infesting either men or beasts, or the fruits of the earth: we have already mentioned some of their serpents, and other venomous creatures, as well as of the salutiferous herbs with which Providence hath furnished it, by way of antidote and preservative against them; beyond which, we cannot add any thing worth our readers attention, seeing they so nearly resemble those which we have had occasion to describe in other parts of the world, thro' the course of this history.

S E C T: IV.

Of the several People and Nations that inhabit the Abissinian Empire; their Complexion, Features, Genius, Disposition, Arts, Trades and Occupations, Dress, Food, Drink, and other Customs.

HAVING now gone through the several climates and *The various* soils of this country, and given an account of its chief *soils* products, vegetable and animal, we come now naturally to *inhabiting* describe the various people that inhabit it, whom, for *this em-* distinction sake, we shall at present in general divide only *pire.* into *Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, and Gentiles*, without entering into any particulars about their respective religions, which will be better seen in a subsequent section. By the Christians, we chiefly mean, not only those of the *Abissinian* church, who are the principal natives of the country, but those whom the *Roman* missionaries brought over to their own communion, and continue still in their adherence to it; of whom we are told, there are great numbers scattered about, notwithstanding the grievous persecutions that have been raised against them and their teachers². The *Jews* have *Jews anciently settled here.* been settled in this empire from time immemorial, exclusive of those who are said to have come hither from *Paestine*, with *Menileck*, the son whom the queen of *Sheba* had by *Solomon*,

¹ Id. *ibid.*
VAREZ, CODING. LOBO, LUDOLPH, JARRIK, DAM. DE GOEZ, LE GRAND, & al.

² De his, vid. TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, AL-

Persecuted by Sultan Segued. of whom we shall say more hereafter. These looked upon themselves as natives of the empire, and were settled in *Demben*, *Vegora*, and *Samen*, where they defended themselves a long series of ages, in some of the most strong and rocky parts of these kingdoms, till they were at length dislodged and driven from thence by the emperor *Susneus*, commonly called Sultan *Segued*. Of these ancient *Jews*, many embraced Christianity, from the earliest times of its being propagated in this empire, which lessened their number considerably: since which, the empire has been so streightened and man-
Embrace Christianity. gled by the *Gal'as*, vast numbers of them having been slain, and the rest so severely handled by that emperor, that many of them fled into other countries; others were obliged to embrace Christianity, and lived comfortably there, by their
Exercise trades. several trades, some by weaving, others by making darts, javelins, ploughs, and other iron instruments of husbandry and war, they being reckoned the best workmen in that branch in the whole empire; by which means their number is very much decreased to what they were even in the twelfth century^b; and those that remain, are forced, for the most part, to live in some of the most craggy and moun-
The others keep their old distinction. tainous parts of the country. Neither hath their extreme indigence and misery been capable of making them forget, or set aside, their ancient distinction of caraites and talmudists, of which we have formerly given a full account^c, but retain it with as vehement zeal and inveteracy as ever (A).

NEXT

^b Id. *ibid.* vid. & BEN. DE TUDELA Itinerar. Hist. vol. iii. p. 7, & seq. x. p. 485, & seq.

^c See Anc.

(A) There is still a third sort of them, we are told, who inhabit some parts of the *Abissinian* frontiers, between them and the *Cassres*, whodwell along the *Nile*; these own no dependence to the emperors, but are a kind of republic of themselves, and are supposed to be descended either from those whom the kings of *Affrica* and *Babylon* (1) carried away captive, or from those who dispersed themselves over the world, or were sold by

Titus Vespasian after the destruction of *Jerusalem* (2). On which account they were never incorporated with those that came hither with *Menileck*, the son of *Solomon*, king of *Israel*, but looked upon as aliens, and bear to this day that epithet, being called by the rest *Salaxa*, or strangers, or exiles. They retain still their *Hebrew* bibles, though in the corrupt talmudic dialect, and have their synagogues like the rest; but where

(1) 2 *Kings*, xvii. *pass.* xxiv. & xxv. *pass.* vid. & *Anc. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 374, & seq. 395, & seq. (2) *Ibid.* vol. x. p. 686, & seq.

their

NEXT to the *Jews* are the *Mohammedans*, who are in some measure dispersed through the whole empire, in such numbers, that they are reckoned to make up near one-third part of the inhabitants of the *Abissinian* empire, yet live friendly and quietly with the Christians, with whom they are every-where intermixed. Many of these give themselves up to agriculture and farming; but those that make the greatest figure, and get the most riches, are the factors: for since the *Turks* have deprived the *Abissinians* of their sea-ports on the *Red Sea*, they allow not any of the Christians to resort thither for commerce, so that they have engrossed it wholly into their own hands; and whatever gold, and other commodities are exported, must be conveyed thither by the *Mohammedans*; who there exchange them for silks, stuffs, and other merchandizes, which they sell to them at a very high price; and as they are not over-conscientious, making the greatest gain of this traffic with the Christians, they quickly grow immoderately rich, and get vast estates by this factorship, to the impoverishing of the Christians^d. How *Mohammedism* was first introduced into this empire, will be seen in a more proper place; and we have had frequent occasion, through the course of this work, to observe, how very much that religion, if it deserves that name, is apt to inspire its professors with a more than ordinary contempt for all others, and to behave with singular haughtiness and tyranny towards all other nations, where-ever they gain the upper hand.^e; and the frequent attempts of the *Turkish* Sultans, to make themselves masters of this large and noble country, have hitherto proved, in a great measure, abortive; yet it is much to be feared, that their stripping it of all its sea-ports and commerce, seizing on so many of its frontier provinces, joined to their having introduced their religion not only into most of the neighbouring kingdoms, but even into every part of this empire, will some time or other furnish them with the unhappy means of enslaving it, especially, as the ignorance and indolence of the *Abissinian* clergy, and their subjection to the patriarch of *Alexandria*, who is a subject, and too often a

^d TELLEZ, ALVAREZ, LUDOLPH. et al. sup. cit. before, vol. i. p. 35, & seq. 205, & seq. & alib. pass.

• See

their worship and singing is ble, than it is amongst the performed, in a more careless rest (3). and slovenly manner, if possi-

(3) Ludolb, l. i. c. 14. Travels of the Jesuits, l. i. c. 8, et al. ubi. sup.

creature, to the Porte, and sends such delegates among them, as are the most unfit to rule over that sinking church, doth so largely contribute to the still farther propagation of *Mohammedism*.

Gentiles inhabiting part of this empire.

THE Gentiles, which inhabit several considerable parts of this empire, are chiefly the *Gallas*, of whom we have already given an account; some tribes of whom the emperor having suffered to settle in his dominions, in order to make use of them against those of the same nations who have seized on so great a part of them, are ever at war with him; and the *Agas*, who are settled in the kingdoms of *Bagameder* and *Gojam*; in the former of which, their territories, which are called *Lasta*, are so mountainous, rocky, and so full of inaccessible passes, that they could never be subdued, but have been able to maintain themselves in it against the united forces

The Agas, their high situation and intrenchments.

of the emperor. Those of the kingdom of *Gojam* inhabit likewise a large territory, about twenty leagues in length, and about seven or eight in breadth, very rocky and mountainous, though nothing like that of *Lasta*. It is divided into about twenty districts, each under its particular head: the inhabitants are stout and fierce, and have their habitations along the *Nile*. Their mountains abound in provisions, and are full of thick woods and bamboos, which grow likewise so close, that they serve them instead of ramparts and trenches against their enemies. Through these, they cut such straight and narrow ways, and with such variety of turnings and windings, that one would take them for some spacious labyrinths. Within these they intrench themselves in time of war, at about a mile distance from the entrance, which they take care to stop, as well as all the avenues and ways, by laying large trees across them. These close thickets they call

Excursions of all invaders.

scutes, or secutes; and, being thoroughly acquainted with all their avenues, they fall out like so many wild beasts, and almost with the same savage fierceness, and with their bows and arrows, make a dreadful havock among all that venture to attack them^f. But besides these kind of out-works, they have their furtatas, or deep caverns, some in the solid rock, others under-ground, supposed to be the work of nature, but whether so, or of art and labour, are equally strong and difficult of access; the entrance of them is very narrow, but the inside spacious and convenient; and in some of them they have springs of good water, for their own and their cattle's drinking. In these they commonly live in time of war; in them

Spacious dens.

^f Travels of the Jesuits, lib. i. c. 8. §. iii. c. 5; LUDOLPH, et al.

they

they keep their hoards of millet, barley, and other grain, together with their cattle and families, whilst the enemy is in their frontiers; and from these they make their sallies and armed excursions upon them, through the crooked and intricate paths and defiles, through which it is next to impossible to pursue them back to their dens.

WE know little of their religion, if they have any, except that they are addicted to many superstitious customs; and those of *Gojam*, to some kinds of forcery. They have great plenty of honey, of which they make a pleasant liquor; and abundance of cattle, on the milk and flesh of which they live, much after the manner of the *Gallas*. Their clothing is no other than the skins of those beasts, which they beat with large heavy clubs, till they have brought them to a sufficient thinness and pliability; these they throw, men and women, over their bodies, and tie them about their middle, without any other garment. They are commonly of a very dark complexion, though not quite black like the negroes, and, for the most part, tall and well shaped, stout, and warlike, yet far from the rapacious temper of the *Gallas*, and other neighbouring invaders, living contented within their territories, more solicitous to preserve them from invasion, than to intrude upon theirs: by which means they have been able to defend themselves against the free-booting *Cafres* on the one side, and from the imperial forces on the other, from time immemorial; though they have been since forced to submit to the superior arms of Sultan *Segued*, a warlike prince, who not only subdued them to his obedience, but obliged them to embrace Christianity about the year 1614, as we shall see in the sequel of this chapter. We shall say nothing of the *Gafates*, and some other interior heathen nations, dispersed through other provinces of this empire, concerning which, we find little else mentioned by our authors, except their names, and the part they have acted in some of the wars, or other transactions that are to be met with in their history, without any farther particulars relating to them, worth our readers notice.

AMONG such a variety of nations, and such a number of kingdoms and provinces, there must be supposed a proportionate variety of languages, the major part of which are wholly unknown to us. The *Jews* that still remain there, speak a kind of *Hebrew*, but as corrupt as is their religion and morals. The *Moors* use their own *Arabic*, but no less short of the purity of that ancient tongue. Every nation,

* Id. *ibid*.

Ethiopic. province, and almost district, hath its own dialect: that *The learn-* which is in use at court, and among the most polite, is, that *ed lan-* of the kingdom of *Ambara*, but is spoken more or less *guage.* corruptly in other provinces¹: that of the kingdom of *Tigre*, however, is that which comes nearest to the old *Ethiopic*, which was forced to give place to that of *Ambara*, after the failure of the *Zugean* line, though it had been time out of mind the current language of *Ethiopia*, and comes indeed nearest the ancient *Ethiopic*. This last still retains its pristine dignity, and is still in use, not only in all their religious and learned books, in the king's letters patent, and all their records, but in their liturgies and religious worship. But of this we shall have the less to say, having formerly given as full a description of it, and of its peculiar character, and affinity to the ancient *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, and other oriental languages, as the narrowness of our limits would permit, and to which we shall now refer our readers, and to the more elaborate account which Mr. *Ludolph* hath given of it¹.

*In use in
their li-
turgies, sa-
cred books,
&c.*

*Clergy
very igno-
rant.*

THIS character and language is by them still stiled *Lef-bona Geez*, which may be properly enough translated, the learned language, as it is in constant use; and that in which not only all their sacred and religious books are written, but which is, or should be, understood, at least, by all their bishops and clergymen; though the generality of those of the latter sort think themselves sufficiently versed in it, if they can but read and perform their clerical functions in it: in all other respects, both they and their greatest dignitaries are not only very ignorant, but very zealous to continue so; thinking it both useless and dangerous, either to hold any disputes with those that are of a different church or opinion, and even to read any of their books; and that it is sufficient for them implicitly to adhere to all the articles and rites of their own, as we shall further shew, when we come to speak of their religion. As for arts and sciences, or any branches of what we call polite literature, one may as well look for it among the *Cafres*, and other wild *Africans*, as either among their clergy or laity.

IN all other respects, the *Abissinians* in general, both priests and people, have a very good character given them by most *Portuguese* and other writers, both with respect to their persons and minds, their natural disposition, and moral virtues. With respect to the first, they are commonly well

¹ TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, et al ub. sup.
Hist. vol. xviii. p. 286, & seq. vid. & LUDOLPH, l. xv. c. 1. & al. pass.

¹ See Anc.

made, though of a brown olive complexion; their shape is tall, and in some even majestic; their features well proportioned, their eyes large, and of a sparkling black, their noses rather high than flat, their lips small, and their teeth extremely white and handsome (B), contrary to the inhabitants of *Senaar* or *Nubia*, who have flat noses, thick lips, and their complexion of a very deep black *. With respect to their inward disposition, we are told they are, for the far greater part, a sober, temperate people, naturally inclined to virtue and piety; one finds them commonly less addicted to those vices which reign with us in *Europe*; one may likewise observe, in their mutual conversation, a great degree of simplicity and innocence †. They seem quite averse to all kind of cruelty, and would in all likelihood have continued so to this day, had not the *Portuguese* exasperated them into an equal abhorrence of all *Franks* or *Europeans*. They seldom have any quarrels one with another; if they have, and their anger rises to any height, as it sometimes happens on parti-

* TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, PAYS, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. sup. citat. PONCET, p. 90, Fr. edit. & 70, Engl. † GUERREIRO, Ann. relat. 1607, 1608, p. 38.

(B) This is the general character that is given them, with regard to their persons, by the consent of all the writers above-mentioned, but was most eminently displayed in that of *Zaga Christos*, a native, and, according to his own pretensions, a prince of the *Abissinian* empire, and the son of the emperor *Jaacob*, who was slain in a battle against *Sufneus*, or *Segued*, his competitor. This prince appeared in *France* in the year 1653, and was treated there as such; but whether deservedly, or not, which hath been much disputed, he is yet allowed to be a native of that empire; and such a one, as (according to the description which the learn-

ed *Bochart*, who saw him there, gave to Mr. *Ludolph*) eclipsed all the princes of the blood, with the gracefulness of his person and conversation (4). Yet is not this last gentleman the only one that believed him an impostor, by many; tho' others, no less numerous and judicious, made no question of his being really descended from the imperial family of *Abissinia* (5). However that be, he died in *France*, in the 26th year of his age, at *Ruel*, near *Paris*, and the picture which so many eye-witnesses have given us of him, sufficiently shews how far the *Abissinians* exceed the *Nigritians* in the comeliness of their shape and features (6).

(4) *Ludolph*, lib. ii. c. 7. §. vii. p. 53, et seq.

(5) *Renaudot contra Ludolph*, *Rogers*, *Pakelin*, et al. vid. et lib. cui Titul. *Les étranges Evénements du Voyage de S. A. Serenissime Prince Zaga Christ.* &c.

(6) *Vid. Tellez, Almeida, Lobo, et al. sup. citat. La Croix. Hist. du Christianisme d'Abissinie*, l. i. p. 76.

Disputes and quarrels quickly decided. cular occasions, or when they have drank a little too plentifully of wine, or *sava*, which is a kind of ale, made of barley-flower, mixed with some intoxicating drugs, they never decide it by the sword, as is done in *Europe*, but, at the most, by cuffs and cudgelling; and, as soon as their heat is allayed, by that, or the intervention of cooler reason, to which they are ready to give a listening ear, they immediately submit to an arbitration, or lay the whole matter before the ruler of the place. Here they are allowed to plead their own cause by word of mouth, without the help of a lawyer, or the tedious and chargeable train of bills and answers; and when judgment is once given, whether by the judge or the arbitrator, they faithfully stand to it, without grudge, murmuring, or appeal: by which excellent method they save a great deal of time, charge, and discontent, and are quickly rid of all the other anxieties that constantly attend our law-suits (C).

Without lawyers.

Genius for learning.

THEY are naturally docile, and fond of knowledge, which was one of the main motives that induced them to give the jesuit missionaries so kind a reception at their first coming: and if there is not more learning found amongst them, it is rather for want of proper means, than of capacity of attaining it, especially since they are so hemmed in on all sides, that they cannot venture out of their country without imminent danger, nor receive any strangers amongst them on the

(C) This admirable disposition of the generality of the *Abissinians*, is unanimously confessed by all the relations we have of them, and even by father *Tellez*, who is seldom, in other cases, inclined to speak well of them; however, we must except those of the kingdom of *Tigre*, who commonly indulge their resentment to go a much greater length, especially in case of bloodshed; in which, not only the nearest relations, but all the kindred of the deceased, live years together in open enmity to the slayer, and all his family: this they called having blood between them, which is seldom expiated without shedding a great deal more on each side. The truth

is, if we may believe the accounts which the missionaries give us of them, they are of a light unsteady temper, cruel, treacherous, and vindictive, equally ready to break, as to take, the most solemn oaths; to swear allegiance, and rebel, against their lawful princes, who, on their sides, are no less readily disposed to forgive the greatest crimes and affronts, and to receive them again into favour. But the worst charge of all, and perhaps that which hath been the mother of most of the rest, from that quarter, is their apostasy from the *Roman catholic* faith, after they had once so readily embraced it; of which, more in its proper place (7).

(7) *Jesuits Travels*, lib. i. c. 8.

same

same account. But the most esteemed of all the subjects of this large empire, for sense, ingenuity, courage, equity, and other social virtues, are those of the kingdom of *Enarra*, *The Nare-* which is one of the last conquests of the *Abissinian* monarchs; *ans the* though, as we have hinted heretofore, it hath continued *most esteem-* the most faithful of all his native subjects ever since ^{*ed of all.*}

ALL the *Abissinians*, in general, are naturally religious, *The genius* even to a high degree of bigotry and superstition; great *and dispo-* frequenters of their divine worship, devotees to their num- *sition of* rous saints, strict observers of their fastings and long *the Abis-* Lents (D): They behave with great respect and modesty, *finians.* not only towards their clergy, but more especially in their churches, *which they never enter but with their bare feet; Decent be-* on which account the pavement is commonly covered with *haviour at* carpets, or something equivalent: they are never heard to *church.* speak or whisper to each other, to blow their noses, nor even to turn their heads on one side. They are denied

* See before, pag. 38.

(D) They observe four Lents, like the oriental churches; *viz.* the great Lent, which lasts fifty days; that of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, which lasts forty days, more or less, according to the nearness of their Easter; that of the Assumption of our Lady, which lasts fifteen days; and that of Advent, which lasts three weeks. In all which Lents they abstain from eggs, butter, cheese, and do not touch any eatable or drink till after sunset; but after that they may eat and drink till midnight. Instead of butter they use oil; but as they have no olives, they extract theirs from a small grain, which is far from unpleasant.

With the same strictness they fast on all *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* of the year; and always go to prayers before they begin their meals on those days. The very peasants leave their work to have time enough to perform

that duty before they offer to break their fast.

They dispense neither old nor young, nor even sick persons, from fasting, tho' in some cases they abate something of the rigour of it. Their children themselves are bound to it, from the first time of their being admitted to the holy communion, which is commonly about ten years of age (8).

The Monks are still more strict and rigorous. Some of them eat but once in two days of their meagre fare; and others, we are told, eat only on *Sundays*, and spend the rest of the week in devotion; some of them spend the whole holy week without eating or drinking. Many other instances of mortification are practised by those monks and other devotees, which are scarcely credible, and for which we shall refer our readers to the authors themselves (9).

(8) *Teller, Almeida, Ludolph*, l. iii, c. 6. §. 81, & seq. *Pancet. & al.* (9) *Ibid. ibid.*

entrance,

entrance, if they neglect to appear clean and neat, both in their bodies and dress. Perhaps they have learned this from the *Mohammedans*, who are intermixed among them, and who, how remote soever they are in other particulars of their religion, yet always behave with the most exemplary respect in their mosques °.

*Regard
for their
saints, re-
licks, and
images.*

THEY pay no less a regard to relicks and all kind of religious imagery, of which they have great variety, both in their churches and domestic oratories; such as crucifixes, pictures and statues of the virgin *Mary*, and all their saints. They even affect to wear their little images about them by way of ornament, as well as devotion; and a present of this nature is more regarded amongst them, than one of a

*Their wo-
men enjoy
great li-
berty.*

far more intrinsic value †. Their very women, though far from that recluseness and strictness which is so common over all those warm climates, affect much to mix these superstitious ornaments among those which are more peculiar to their sex and different ranks; the meanest, amongst their trinkets; and those of quality, among their finest jewels. The latter usually go gorgeously dressed in the richest silks and brocades; their upper garments are wide and full, not unlike our church surplices. They attire their heads and hair an hundred different ways, and take care to have their ears adorned with the richest pendants. They spare no cost to embellish their necks with the most costly ornaments of chains, jewels, and other embellishments ‡: and in these vanities they are the less to be wondered at, as they indulge

*Their
dress.*

*The pecu-
liar privi-
leges of the
women.*

*The habit
of the men.*

themselves in a much greater liberty of going abroad and visiting, than the *Turkish* and other ladies of this part of the world; who, though mostly confined at home, and seeing none but their husbands and slaves, yet are no less curious and lavish to shew themselves to them in the most advantageous and richest attire. The habit of men of quality is a long fine vest, either of silk or cotton, tied about the middle with a rich scarf: that of the citizens is much the same, but of cotton only, they not being allowed to wear silk, neither is their cotton of the same fineness: the common people have only a pair of cotton drawers, and a kind of scarf, or piece of the same linen, with which they cover the rest of their body. And, till about a century ago, this was the common dress of all the country, none but the emperor and royal family, and some distinguished favourites,

° See before, vol. i. & seq. pass. † PONCET, et al. sup. citat.
‡ TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, PONCET, et al. ub. sup.

were allowed to wear any other : and that piece of cloth served them at night for a blanket or sheet to wrap themselves in. As to the women, we may suppose that they were allowed to go as fine and genteel as their circumstances would allow them, seeing they were permitted to appear abroad, and visit their friends and relations. How they came by such an uncommon privilege in this, above all eastern countries, we cannot find ; only this one may plainly perceive, that their husbands are nothing less than pleased with it ; and rather bear with it as with an ill habit, against which they can find no remedy, than as a mark of politeness and grandeur.

It is still harder with those who have married princesses *Women of* of the royal blood, and who, on that account, stretch their *quality* privileges much farther, and think no gallantries, how *dishonour-* injurious soever to their honour, ought to be denied to *able to* them : in which liberties they are so far upheld by their *their hus-* own relations, that all complaints against them will not only *bands.* be in vain, but be taken very ill¹. It is not so indeed with those of inferior rank, who, excepting these gadding excursions, which custom allows them, are generally very observing and faithful to their husbands. These are obliged, for the most part, especially among the meaner sort, to con- *Lower* descend to some of the most laborious offices of the family ; *class of* such, particularly, as that of grinding all the corn that is *women* used in it, which the lowest male slaves will refuse to do : *grind corn* for as they have no mills, they are forced to grind all things *for the* by hand, whether it be for bread or for drink ; and this *family.* must be repeated every day, because what is made one day *Have none* will be good for nothing by the next, which makes the *but hand-* task still harder ; because it requires much labour and firing *mills.* to prepare them. If these were the mills an *Abissinian* once boasted of, saying, " That the emperor had no less than 500 of them in his camp," he might as well have said 5000 ; for a less quantity could have hardly been sufficient for it ; and this shews rather their want of industry, than their grandeur.

In their marriages they are in some points rather too *Marriage* strict, as in forbidding it to persons in the 2d, 3d, and even *abused a-* 4th degree of consanguinity ; but in others very remiss. *mongthem.* They allow marriage to be of divine institution ; and (if we will believe the relations of the missionaries²) they give it

¹ Id. *ibid.* vid. et LOBO ub. sup. p. 73. ² See LE GRAND ubi sup. dissert. 13. p. 335, et seq.

*Polygamy
tolerated
by the
state.*

even the title of sacrament; in consequence of which they think it unlawful for a man to have more than one wife at once. Neither do they allow any to be lawful, unless the persons have been joined by a priest: and yet there are numbers of them that have a plurality of wives, and live with them unmolested. Such are, indeed, deprived by the church of the benefit of the holy communion, on account of the scandal it brings to religion: but the state, not deeming polygamy to be detrimental to society, suffer it to go unmolested (E).

*Divorces
why so
frequent.*

DIVORCE likewise is reckoned unlawful, except in case of breach of conjugal fidelity; and yet nothing is more commonly practised amongst them, even where no such plea is so much as pretended. Nay, we are even told that, till the coming of the missionaries thither, they used to contract their marriages in such a manner, and with such reserves, as they thought would render them invalid, and open a door for such divorces; that is, with such tacit or express consent that they should part from each other, whensoever they found that they could not mutually agree; and even gave each other some security for the performance of their promise. The principal motive for these divorces, besides that allowed by the gospel, were want of children, or

*How ob-
tained.*

* MATTH. V. 32, & seq.

(E) The missionaries boast of it as a great piece of merit, not only that they reformed these abuses among all their converts, but likewise that their example excited the *Abissinian* clergy to do the same among their laity. Thus one of them tells us, that a man of his acquaintance had lived so long peaceably with his three wives, that he had had no less than thirty-seven children by them, without receiving any other censure or molestation than that of his being debarred from the sacred communion and church-worship. But, upon his repudiating the two last, he was again re-admitted to both (10).

So remains had they been in that point, till the coming of these fathers among them.

Father *Telles* moreover mentions an ancient custom among the *Abissinian* emperors, of having not only a great number of wives, but likewise a multitude of concubines, supposed to have been introduced among them, in imitation of their progenitor, *Solomon*, king of *Israel*: but adds, that when *Susnucus*, or rather *Soltan Segued*, came to be converted to their church, these good fathers refused him absolution, till he had cast them all off except his first (11).

(10) *Alvares Hist. Abyss.* c. 20. *Vid. Ludolph. lib. iii. cap. 6. §. 99, et seq.*
(11) *Hist. Abyss.* l. i. c. 19.

strife about them, a mutual dislike or disagreement, bodily infirmities, a lingering sickness, and such-like; in all which cases the woman hath the same privilege of abrogating the marriage contract with the man. The dissatisfied party, in such cases, applies first to the *Abuna*, or patriarch, or to their bishop; and having obtained the desired divorce, which is seldom denied, if the party cannot be prevailed upon to withdraw his or her suit, they next petition for a licence for contracting a fresh marriage, and obtain it with the same ease; even where the reasons alleged are so frivolous, that the prelate cannot admit of them, they may have recourse to some inferior priest, of a more pliable nature, who will make no difficulty to marry them; in which case they are only liable to be excluded from the sacred communion for some time, more or less. This makes these divorces as frequent, as they are easily obtained, among married people, especially those of the richer sort; whilst, with regard to the grand motive, the breach of fidelity on either side, they find often a gentler way of salving that sore, by some fine, or present, equivalent to the wrong, or at least such as the wronged party deems to be such: for married people, it seems, have here each of them their own lands, goods, and chattels, *in proprio*, and so can make a suitable compensation for the transgression^u. But where such a composition cannot be agreed on between the injurer and injured, the women are commonly the most severely punished of the two, and in a way that is something singular; for first she is condemned to the loss of all her goods, and to go out of her husband's house in a mean or ragged drefs, with an express prohibition never to come into it again. 2. All that she is allowed to carry out with her is a sewing needle, by which she may get a livelihood. 3. Sometimes she is condemned to lose her chief ornament, her head of hair, and to be closely shaved, except one single lock on her fore-top, which only disguises her the more. All this wholly depends on the husband's will, who, if he thinks proper, may take her in again; or, if he doth not, they may both marry where they will or can. If the husband be the offender, he is likewise liable to be punished, as well as the woman with whom he hath offended; but that seldom mounts higher than a fine upon them both, which is appropriated to the plaintive wife. Thus likewise the paramour of the adulteress, if convicted, is condemned

Adultery easily compensated by a fine.

How punished on the wives;

on the husband;

on their paramours.

* See TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, ALVARES, LUDOLPH, LÖBO, and LE GRAND, *ub. sup.*

to what they stile the *Circo-arbah*, that is, to a fine of forty cows, horses, suits of clothes, &c. and, if unable to pay it, he remains a prisoner with the husband, at his discretion, till he doth; or if he lets him go before, he obliges him to swear that he is going to fetch what will satisfy him; upon which the guilty person sends him some wine, and a piece of cow's flesh, and they eat and drink together; and upon his asking pardon of the offended, he first remits him one part of the fine, and then another, and a third, and at last forgives him the intire fine.

Marriages mere bargains. UPON the whole, marriage among them is no better than a firm bargain or contract, by which both parties engage to cohabit and join their stocks together, as long as they like each other, after which they shall be at liberty to part. So that there can but little gallantries or courtship be required before-hand, or any other ceremony, except the consent of the parents, and the interchange of a few presents; excepting what is performed by the priest at church, or at the church-door.

A Jewish custom. This custom of meeting and blessing the candidates for marriage at the church doors, is doubtless derived to them from the *Jews*, among many others; none but priests and deacons being married within the body of the church. We find something like it practised formerly in *England*, and taken notice of by old *Chaucer*, in his *Wife of Bath*, in this distich;

*She was a worthy woman all her life,
Husbands at the church-door had she had five *.*

IN this part of the matrimonial celebration, the officiating prelates or priests are very liberal of their ceremonies, prayers, incensing, and singing. We shall give an instance of one, as related by an eye-witness †, in which the *Abuna*, or patriarch, officiated in chief.

How celebrated at church. THE bride and bridegroom were waiting at the church door, where a kind of bed or couch had been prepared for them, and on which the patriarch ordered them to seat themselves: he then, with his cross in one hand, and an incenser in the other, makes a kind of procession round them; and then laying his hands on their heads, tells them, that as they now become one flesh, so they ought to have but one heart and one will: this is followed by a short exhortation, suitable to the occasion; after which he goes

* SELDEN *uxor* Hebr. lib. ii. c. 27.
sup *Vid.* & LE GRAND, *dissert.* 13. p. 340.

† ALVAREZ *ubi*

into

into the church, and celebrates the divine office, at which they both assist; and that being ended, he gives them his blessing, which makes the marriage valid, and so dismisses them. The more religious sort not only attend divine service, but receive the holy communion either just before or after their being joined (F) *. What other festivities and rejoicings attend those nuptials, we are not told; except *Husband and wife keep two tables.* that, even after consummation, the husband and wife keep their separate tables; or if they agree to eat together, each bring their own victuals, ready dressed, with them, or send them in before, by their servants or slaves.

We have already hinted, in part, how sober and mode-*Their mean* rate they are in their eating; and we might have added, *food,* that no food can be well coarser, meaner, or more disgusting, than theirs, even among the better sort. A piece par-boil'd, or half broild, but for the most part quite raw flesh, mostly beef. This is served up on an *Apas*, or cake of bread, ground and made by the women, of wheat, pease, millet, teff, or other sorts of grain, according to their circumstances: so that this *Apas* serves them not only instead of a dish or plate, but likewise instead of a napkin or table-cloth, which they never use at their tables. For

* De his vid. TELLEZ, lib. i. c. 16. v. 35, & seq. ALVAREZ, LUDOLPH. lib. iii. c. 6. §. 102. iv. c. 4. §. 2. LOBO, voy. 3.

(F) It is not to be supposed, that all their marriages are celebrated with such pontifical ceremony: nevertheless whether this office be performed by a bishop or a priest, the same rites of incensing, processioning, chanting, &c. at the church-door, and assisting at the divine service, are always observed, whenever there is a mutual desire in the married couple that their marriage should be made as valid as possible; because in such cases, a divorce is not obtained without great difficulty, unless it be for breach of conjugal fidelity. But when they enter that state only with a view and tacit reserve to cohabit no

longer than they can like each other, then the ceremony is only performed either at the church door, or in any other place, by any obscure priest; for then they think their union less binding, as it is indeed deemed less valid by the clergy (12).

This is the sad account our missionaries give us of the shameful prostitution of that holy rite, both by the priests and laity; if their joint and strenuous zeal against these holy fathers and their church, which hastened their expulsion out of the whole empire, hath not, perhaps, too far induced them to exaggerate it.

(12) See Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Ludolph, et al. sup. citat.

whenever they have any chicken or mutton broth served up, or any other spoon-meat, the *Apos* serves them instead of spoons to eat it with, and of a cloth to wipe their mouths and hands. These last dishes are commonly served up in black earthen porringers, or dishes, covered with what they call *Escambias*, which are like caps made of fine straw. Those of the greatest quality, and even the emperor himself, have no better at their tables; and that which is oldest is the most esteemed among them*. As their meats have nothing that is inviting, so neither have the sauces which they eat with them; they commonly swim with butter turned into oil, and taste and smell of some very strong ingredients, which so add to their disrelish, that an *European*, even a *Spaniard* or *Portuguese*, can hardly tell how to behave, when invited to their table (G), and are usually obliged to rise with an empty stomach. They have one cleanly custom at their meals, *viz.* to wash their hands before they sit down, because they touch every thing they eat with them; and those of high rank are still more nice in that particular, who have their victuals cut into bits, and conveyed to their mouths by some young pages†.

*flowently
tables,*

*distasteful
sauces.*

*The rich
are fed by
hand.*

* Vid. TELLEZ, &c. ubi sup. Travels, l. ii. c. 12. & al.

† Ibid. ibid. up. sup. Jesuits

(G) And this not only on account of the ill look, relish, and flavour, of their nicest dishes, but because it is reckoned amongst them a piece of high breeding to gobble large mouthfuls, and to make as much noise as they can in chewing their meat: it being a common saying amongst them, *That none but beggarly wretches chew their meat only on one side, and none but thieves and robbers eat without making a noise.* All which, added to the uneasy posture of sitting, and other parts of the economy of their table, render their best treats almost insupportable. Their greatest regale is a piece of raw beef, brought in reeking warm from the beast; and if they invite company to eat with them, the whole quar-

ter is served up at once, with plenty of salt and pepper. The gall serves instead of oil and vinegar. Some add a kind of mustard, peculiar to them, which they call *Manta*, and which is made of what they draw out of the paunch of the ox or cow. This they stew some time on the fire with pepper, salt, and a sliced onion, before they bring it to table, which, when covered with such a large piece of warm raw beef, and seasoned with the above-mentioned sauces, is as highly esteemed among them, as one furnished with the greatest dainties would be among us (13.) But this dish can only be purchased by the rich, on account of the pepper, which is very scarce and dear in this country.

(13) See Lobo ubi sup. p. 72. Tellez, Ludolph, et al. sup. citat.

THEIR tables are commonly round, large enough among ^{their ta-} the rich for twelve or fourteen persons to sit about them; ^{bles low} but so very low, that the guests only sit upon carpets, ^{and round.} and the meaner sort upon mats, or on the ground. They observe the good old custom of not drinking any thing till they have finished their meals; their common rule is, *Plant first, and then water.* But after the table is cleared, the ^{Caraufing} cups and flaggons are brought in, and plied so merrily about, ^{at their} especially at their feasts, that the quantity makes ample ^{feasts.} amends for the smallness of the liquor, and seldom fails of setting their tongues a running, till their brain being quite turned, their legs can hardly carry them from their seats. For their common liquor is neither wine, cyder, fine ale, or strong beer, but is made of five or six parts of water to one of honey, mixed in a jar, with a handful or two of parched barley meal, which sets it a fermenting; after which they put into it some chips of a sort of wood which they call *Sardo*, which, in five or six days, takes off the fullsome taste of the honey, and makes the whole very pa-^{Common} latable and wholesome, though nothing so strong as our ^{drink} wines, and other fuddling liquors. They might, indeed, ^{weak.} make excellent wine from their grapes; but whether, thro' indolence or ignorance of managing it so as to keep ², they content themselves with the hydromel above-mentioned, or ^{Make no} with a sort of beer made of barley meal, mixed with some ^{wine.} intoxicating drugs for their common drink: though they make a kind of extempore wine for the holy communion, which is extracted from dried grapes, soaked some days in fair water: this is done to avoid its contracting any acidity, which, according to their canons, renders it unfit for that use (H) ².

THE

² TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19. et al. ub. sup.

^a lid. ibid. Vid. Ludolph. l. iii. c. 6. §. 81, et seq. et al. ub. sup.

(H) Their ritual expressly enjoins the priests to take special care, *that the wine which they use in the divine service be neither sour, nor without its natural taste and flavour; and in cases of necessity to make use of such as they shall express from the dried grape.* And we are told, that one of

the Jesuit missionaries being in doubt about the lawfulness of such wine for the service of the mass, was answered by the physician *Poncet*, often quoted in this chapter, that the water which soaks into the dry grape doth only restore it to its natural state, and supplies the place of
F 2 that,

Mean furniture. THE furniture of their houses, even among those of higher rank, is much of a piece with that of their tables. No fine paintings, tapestry, or other ornaments, are to be seen in them; and indeed their way of living is in some measure incompatible with any such finery. Even their beds are no better than couches, the best of them; on which they lay their upper garment to wrap themselves in; whilst underneath they have nothing but hides, more or less fine or soft, to lie upon. Some of their princes, and great and rich men, have, indeed, since the *Portuguese* opened a kind of import of *Indian* commodities, got the way of purchasing *Indian* quilts, with silk borders, which now come to them from the ports on the *Red Sea*; and these they spread upon their couches, chiefly in their outward chambers, that they may be in full view of those that come to visit them, and serve them instead of chairs. As to the meaner sort, they mostly lie on mats on the ground, or perhaps with a hide or two under their upper day garment, with which they wrapt themselves about at night ^b. But the oddest furniture of their beds is their bolster, if we may give that name to a forked piece, which serves not to lay their heads upon, which would greatly discompose the much studied oeconomy of their head of hair, about which they are extremely curious, both men and women; but to support their necks in such a manner, that the least curl be not ruffled by the pillow underneath. By which means also the butter, which they lavishly bestow upon it, in order to give it a shining smoothness, is preserved from being licked up by whatever they lay under their heads.

Other bed-clothes.

Nicety in adorning their hair.

Go bare-headed.

How men and women adorn their hair.

BUT our readers will perhaps less wonder at this piece of vanity, when they are told that the hair is the only ornament of their heads ^c, none but the emperors alone being allowed to wear either cap or any other covering: which is a great inducement to them, as they have a great deal of idle time upon their hands, to bestow some part of it in this pleasing amusement. And this they do even to a degree of emulation, each striving for the most elegant symmetry in

^b TELLEZ, LOBO, &c. ub. sup. Vid. et Jesuits Travels, l. i. c. 8. et alib. pass. ^c Ibid. ibid.

that which was conveyed into it had been since evaporated in its by the root or sap of the vine, and drying (14).

(14.) Vid. *Le Grand, dissert. 12. pag. 328. Gregor. Missis. op. Ludolph, l. i. c. 9. §. 19; et seq. iii. c. 6. §. 81, et seq. et al. sup. citat.*

the

the plaiting and curling their own. The truth is, their hair not being apt to grow thick and long, but mostly thin and frizzly, there seems to be some additional art required to keep it in a tolerable order, answerable to each sex; and therefore, whilst the men take much pains in braiding it up in various forms, the women strive to have it hang loose in the like variety of curls and ringlets, excepting the fore-top, which they are still more curious and nice to adorn with jewels or trinkets, according to their rank. Upon the whole, their dress is chiefly accommodated to the climate, and where they are situate so long a time under the scorching beams of a vertical sun, that they are hardly able to bear any clothes to touch their flesh, their chief care is to have them as light, and to hang as loose as possible, during that season. Hence it is, that their cloak, or piece of cloth that covers their bodies, and their breeches and womens drawers, are made so wide and long, as to let in as much air as possible; which in the cooler seasons they bring much closer to their bodies; and then the richer sort appear in handsome banyan vests, open only to the waist, and closed with small buttons: these have little collars, and very long and streight sleeves, gathered in at the wrist. Some authors have mistaken them for shirts; though they have another light callico garment under them, next to the skin, which is made of thin taffety, sattin, or damask, according as the season and their circumstances will permit^d.

AND as they are thus negligent and inelegant in their dress, food, and furniture of their houses, so are they, and much more, with regard to the symmetry and architecture of their buildings, which is owing to their living in tents or camps, after the manner of their monarchs. So that, excepting some few old royal palaces and churches, of which we shall speak among their artificial rarities, here are neither public structures nor private buildings to be seen throughout the whole empire; and those which they stile houses, would hardly deserve the name of huts amongst us; being built of nothing but clay and laths, or splinters, put together in the meanest and most slovenly manner; so as to be easily reared, and as readily abandoned, when they think proper to remove their quarters^e. The same method is taken by the inferior fort who follow the royal camp, and are not able to purchase pavilions or tents, and as quickly build themselves such huts, and with almost as little trouble, as is com-

^d TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, PONCET, et al.
ibid.

^e Ibid.

No palaces, cities, castles, &c. commonly taken up in rearing of a large tent. Thus, whatever some authors have romanced concerning their stately edifices, number of their cities, towns, &c. is found by experience to be all false. We have taken notice of the once famed city of *Axuma* being reduced to a poor despicable village, though it still retains its antient dignity, and title of metropolis of the whole empire. All the rest, if ever any of them made any figure heretofore, were either encompassed with walls, or adorned with noble structures, are now reduced to the same dismal plight; excepting, perhaps, that they contain a greater number of such scattered huts as we have described, and so ought rather to be called large villages, than cities or towns. And this is so far evident, that abbot *Gregory*, and as many other *Abissinians* as have travelled into *Europe*, could not forbear being astonished at the largeness and magnificence of our great cities, and looking upon them as so many prodigies of human industry, and much more so, when they found them stand at such small distances from each other^h: they being unable to conceive how it was possible to find sufficient quantities of wood, victuals, and other necessities, for the vast numbers of people and cattle which they contained.

The most noted of them.

WHAT other places worth naming are to be met with in the whole empire, are only these few; viz. 1. *Fremona*, of which we have already spokenⁱ, and which owed its grandeur to the *Portuguese* missionaries, whose residence it became in the reign of the emperor *Adam Segued*, who chose it for them, on account of its being at a great distance from his court, as he was no friend to them, but, as they pretend, was more inclined to *Mohammedism* than to Christianity^k. So that it is most likely to have fallen into utter decay, since their total expulsion (I). 2. *Gubay*, in the kingdom

^f See *URETTA*'s fabulous account of them in the appendix to this chapter, and all the maps of this empire, &c. ^g See before, p. 33. ^h See: *TELLEZ* et al. sup. citat. *LUDOLPH*. lib. ii. c. 11. §. 18, & seq. ⁱ See before, p. 33, & seq. ^k *LOBO*, & al. sup. cit.

(I) This place, which stands near the conflux of two streams, from whose murmuring noise it had the name of *Maegoga* (for that of *Fremona* was given to it by the Jesuits, from the famed *Frumentius*, or *Fremonatius*, the first bishop of *Axum*), had been well fortified by those fathers

against the robbers and freebooters of that territory. They had built a strong house of stone and clay on the second head of the abovesaid brook, to which several others were added quickly after, which lay scattered at a distance from each other, upon the declivity of the hill, and each

kingdom of *Dembea*, remarkable only for being the residence of the empress. 3. *Dobarna*, in the kingdom of *Tigre*, and the residence of its viceroy. 4. *Nanina*, in the kingdom of *Gajan*, formerly inhabited by the *Portuguese*, till their total expulsion. And lastly, *Macana Celace*, in the kingdom of *Ambara*, worth naming only for being the native place of abbot *Gregory* ¹.

NEITHER had the emperors either castles or palaces to keep their court in, till the coming of the *Portuguese* missionaries among them, but lived altogether in their stately pavilions, attended with all their nobles, guards, and other retinue. And such strangers were they to all kinds not only *Father* of stately, but even of common regular buildings, that *Pays* builds when the celebrated *Father Pays* undertook to build a magnificent edifice for *Soltan Segued*, in whose high favour he then was, none of that prince's subjects knew so much as how to dig the stones out of the quarries, much less how to square or work them fit for use: inasmuch that he was obliged to teach them both that, and how to make the proper tools for the carpenters, joiners, masons, and, in a word, for every part of the work, and how to join the stones with the red clay mentioned in the last note, instead of the usual mortar made of quick-lime. Hence the reader may guess at their great astonishment, when they, who had never till then been used to see even a few stones regularly set upon one another, did now behold not only a large stupendous structure, reared with so much strength and regularity, but

¹ Lib. i. c. 3. §. 10. ii. c. 11. §. 20.

each of them had a good inclosure of stone and clay.

The whole was surrounded with a stout wall of the same materials, flanked with seven or eight bastions, and lofty curtains between each of them. Within they had between twenty and thirty muskets, and a drake, which were managed by the sons of the *Portuguese*; so that the place was looked upon as impregnable. They had likewise built a stately church in it, of the same materials, which were

here to be found in great plenty.

The quarries furnishing them with a stone almost fit for any work, and which is digged about three or four inches thick, and of what breadth or length one will, without the help of either pick-ax or wedge; and is easily parted with slight iron crows. The clay likewise, which is here of a reddish hue, is of so glutinous a nature, that it makes a good strong cement, without the help of quick-lime (15)

(15) *Travels of the Jesuits*, lib. iii. c. 6. *Lobo*, *ab. sup. voy.* 3. p. 79. *Le Grand*, *disert.* 2. p. 202. *Ludolph*, lib. ii. c. 11. §. 19.

even high and stately stories raised one upon another, and for which they had not so much as a proper word, but stiled them *Babeth-Laibeth*, or house upon house. How must they be surpris'd at the elegance and symmetry of the several wide and noble stair-cases, by which one ascended from the one to the other; to say nothing of the spacious galleries that led through all the apartments of the whole building; and of a vast variety of other ornaments, within and without, as might have made it a fit residence for the greatest monarch in *Europe*. What extraordinary idea must this stupendous fabric, of which we shall give a sketch in its proper place, give to that whole nation, of the greatness and magnificence of the *Romish* church and its sovereign pontif, as well as of the city of *Rome*, his metropolis, in which alone so many hundreds, not only of the like, but even much grander and

And shows
them the
magnifi-
cence of the
Europe-
ans.

more superb structures, are the common palaces of his inferior cardinals and bishops, and almost of every ambassador that is sent thither by their respective crowned-heads: a powerful motive, of a worldly one, to make the whole indigent clergy of *Abissinia* feel the immense difference between the *Roman* and the *Egyptian* patriarch; between the richness and splendor of the *Romish* court, and the poor and slavish one of *Alexandria*. It served no less to convince the *Abissinians*, who came from all parts of the empire to see and admire it, of the truth of what they had told them, concerning the magnificence of the *European* edifices, and of the superior genius of those nations, who could contrive and complete such incredible monuments of art^m. What became of it after the universal expulsion of the *Portuguese*, we can only guess; and that if it escaped the fury of the natives, it must of course have soon fallen into decay for want of proper hands to keep it in repair.

Few trades
or manu-
factures.

THEY have but few manufactures among them; and tho' linen and cotton be their chief dress, and their country as proper for producing them as any in *Africa*, their indolence is such, that they cultivate no more than just serves their present want; and the less quantity of either serves them, as they make no use of any, either at their tables, nor for their beds, and a scanty portion will suffice the common sort to cover their bodies with. The *Jews* are said to be their only weavers, as they are in most parts of the empire their only smiths, in every metal, and every branch of their manufacture, which are likewise very few and inconsiderable. What carpenters, joiners, masons, &c. this country pro-

* TELLEZ, PAYS, LOBO, LUPELPH, & al. ub. sup.

duces,

duces, may be easily guessed, from the meanness of their buildings and furniture; and the same may be said of such other trades as are in use in other countries, as taylor, shoemakers, &c. from the plainness of their dress. The potters, and makers of horn trumpets, and drinking cups, are indeed in the greatest request: these, and some still inferior sorts of tradesmen, are incorporated into tribes, or companies, and have their several quarters, neither intermingling, nor intermarrying, with the rest, but the children commonly following the business of their parentsⁿ.

GOLD and silversmiths, jewellers, and other such curious arts and trades, are altogether unknown to them, unless it be by some of their manufactures being brought among them by way of traffic or exchange; and these are only to be met with among the great and opulent. The same may be said of their silks, brocades, velvets, tapestry, carpets, and other costly stuffs, which are all brought hither by the *Turks*, by the way of the *Red Sea*, and exchanged for gold-dust, emeralds, and fine horses. The *Jews*, *Arabians*, and *Armenians*, are the common merchants, or brokers, between them and the *Abissinians*; these last seldom or ever travelling out of their own country, or being indeed suffered to do so by the *Turks*; who, as we have elsewhere hinted, being become masters of all their sea-ports, enrich themselves by this monopoly, and are extremely careful to prevent any trade or traffic being opened into this country by any other nation, or of its being carried on by any other hands but their own^o. Besides the commodities already mentioned, which are exchanged between them, the *Turks* bring them several sorts of spices, and among them, pepper; all which are but too few to give their common food a tolerable relish; and yet, the pepper, which is the most coveted by them, is brought thither with such privacy, and the price of it so very high, that none but the very richest of all can purchase it. In return for these, the *Abissinians* bring them skins, furs, leather, honey, wax, and ivory, in great quantities, for which they are forced to take what the brokers please to give them^p.

THEY have neither inns, taverns, nor public houses, for the entertainment of strangers, but are beyond measure hospitable to them, considering their extreme indigence. If one of them stays longer in a village or camp than three

ⁿ LUDOLPH, l. iv. c. 5. pass. TELLEZ, LOBO, & al. before, p. 24, & alib. pass. ^o See TELLEZ, & al.,

§ LUDOLPH, ibid. c. 7. pass.

hours, the whole community is obliged to lodge and furnish him with proper necessaries for himself, servants, and cattle, at the public charge. In that case, he need only enter into the first hut or tent he likes, and acquaint the master of it with his wants, who immediately goes and informs the lord, or chief of the place, of it; upon which, a cow is forthwith killed, and so much of it sent to him as will suffice him and his company, together with a proportionable quantity of cake, or bread, and beer, or hydromel, and other proper conveniences for their lodging: and all these they are the more careful to supply him with, because their neglect would be liable to be punished, with a fine of double the value of what they were bound to furnish him with, should he prefer a complaint of it to a proper magistrate. This laudable custom, however, is not without some great inconveniences, inasmuch as it gives encouragement to a parcel of idle vagabonds to abuse it, and causes the country to swarm with that destructive vermin¹.

*Abused by
vagrants.*

S E C T. V.

Of the natural and artificial Rarities of Abissinia.

*Natural
rarities.*

*The longe-
vity of
the men.*

AMONG all the natural rarities of this country, which may justly challenge our admiration, we may reckon the surprising longevity of the men, under the various changes of their climate, from the extremes of the most sultry and burning heats, to the most vehement and continual rains and inundations, and the many distempers which they naturally occasion². And next to that, the liveliness and fecundity of the women, and especially the ease and quickness with which they are delivered, though they commonly bear two or three children at a birth; insomuch, that without the assistance of doctor or midwife, of cordial, or other medicines, they go through their pregnancy without qualms or uneasiness, and without feeling any of those dreadful and tedious pangs of child-birth, which commonly terrify and affect that tender sex, in ours and other parts of the world: here they have little else to do but kneel and stoop before they are delivered of their burthen, and rise up strong and active; and, in a very little space of time, are able to return to their domestic employments. They scarcely allow themselves the formality of a few days lying-in, nor any of the comfortable changes of

*Agility
and fecun-
dity of the
women.*

¹ Vid. int. al. Loxo, p. 73, & seq. Lud. ibid. c. 6. §. 46.

² See before, p. 52, & seq.

diet proper to their condition; and suckle and rear up their offspring, whether they have more than one or two at a birth, without any intermission from their other family concerns ^b. This fecundity is still more remarkable in their domestic animals, as well as wild beasts; about which we need not repeat what we have said in the foregoing section, and to the vast product of their ground, in spite of the epidemic indolence that reigns amongst the inhabitants ^c.

THE next we are to speak of under this head, is, that of their metals and minerals, salts, and other fossils. Of their mines of gold, we have already hinted something, though with diffidence, on account of the fear which the natives are in of tempting the *Gallas*, and other incroaching neighbours, to seize on them, should they once be apprised of them; so that though this country may be as likely as any other in *Africa* to produce plenty of that valuable metal, yet they prudently chuse to have so tempting a treasure concealed from strangers, and content themselves with what is, or perhaps they pretend to be, brought to them from *Gafria*, *Nigritia*, and other parts, rather than to hazard the enslaving of their country, by owning their having any of their own; for it is plain that they gather quantities of that which the torrents bring down from the mountains, and which often comes in large grains, and of a fine pure nature, some of which, we are told, is even found about the roots of their trees ^d. Silver is still more scarce among them; but whether owing to the same policy, or to the want of proper hands and skill to manage them, we do not hear of any mines they have of it; though by their having some of lead, one would be apt to conclude, they must likewise have some of silver: but what they want of the latter, is richly compensated by what they have of the former; and much more so, by the great quantity of iron they draw from their mines, and which is reckoned of greater use and value. The misfortune is, that they are not only quite ignorant of every branch that belongs to the digging of it, but look upon it as a slavish, dismal, and hazardous business, and far beneath the high opinion they entertain of their own nation above all others. To dig and labour so far in the dark bosom of the earth, with a small glimmering light, to be forced to bear with the unwholesome damps and vapours of a subterranean dungeon, to be in continual danger of being overwhelmed by the ground over

Gold mines.

None of silver, tho' some of lead.

The people quite ignorant of metals and mines.

^b Vid. TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, PONCET, CODING, & al. plur.
^c See p.
^d Id. ub. sup. Vid. LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 7. §. 1, & seq.

their heads, which they know not how to prop, or of being annoyed, if not drowned, by springs from beneath, which they neither know how to drain, or draw away. These, and many other difficulties and dangers, which they frame to themselves, make them look upon such a work as fit only for the worst of slaves, and content themselves with so much of that useful metal as they find on the surface of the ground *; so that we need not wonder if we hear of no mines, or any other metals, such as copper, tin, &c. nor of any other minerals, which require digging at any distance below it.

Mines of salt.

THEY are much more expert and ready at working at their salt mines, where there is less labour and danger, and of which they have a considerable number, especially on the confines of the kingdoms of *Tigre*, *Dancali*, and *Angot*. This salt is not like that which we make in *Europe*, of sea water, or salt-springs, but is ready made to their hands, by the Divine Providence, and in such vast quantities, that those mines, which are no other than huge rocks or mountains of solid salt, are in some measure inexhaustible. These rocks are hewn in pieces, somewhat in the shape of our bricks, but of different sizes and weights: the salt, though very solid and hard on the surface of the rock, is much softer within the mine, till consolidated by the sun, and is in no way inferior in taste and goodness to the best of our own. From these parts, in which these huge rocks grow, and called from thence the land of salt, those pieces are dispersed through the whole empire, where they are bought, especially at their fairs, not only as a necessary commodity, but as the most current money, by which they can furnish themselves with all other goods they want, and where they bear a greater or lesser value, according to the distance of the place from whence they are brought: thus, in those parts which are near the mine, one hundred-weight of it will purchase what they reckon equivalent to about five of our shillings; at a greater distance, eighty pounds will do the same; and so at a farther distance, will sixty, fifty, &c. do the same. At the imperial camp, or court, ten pounds will still be equivalent to a crown; and, in some of the most distant provinces, three pounds of it will fetch a small piece of gold, called a *darim*, but of what value our author doth not tell us †.

Salt the chief coin of the country.

Its different value in all parts of the empire.

THERE is still a farther use made of this salt by the *Abissinians*, which is that of being a condiment to mutual love and friendship; so that they never go out without a small piece of

* LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 7. §. 1, & seq. TELLEZ, LOBO, & al.
† LOBO, ub. sup. p. 74.

it in their purse, which commonly hangs at their girdle. Whenever, therefore, any two friends or acquaintances meet, their first greeting is, to take the piece out of the bag, and offer it to the other's mouth, and each gives a lick at the other's piece with his tongue: to refuse this compliment, on either side, would be looked upon as a gross affront, and an open declaration of some inward resentment or private grudge; or at best, as a piece of ill-manners and unpoliteness^s, and is, for that reason, readily complied with (A).

THEY have also some large spacious plains, whose surface *A vast* is incrustated with another sort of salt, and in the fetching of *plain of* which, many hundreds of camels, mules, and asses, are daily *salt* employed; particularly in the confines between *Dancali* and *Tigre*. This salt, like the former, is carried in bricks about a span long, and four inches in breadth and thickness, is very white, hard, and in the greatest plenty, though the caravans are continually going and coming with it; the plain that yields it being said to be four days journey in length. To this last we may add a third sort, of a reddish colour, which is *A red salt* hewn from an intire rock: this is commonly used in physic; *used for* and the mountain must be passed by night, the heat being so *physic* violent in the day, that it often stifles both man and beast; and the very shoes are parched, as if they were laid upon burning coals^b.

THE next sort of natural rarities, is their stupendous, high, *High and* craggy, and almost inaccessible mountains; in comparison of *stupendous* which, the *Apennines*, *Alps*, and *Pyrenees*, are but mere *rocks and* hillocks, and little eminences; and yet are here in such vast *mountains* numbers, that there is not one province, or kingdom, (except that of *Dembea*, which is for the most part a fertile plain,

^s Id. *ibid*.

^b ALPHONSO, MENDEZ. See Jesuits Travels, l. iii. c. 8. LOBO, & al. *sup. citat*.

(A) It is not unlikely that this custom of carrying a piece of salt in their bag, was at first introduced with no other view than to moisten their parched mouths, as they travelled thro' those broiling climates; whence common civility and good-nature might induce them to offer it to those strangers they met, and were perhaps destitute of it. It might very probably be the natural clamminess of their

tongues, which is usually occasioned by excessive drought and heat, caused some difficulty of speaking to one-another, till it was diluted by the salt, that gave birth to this odd, and, to all appearance, unpolite ceremony. But this we only offer as our private conjecture, no author having given us any account how it was first brought in among them.

especially

An im-
pregnable
barrier to
the empire.

Dreadful
wallies.

Various
shapes.

Guça, or
Guza.

especially about the large lake of its name, of which we shall speak in its place) but what is covered thick with them; so that one can scarcely travel a day's journey without meeting with them; some of which are so lofty, steep, and craggy, that they are at once dreadful to behold, and no less difficult and dangerous to go over; and yet of such singular service are they to the country, that they seem designed by Providence as impregnable fortresses, without which, that small part which is left of that once vast empire, would long ago have been swallowed up by the *Turks*, *Gallas*, and other hostile nations, if those impenetrable barriers had not stood there to guard it on every side. Whilst their inaccessible summits seem vastly to out-top the highest clouds, the valleys beneath look as if they were going to hide themselves in the lowest abysses of the earth; the former partaking of the keenness of the second and third regions of the air, and the latter, by their excessive heat, remind you of the central fire of the earth. These stupendous ridges, which the natives call *Dambas*, present you, at a distance, with a delightful variety of shapes; one sort bearing such a resemblance to some vast extensive city, that you can hardly forbear thinking that you see the high walls, towers, bastions, and a great diversity of other structures, as you approach nearer towards them. Another sort of them appears, some like pyramids, others like towers of various shapes, some of an exact square, others of as perfect a round from top to bottom, as if they had been turned, or wrought with the chissel; some appear of a vast and most difficult ascent; and when you come up to what you supposed to be the top, you find it to be only the foot of another, full as high, craggy, and difficult¹.

Of this nature is that which is called *Guça*, or *Guza*, in the kingdom of *Tigre*, which travellers, who come from the *Red Sea*, must cross, in going to that of *Dembea*, and which, when you have gained the top of it, presents to you a handsome spacious plain, in the midst of which stands another mountain of equal height, which you must likewise go over, after you have sufficiently refreshed yourself on the fertile and delightful top of the *Guza*. The ascent takes up about half a day's journey, and goes winding all the way up; the paths are very narrow, and cut into the side of the solid rock; and all the way you go presents you with a most deep and dreadful precipice, the bottom of which cannot be reached by the naked eye, but only offers a gulph, which at once

¹ TELLEZ, PAYS, KERCHER, PONCET, ALMEYDA, LUDOLPH, LOBO, LE GRAND, & al. mult.

makes

makes one's head quite giddy, and fills the heart with a continual dread. Should any of the caravans that keep going up and down these steep and narrow roads chance to meet another in its way, they are in the greatest danger, both man and beast, of being thrown down the precipice, and being broken into a thousand pieces before they reach the bottom, unless they take the utmost care in passing by one another. The mules are by far the best for those that ride, because they are the surest footed; but they have an ill faculty with them, that they will always go close to the edge of the precipice, and cannot without great risk be turned to the other side of the road, or to keep to it when one hath. What adds still more to the horror of the journey, whether it be up or down the steep declivity, is, that at the bottom of the valley below, there commonly runs a swift torrent of water, with a most hideous roar, which being echoed by the adjacent rocks, and often heightened by loud winds, as well as by the continual trampling of the men and beasts upon the rock, increases the horrid din to such a degree, that one cannot possibly hear one's self, much less one-another, speak, though ever so loud, or ever so near ^{Is only the basis of Lamel.}

BUT the wished-for summit once attained, which is reckoned above three hundred fathoms perpendicular above the plain top of *Guza*, and the most difficult part of all the way, being only provided by nature with a sort of steps like winding stairs, two or three cubits high, and uncouth, on both sides of the rock, one is made ample amends by the beautiful prospect it at once presents to the view, which is not that of rugged and intersected peaks above, and deep gaping valleys beneath, as one might expect, and as the *Alps* and *Pyrenees* afford, but of a small, tho' delightful, plain, about two miles in compass, and a musket-shot in breadth, and terminated at one end by a new, flat, and upright rock, like the back of a chair, of which this little plain is the seat; so that take the whole mountain together, that of *Guzza* seems to be a kind of pedestal to this; and this, which the natives call *Lamalmon*, represents, in some measure, a chair without arms, the back of which is the upright rock at the end of the plain, which is as perpendicular as if it had been hewn out with a chissel. Along what we may call the seat of this wonderful and supereminent chair, is pleasantly situate a town of the same name, whose inhabitants make a handsome livelihood by helping the caravans to load and unload the

^{*} Id. *ibid.* See the Travels of the jesuits, l. i. c. 7. ALVAREZ, ALMEYDA, &c.

beasts of burthen, a good part of the way of the craggy ascent above-mentioned, in order to help them to leap from one step to the other ; so that one would be surpris'd to see with what facility they make them climb and keep their feet, and they themselves convey their burthens from one stair to another, thro' every difficult part of this ascent.

*The people
poor.*

BUT what yields a still more suprisingly delightful prospect from this little lofty spot, is the unbounded view of the whole kingdom of *Tigre*, though the largest of the whole empire, and of the ridges of mountains of *Semen*, which run across, and intersect it in various parts, and which, at that height and distance, appear no higher than small hillocks. The misfortune is, that this little town, though strong and populous enough to defend itself against all assaults of any enemy, is but poorly furnished with all necessaries for human life, except water, which they have in plenty, and very good ; every other kind, almost, they are obliged either to fetch from the lower lands, or to purchase at a dearer rate from the caravans, which doth not a little lessen the gain of their labour, and keeps them still poor and indigent¹.

*Guexen,
a famous
rock.*

MUCH of the same nature is the famed mountain, or rock, of *Guexen*, situate between the kingdoms of *Amhara* and *Xava*, on the summit of which was such another, but larger plain, well watered and wooded, and with some ground for tillage and pasture, and guarded on all sides with strong and difficult passes made by the natural rock, and in which the princes of the blood were formerly kept prisoners, and when they were fetch'd to be rais'd to the imperial throne. This stupendous and impregnable mountain is a perpendicular rock, in the nature of a fortress, the breadth of which, on the top, along the slope, may be about half a league, but at the bottom is about half a day's journey in circuit ; the

Described.

height is such, that the strongest cannot cast a stone with a sling high enough to reach the top. The ascent, though not very steep at first, grows by degrees so difficult and painful, that even their cows, which in this country climb and skip like wild goats, cannot be hoisted up without slings and pullies. On the top is nothing to be seen but a parcel of poor huts, dismally put together, of stone and dirt, covered above, and lined within, with straw, with scarce any tolerable furniture besides. These served for mansion-houses both for the unfortunate princes, who were sent thither, and for their guards. About the middle of the plain were two springs which supplied them with water, the one to

*The prin-
ces of the
blood con-
tinued upon*

¹ Id. *ibid.*

drink,

drink, and the other to wash themselves in. A few corn ^{the top of} fields they had for tillage, and some pasture ones for their cattle, and some few trees, in form of a thickét, served them for a shady refreshment *: in this dismal solitude they spent their lives, till either raised to the empire, or set at liberty by death. This rigorous custom was, however, set aside about two centuries ago, as we shall see in its proper place: but the most considerable of them all, according to father *Alphonso Mendez*, is that which they call *Thabat Mariam*, ^{Mount} or more properly *Tadbaba Mar-jam*, whose summit vastly ^{Tadbaba} out-tops all the rest, and even the clouds, by far, and is like- ^{Mar-jan} wise very spacious. This famed mountain, whose bottom ^{described} is watered by two large rivers descending from it, hath seven handsome churches built upon it, one of which, dedicated to *St. John*, is very rich and beautiful, having been formerly the burying-place of the *Abissinian* monarchs, of whom there are ^{The ba-} five monuments, covered with tapestry, which hath the arms ^{rial-place} of *Portugal*; from which, one may conjecture them to have ^{of the em-} been presented for that purpose by king *Emanuel*, to the ^{perors.} then emperor *David* ^m.

THE last we shall mention under this head, is that celebrated hollow high rock, in the kingdom of *Gojam*; just opposite to which stands another, much of the same height and bigness, so exactly placed by nature, that it echoes back a word barely whispered in the other, with such force, that it ^{Whisper-} is heard at a great distance; and the joint voices of three or ^{ing-place.} four persons speaking together, sound as loud as a great shout from a numerous army ⁿ. And thus much shall suffice, for the extraordinary mountains of this empire. Those who want a large detail of them, may read the description which father *Almeyda*, who had gone over most of them, hath given us of the rest of these dreadful and gigantic piles; the very reading of which fills one with a chilly dread, rather than delight. We shall only add here, that some of those craggy ascents we have spoken of, would be wholly inaccessible in many places, had not necessity forced those, otherwise indolent, people, to have recourse to cranes, and other ^{Beasts, cart-} such shifts, by which they draw up, and let down, both the ^{ils, and} beasts and their burthens, by dint of ropes and pullies; in- ^{goods} somuch, that even their mules and oxen, which naturally ^{craned up} climb like wild goats, must be craned up and down in the ^{and down.} same manner ^o. Their way of travelling through this rocky

* Id. *ibid*.

Dissert. l. ii. p. 206.

dolph, l. i. c. 6. §. 15.

* Id. *ibid*. vid. LOBO, & LE GRAND,

Kercher & Pays, ap. Lu-

° Id. *ibid*.

Nile ;
without
mixing
waters
with it.

passage a-crofs it from west to east, without intermixing its own with it. Hence it is that the ancients, and many of our modern geographers, have imagined that celebrated river to have its rise from thence, though the contrary hath been since discovered by eye-witnesses, who have been at the pains to trace it back from the place where it falls into the lake, quite up to its famous, and so long sought-for springs, which are above twenty leagues in a direct line distant from it, as we have formerly had occasion to shew in our ancient history of this country, to which the reader is referred for a more particular account¹.

It will not be, however, foreign to our general design, to observe here, with the ingenious Mr. *Maillet*, an author who was not only personally conversant with most of the missionaries, and other *Portuguese* authors, who have wrote so decisively concerning the two sources of this famed river, but with many others who have had occasion to visit those parts, how little reason there is to acquiesce in the account they give us of this so much boasted discovery, especially as the merit and reputation of it is so apt to inspire one with an ambitious desire after a title, or even some bare pretence to it.

THIS seems no less evident to us, from the artful preference they have given us of these two springs, to a vast number of others, which, by their flowing into the same common stream, though perhaps from a much greater distance, might intitle them, with as much justice, to that dignified name: for when so many different brooks thus join their waves into one common stream, as they do here, how can one, with so much seeming certainty, assign that title to any one or two of them, exclusive of the rest; and yet unless this can be done, the head spring of that river may justly be deemed as unknown to us as it was to the ancients. What is the *Nile* itself, with all that multitude of streams that flow into it, but a mere brook before the *Jemna*, which falls from the distant mountains of *Dengla*, with a much greater force, and a much larger quantity of water, swells it into the bulk of a river; or, to speak perhaps more properly, receives it into its bosom, and by a strange and unnatural requital, is forced to yield at once its waves and dignity to that proud intruder.

BUT here we are told, that this last is stamped by nature with the marks of the sovereign dignity: its forked head, tipped on the top with two wonderful bottomless springs,

¹ *Anc. Hist.* vol. i. p. 73, 407. xviii. p. 265, & seq.

running down from two small hillocks, adorned with delightful trees leading to it, into a small lake, the clearness of the streams, the hollow ground through which it runs, the pleasant track of verdure which it leaves above-ground all the way that its waves run under it, the hollow trembling ground through which its glides, and the constant tribute of water paid to it by a great number of brooks on both sides, these, and a variety of other topographical embellishments, whether real or imaginary, whether peculiar to that river, or common to those that flow into it, are what hath determined the good fathers to fix the diadem on its head, preferably to the *Jemma*, or any other pretender.

THUS much may suffice with regard to the source of this celebrated river. As to the cause of its not mixing its proud waves with those of the *Dembean* lake, a fact founded on frequent and unquestionable observations, is rightly supposed to be the largeness and violence of its stream; which having received several other large rivers into it, and running its course downwards, with an unusual rapidity and sundry dreadful falls, carries all before it with an irresistible force, and makes itself a channel of twelve or more leagues through the *Dembean* waters, for so far it is from the place of its entrance to that of its fallying out of that lake *.

THIS river is justly esteemed by far the most considerable *Chief ri-* of all *Ethiopia*, on many other accounts besides those already *vers of the* mentioned; but as it hath been fully described, both with regard *Nile de-* to its springs, windings, cataracts, rivers falling into it, and *scribed in* other particulars relating to it, in our Ancient History *, we shall *the Anc.* refer our readers to the place above quoted, to avoid needless *History.* repetitions, and go on with describing those which have not been at all, or but transiently, mentioned there. Among these last is the *Tacaza*, which, as we formerly hinted, is one of the *Tacaza.* principal ones that falls into the *Nile*, and is supposed the *Affaboras* of *Ptolomy* *. It hath its source on the ridge of mountains called *Arywagua*, on the frontiers of the kingdom of *Angot*, next to that of *Bargender*, where at the foot of the higher-seated mountain toward the east, break forth with great force three several springs, within a stone's throw of each other, and joining their streams together, make up a considerable one, which runs eastward some days journey, between the territories of *Daphana* and *Hoage*, which lie north of it; thence crossing the kingdom of *Tigre*, it runs *Its course* through the province of *Sire*, leaving its fertile lands on the *along the*

* TELLEZ, PAYS, ALMEYDA, LOBO, & al. *ibid.*
sup. * *Ibid.* p. 270, (E).

* Ub.

*famed de- east, and its celebrated desert of Aldaba on the west, once as
sert of Al- famed for the number and austerity of its anchorites, as that
daba. of Thebais; thence continuing its course still northwards
through the province of Holeyait, and the low-lands of the
Caffres, it at length enters into the kingdom of Dequin, in-
habited by a kind of Moors, called Baulons; where it soon
after loses itself in the Nile. This river, though not so large
quite as that it runs into, is in many places very deep, and
abounds with crocodiles and sea-horses, both of an extraor-
dinary size, and the fish, formerly mentioned, called
torpedo^r.*

*The Ze- THE Zebec rises in the kingdom of Nerea, and is said to
bee, its be larger than the Nile; it rises in a canton of Boxa, be-
rise and longing to that kingdom, and taking its course first west-
course. ward, and then eastward, and thence southward, surrounds
in some measure the kingdom of Gingiro into a peninsula, as
the Nile doth that of Gogam; after this, it continues its course
southward beyond Ken, and is supposed to be the same that
disembogues itself at Mombaza².*

*The Ma- THE Mareb, another considerable river, hath its source
reb runs at about two leagues distance westward from the town of
part of its Debaroa, since called Fremona, in the kingdom of Tigre,
way un- whence winding itself to the south, and entering into the
der ground. sandy territories of the Caffres, it comes down with a dread-
ful fall from a rock thirty cubits high, and buries itself a long
way under-ground, yet not so low, but that if one digs a few
yards deep, as the Portuguese did when they carried on the
war in those parts, one finds not only plenty of sweet water,
but of good fish. A little farther southwards the river rises
again, and winding itself into the more fertile kingdom of
Dekin, or Dequin, distributes all its fattening treasure of water
on those lands, as if it had forgot to go any farther, or to
return into the ocean³. In the winter season, this river, we
are told, takes a different course before it buries itself in the
sands, and runs between the provinces of Suroa, Assa, Harve,
and Towat; and gliding along the foot of the monastery of
Halleluja, which stands at a small distance from Fremona,
above-mentioned, and consequently from the place where it
rises; after which it enters into the sandy lands, and there
sinks itself out of sight^b.*

^r ALMEYDA, LOBO, TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, & al. ² TEL-
LEZ Travels of the Jesuits, l. ic. 4. JOHN DOS SANTOS Ethiop.
orient. l. v. c. 1. ³ TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, LU-
DOLPH, & al. ^b LOBO, ub. sup. p. 212, & seq.

ANOTHER river, almost equal to the Nile, is the *Hoax*, *The Ha-Haoax*, or according to Mr. *Ludolph*, *Harwasb*, which rises ^{vax.} between the kingdoms of *Xoa* on the north, and of *Ogge* and *Fattegar* on, the south, and directing its course eastward, receives several large rivers, particularly the *Machi*, or *Machi. Matsbi*, which flows from the great lake of *Zawaja*, or *Zoaj*, in the kingdom of *Ogge*, above-mentioned; thence, with this new addition, it hurries its rapid stream into the kingdom of *Adel*, which it enters at a place called *Anca-Garrele*, where the fathers *Perceyra* and *Machado*, two jesuit missionaries, were beheaded, by the *Mohammedan* king, in hatred to Christianity. This noble river makes ample amends to the inhabitants for the scarcity of rains, which fall here *Their fer-* but seldom; and being, like the Nile, drawn into numerous *tile course.* chanel, enriches all that tract, by watering their fields and fertilising their vallies, so that they produce the greatest plenty of corn and cattle; and at length, like the *Mareb* above-mentioned, buries itself in the earth^c, as if it thought it a more honourable sepulchre than the sea (C).

OTHER

^c TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

(C) It will not be improper here to acquaint our readers, that this is the same river which a fabulous author calls the *Niger*, or black river, for no other reason than because it runs through the country of the blacks; as if no other rivers of this and the circumjacent empire did the same, but run through the countries of the whites. This river, of which that writer makes the Nile to be only a branch (though it be certain there is no such river in this *Ethiopia*, as we shall see when we come to speak of it in its proper place) he goes on to tell us, in his romantic way, forms three lakes; from the one of which a river flows, which always runs over stones of great value, such as rubies, saphirs, emeralds, garnets, &c.

besides gold-dust; and falling into the sea at *Melinda*, hath a great fishery of pearl and ambergris at the mouth of it (4).

To this imaginary river of our monkish author, we shall add another, no less fabulous, and no less celebrated by the romantic *Hebrew* rabbies, viz. the *Sambation*, or *Sabbatic* river, which is affirmed to flow with a swift and loud current, during the six first days of the week, and to be dried up during the whole sabbath, or seventh day. *Josephus* is the first who tells us that *Titus* saw it in his way through *Syria* (5), but makes it to flow only on the sabbath day, and to be dry all the other six; which is the reverse of what its name imports. *Pliny*, upon the credit of some *Jewish* fabulist, speaks more

(4) *Ludow. Urat. Hist. de Ethiop. lib. i. c. 29.* (5) *De bell. jud. lib. vii. c. 24.*

Others of
less note.

OTHER rivers of this empire having little in them worth our reader's attention, we shall content ourselves with the bare naming of those of most note; such as the *Bachilo*, or *Baxilo*, which divides the kingdoms of *Bagemder* and *Amhara*; the *Guexem*, or *Queccam*, which divides the latter from that of *Valaka*, or *Olaca*; the *Anguer*, which joining its stream with the *Maleg*, carries their fertility through the kingdoms of *Damot*, *Narea*, *Bizamo*, and the cantons of the *Gaffates* and *Gongas*; all which, and many others we omit, may be best seen in the map of this empire, at the beginning of this chapter. And thus much may suffice for the natural rarities of this empire.

Artificial
rarities.

Ten
churches
hewn out
of the solid
rock.

THEIR artificial ones, at least such as may be relied upon, are much fewer in number, as the reader may judge by what hath been said above of their trade and manufactures; yet some of them are of such an uncommon nature, as to deserve the attention of a curious reader; we mean those ten stately churches cut out of the solid rock, by dint of the hammer and chissel, and so highly extolled by the patriarch *Alvarez*, and father *Tellez*; the latter of whom hath only given us the names, but the former hath obliged the world with a description of them. What still increases the wonder, is, that they were all completed by the command, and at the charges, of one of their great monarchs, named *Lalibela*, of whose glorious reign and actions we shall give a further account in its proper place. Their names are, *St. Emanuel*, *St. Saviour*, *St. Mary*,

properly of it (6), when he says that in *Judea rivus omnibus sabbatis exsiccatur*, a river in *Judea* is dried up every sabbath day.

But the rabbins above-mentioned speak of the *Sambation*, or *Sabbatic* river, in a much higher strain, and place it in different parts of the world; some beyond the *Euphrates*, some in *India*, and some in the *Abissinian* empire (7), and pretend that it is so rapid, wide, and deep, that it is impossible to cross it, and that on the sabbath it is quite dry; for which reason, the *Israelites*, who are pretended to possess large terri-

tories and dominions on the other side, place guards along its banks, to prevent being invaded by strangers on that day. *Jonathan Ben Uziel*, the pretended author of the *Chaldee* paraphrase, an author more ancient than *Josephus*, mentions likewise this *Sabbation*; but few of the learned believe that paraphrase to have been his. So that upon the whole, *Josephus* seems to be the first broacher of that fabulous river, of which no mention is made by any other author, except *Pliny* who probably had it from him (8).

(6) *J. h.* xxxi. c. 2.

(7) *Vid. Rabinos citat. in Bibliot. Bartoloc. vol. i*

p. 100, & seq. B. M. Rab. Welfi.

Quest. of Lexic. Talmud. sub voc. Colmet, & al. plur.

(8) *Vid. Judo 16, l. iv. c. 8. §. 115.*

the *Holy Cross, St. George, Golgotha, Bethlehem, the Martyrs, Marcoteos, and Lalibela*; which last bears the name of its noble founder, and is by far the noblest structure of all the rest, though himself was interred in that of *Golgotha*. This pious and magnificent prince, being sensible of the scarcity of architects and workmen in his own empire, for the carrying on of such vast designs, sent for a competent number of them out of *Egypt*; a kingdom which hath been always famous for them, ever since the building of the celebrated pyramids; and these, by his munificence, completed all these churches, we are told, in the space of twenty-four *And fifteen* years, in the wonderful manner above-mentioned^d. *We wish to refer our reader to the description which Alvarez 24 years* hath left us of these stupendous structures, the completing of which in that singular manner, and in so short a time, would appear at least very incredible, were we not told at the same time, that the rocks out of which they were thus curiously hewn, were of so soft a nature, that the workmen's tools went easily through them; though they hardened afterwards to such solidity when exposed to the sun and weather. Neither is it improbable that they might have naturally something of that form before-hand, since we find such variety of other figures represented by them, and as exact and regular as if they had been cut with a chissel: a few instances of which we have seen under the last article^e.

SOME of their other churches, particularly those which *Ancient* belonged to their most celebrated monasteries, appear to have *churches* been formerly large and sumptuous structures, and might be *belonging* deservedly ranked among their artificial rarities, not only on *to monasteries* that account, but much more for their singular form, they being mostly built after the model of the temple of *Jerusalem*, and divided into the same three atria, or partitions. Some of them are of a round figure, and have a square chapel in the centre, of square stone, with four gates, facing the four cardinal points; the portals and windows were of cedar, or some other curious wood, neatly wrought. The roof above rises in the form of a cupola, but within appears always gloomy, as having no first light. Without the square, between it and the round walls, was the body of the church, which looked more like a cloister, and was well lined all over with cedar wood, and the roof was supported with pillars of the same, very costly and beautifully wrought. *Run to decay.* Most of them, however, are gone to decay: and of some of

^d ALVAREZ, TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, KERCHER, & al.
^e plur. See before, p.

them,

them, little more was left than their ruins, or at best some few fragments, still serving to the same religious uses^f.

We omit sundry other such rarities, both natural and artificial, mentioned by *Athanasius Kercher*, which those who can give credit to them, may see in his large collection. And the last we shall mention here, is the famed imperial palace, built after the *European* taste, by father *Pays*, of which we promised to give a short account under this head. This stately edifice was faced within and without with large square stones, neatly wrought and joined together. Among the

The imperial palace described.

stately apartments of it, was one fair spacious room, fifty feet in length, and fifteen in breadth; and on the same floor, a square bed-chamber, together with a spacious stair-case in the middle, leading from the lower to the upper floor. From this ascended a second, leading to the flat roof of the house, which was guarded about with a handsome parapet. On the top of this upper stair-case was built a little room, like a closet, in which the emperor used to delight himself much, because he had from thence a distant view of the whole *Dambean* lake, and all the adjacent country, the palace being built on a rising ground, in the large peninsula called *Gorgora*, on the northern side of the lake: from thence also he could see nearer at hand all that went in and out, without being perceived by any body^g. This delightful spot being the place where that monarch used to spend the greatest part of the winter, and had caused it to be beautified with stately gardens after the *European* manner.

S E C T. VI.

Of the Government, Laws, Emperor's Court, Power, Coronation, pompous Titles, Camp, Retinue, Army, Revenue, and other Prerogatives.

Government of Abissinia.

IT plainly appears, by all the records of this once vast and opulent empire, that its government was from its first foundation monarchical and despotic, and that, though its origin and uninterrupted series of monarchs, which the *Abissinians* so much boast of, be at best very precarious and doubtful, yet there cannot be found, either in their tradition or annals,

The emperor's power, or absolute.

or through any of those great revolutions which it hath undergone through so long a series of ages, a period of time, in which those princes did not rule with despotic sway, and

^f TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

^g TELLEZ, & al. vid. & LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 12. §. LOBO, & al. sup. p. 116.

claim

claim an absolute right over the lives, liberties, and fortunes of their subjects, as well as an uncontrollable authority in all matters ecclesiastical as well as civil ^a. There never were among them any written laws concerning their government, much less any to restrain their exorbitant power, or secure the subjects the least privilege or property; but his sole will is the universal law. Notwithstanding which extensive prerogative, derived to them from time immemorial, we find not that the clergy have so wholly acknowledged or submitted to it; but that they have, upon various occasions, strenuously opposed it, not only in matters wholly religious and ecclesiastical, but even in some that were merely political, such as the succession, or coronation, of some of their emperors, as we shall see in the sequel.

WE have already observed ^b, that these princes boast themselves descended from *Menilebeck*, or *David*, the son of the great *Solomon* king of *Israel*, by the queen of *Sheba*. This princess, according to them, did, after her return from *Judea*, reign twenty-five years, and was succeeded by this son, from whom descended a series of princes, in a direct line, down to the year 960, when the crown passed into another family; in virtue of which noble descent, they stile themselves *Nagush*, and are always addressed either by that of *nagusha nagasht*, or king of kings; or by that of *hartzeghe*, equivalent to the *French* sire. But besides these, they assume commonly some other pompous ones in their edicts, letters, and other public writings: such was, for instance, the letter of the emperor *Lebna Danguil*, al. *David*, al. *Sultan Segued*, (for he bore all those names) to *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*; in which he stiles himself *David* the beloved of God, pillar of the faith, kinsman to the race of *Judah*, son of *David*, and of *Solomon*, son of the pillar of *Sion*, emperor of the great and high *Ethiopia*, and of its great kingdoms and provinces, &c. They likewise bear in their arms the lion of the tribe of *Judah* holding a cross, with this inscription in *Ethiopic*, *The lion of the tribe of Judah is conqueror* ^c. The respect that is paid to their presence, is answerable to their title and dignity, none of their subjects approaching it without the deepest marks of submission, and such as come little short of adoration, that is paid to several *Indian* princes, of whom we have had occasion to speak in some former volumes ^d.

^a TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, LUDOLPH, PONCET, & al. plur. ^b See before, vol. xiii. p. 462. ^c 1 Kings. x. pass. vid. & TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO. Vid. & LUDOLPH, *Ethiop.* lib. ii. c. i. pass. & al plur. ^d See before, vol. viii. p. 142, & seq. ix. p. 10, & seq. & al. pass.

They

They do not indeed affect, like them, that majestic piece of grandeur, of being seldom seen by their subjects; for these will often shew themselves to them in public, and even admit them into their presence; but this is never done without the greatest solemnity; and those who are thus far honoured, are obliged to fall prostrate on the ground before him, and kiss the ground as they approach his person. Something like it they observe even in his absence, inasmuch, that they never hear his name mentioned without bowing their bodies very low, and touching the ground with their hand. As for all the other marks of their boasted grandeur and magnificence, it chiefly consists in the retinue that constantly attends their court, or rather their camp, for we have already observed that they chiefly live in tents. In these one may indeed see something of imperial pomp and state, though vastly short of that of the *Chinese*, and other monarchs, in their progress from place to place. They are not only accompanied by their own household and guards, which make up a numerous shew, but by all the grandees and officers of the empire, which out-vie one-another, not only in the largeness and splendour of their retinue, but in the richness of their dress, and the sumptuousness of their pavilions; so that their camp always takes up a large space of ground, and makes a very magnificent shew; to which the regular disposition of the streets, and great variety of tents, streamers, and other ornaments, and especially the many lights and fires at night, contribute not a little; so that the whole appears like a vast open, and regular city, in whose center, or on some eminent part of which, is displayed the imperial pavilion, outvying all the rest, in height, bulk, and richness. Next to it, are those of the empresses and royal family, and then those of the lords and ladies of his court, all appearing with a proportionable, though inferior lustre. To these, we may add those stately large ones which serve them instead of churches, upon which they likewise bestow no small cost, to adorn and enrich them both within and without. As to the rest of this imperial camp, we must expect nothing extraordinary in it, except its vast extent, and the good order that is commonly kept in it, together with its market-places, courts of judicature, and other tribunals of justice, and the places where the young nobility perform variety of exercises on horseback, which afford likewise a delightful sight. All the rest appears only a huge variety of long extensive lanes, made up on all sides either of mean ordinary tents, or low miserable huts of laths

Their retinue.

Camp looks like a vast regular city.

Rich pavilions. Some serve for churches.

• See before, vol. viii. p. 157, & seq.

and

and clay, covered with straw, which serve for his guards, soldiery, and a prodigious multitude of sutlers and other attendance ^f.

WHEN the emperor removes this his camp, or, as it may be *Manner of properly stiled, his metropolis, which is done oftener or sel-* removing *domer, according to his pleasure, or the condition the empire the camp.* is in (D), (some princes having changed places in two, three, or more years; others but once in six or seven, or even as far as ten years) their chief care is to chuse a most convenient spacious spot, well furnished with water, and especially with wood, because when that begins to fail them, they are obliged to remove; and it is scarcely conceivable what havoc *Vast ha-* they make of it, for want of observing a due order in felling *voek made* of it; so that vast forests, mountains, and vallies, are fre- *by it.* quently laid bare in a little time; insomuch, that whenever this huge unweildy incampment removes, there is then no

^f TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, PONCET, LUDOLPH, DAM. GOZZ, & al. plur.

(D) These removes are chiefly occasioned either through the want of wood and other provisions, or by the different wars which those princes have in hand, sometimes with one enemy, sometimes with another, they being in a great measure surrounded by them on every side. During some part of the time of the missionaries residence in those parts, the emperor had his camp at a place called *Dencas*, where it continued ten whole years; but before that, he had five or six other places, in which he had tarried only one, two, or three years. The emperors have likewise a place for their winter quarters, where they retire with their wives and household, as it were from business, especially in time of war, and return to the camp with the return of the spring (9).

The imperial army, as we shall see by-and by, is supplied with provisions, in their march, by the country people through whom they pass; but if it stays any time in one place, the emperor, or, in his absence, his head general, have no other way to subsist them, than by assigning certain towns to them; in virtue of which, they not only strip the poor people of their provisions, but carry off all that they can lay their hands on; by which means, whole cantons, and sometimes provinces, are quite ruined, and almost depopulated; the poorer sort being forced to abandon their dwellings, and either to go and settle in some more distant ones, or, which is often the case, to turn vagabonds, and live upon the hospitality of the people (10).

(9) Tellez, Almeida, Lobo, Ludolph, Dam. de Goz, Codign. & al.

(10) *Id. ibid. Sub. fere*, p. 90, & al. poss.

*How the
emperor
marches.*

more to be seen for a long while after, but the mere naked ground ; and it is looked upon amongst them as a great, if not an incredible wonder, that such great cities as are in other parts of the world should be able to subsist so long a time in one place, without being in extreme want of wood. The emperor in his march, whether in time of peace or war, is always attended by his azaques and chief ministers : he appears with a crown on his head, which is made up of pieces of gold and silver, embellished with some sea pearl ; for other kinds of jewels were never so much as seen in *Abissinia*, if we may believe abbot *Gregory*, and the generality of *Portuguese* missionaries ; though *Poncet*, on the contrary, describes the empress as covered all over with jewels, when he had the honour to be admitted to her presence *. He also wears a kind of cap, or hat, made after the *Indian* manner, and commonly brought from thence. It was likewise the custom formerly, for these princes to be surrounded with a set of *Indian* curtains, to keep them from public view ; but that having been long ago set a-side, they will now frequently leave their mule, and shew themselves on a stately prancing horse. Some time before they begin their march, proper officers are sent all the way before, to the governors of every province and place where they are to pass, with orders not only to provide them and the whole army with all necessaries, but likewise to clear and repair the roads, and especially to clear the woods, through which their way lies, of all superfluous branches, briars, and every thing else that may retard their march ; though they can travel but slowly, and by short journies, by reason of the multitudes of women, children, cattle, and other luggage that commonly follows them. These orders seldom fail of being executed with the utmost exactness by the country-people, because, upon the least deficiency, they are sure to be severely fined ; and, which is still worse, are frequently undeservedly so, through the knavery of the overseers ; so that on the time appointed, they all punctually come with their quotas of cows, corn, beer, hydromel, &c. all which are afterwards distributed with the same exactness among the several ranks and orders of the army ; it being a standing law, throughout the whole empire, that every district and canton, thro' which the emperor or his army are to pass, shall find them in all those necessaries, and make the roads fit for them †. Besides these purveyors above-mentioned, the *Timmerari*, or officer that commands the van-guard, takes upon him the office of quarter-master

*His army
how sup-
plied with
provisions,*

*by the
country
people.*

* English edit. p. 53.

† Id. *ibid.*

general,

general, and fixes his pike on the spot he chuses for the imperial pavilion; after which, every one of the rest knowing his own rank, and the ground that he is to take up, they easily guess by their eye where their tents are to be pitched; so that the whole encampment is completed in a trice, and with its usual readiness; and with such regularity and exactness, as well as dispatch, that, notwithstanding their being so frequently removed, yet every one knows the ways and paths so well, that he can go to the tent of any one with the same facility that he can to his own, or as we can find a lane, street, or house, in any of our cities, or most populous towns.

THE camp is divided into seven parishes, every one of which hath its head priest, with all his deacons and inferiors under him, who assist him in the instruction of youth, in performing the divine service, and other functions of the priestly office. Whenever the enemy happens to be near, the army is ordered to march close, and in the best order; the van-guard and rear drawing up close to the main body. The wings spread themselves out; and the emperor keeps in the centre with his guards, great officers, ladies, &c. leaving still a sufficient interval for inclosing the baggage. At other times they observe little or no order in their marches, saving that there is always a number of warlike instruments, with kettle and other drums, sounding before, and a set guard marching around him. He always mounts and alights in his tent; and, if he hath occasion to alight by the way, the guards immediately make a ring about his person, and spread their cloaks to keep him unseen; and if it is with a design to take rest, a couch, which is commonly carried near at hand for that purpose, is brought to him, on which he lies on cushions covered with carpets of the finest silks. We omit some other curious, though less material, instances of the power and grandeur of the *Abissinian* monarchs,* which some writers have given us an account of^b, as we do not find them mentioned by the principal authors we have hitherto followed, to come therefore to some more important ones.

WE have already hinted, that the *Abissinian* crown is altogether hereditary, and must be preserved in the same family, that is, in the posterity of *Menilehek*, their first monarch; but the succession to it is not so absolutely tied to the primogeniture, but an emperor, if he pleases, may set aside his eldest son, or any other of them, for the sake of a younger, whom he favours more, or thinks more worthy of it. This

^b DAM. GOES Mores Abissin. pass. ILLUSC. Pontif. Hist. l. vi. c. 22, & 21.

Young
princes con-
fined in a
fortress.

often proved the cause of much jealousy and misunderstanding between the young princes, and sometimes of long and cruel wars between them; and in all probability gave birth to that severe custom, held in this empire, of confining all the princes of the blood to the fortress or rock called *Amba-guexen*, lately described. The occasion of it, as well as that of its being afterwards abrogated, appearing more singular than clear, the reader may see in the margin (E). But, what-
ever

(E) This rigorous custom, we are told, was not introduced till the year 1260, when the then emperor *Iqubnu*, or *Icon-Amlacur*, having bequeathed the empire between his five (some say nine) sons, with a restriction, that they should reign alternately, every one his year, according to their seniority; the youngest of them, named *Free-Hecam*, not having patience to stay till his turn came, and being vexed to see those of his brethren, who had already reigned in theirs, sitting at an upper table, whilst he and the rest were obliged to take up with a lower, and to go and wash their hands in another room, because it was thought unseemly to do so before their betters; all these, joined together, inspired the ambitious youth with a design to abolish that shifting annual government, and to grasp it all into his own hands.

He found it difficult to carry on such a project without imparting it to some friend; and that friend found it no less dangerous to keep his secret; so that, instead of succeeding, he found himself intrapped in his own snare: for, as soon as it came near his turn to mount the throne, as he was study-

ing all proper measures to secure all his other brethren in some such strong place as that of *Guexen* above-mentioned, his confidant revealed the whole secret to the then reigning brother; who liked the project so well, that he sent both the projector, and all his other brethren, under a strong guard, to the *Amba-Guexen*, as the fittest place for his purpose. Soon after which, *Herod*-like, growing jealous of his own sons, he sent them all likewise into the same dismal confinement. This is the substance of what our authors tell us (11) gave rise to this unnatural custom, which continued in use somewhat above two hundred years.

As to the occasion of its being afterwards abrogated, it was as follows: *Nabed*, the prince then on the throne, and the father of *Onak Segued*, the last prince of that country who came out of that dreadful confinement, had a son about eight or nine years old, of whom he was exceedingly fond. A counsellor, who came to court one day, seeing him standing by his father's side, could not forbear taking notice to the emperor, *how big his son was grown*; whereupon the young prince, who had a ready apprehension above

(11) *Teller, Almeyda, Lobo, Ponc t, Ludolph, & al. sup. citat.*

ever gave rise to it, sure it is, that the successor to the crown was always fetched from thence while that custom lasted, in order to be invested with the regalia of that empire. Till that time, they were kept, with the rest of those unfortunate prisoners, under such a very strict guard, that no creature was permitted to come near them; nor could any message or letter be conveyed to them, till it had undergone the examination of their gaolers, whose business it was to keep them under the strictest and severest discipline; insomuch that they would not allow them to wear any better clothes than those cotton ones, which were the usual garb of the common people, lest a more distinguished dress should inspire them with ambitious thoughts¹.

WE have a remarkable instance of this related by father *A notable Tellez*, which is as follows: One of these guards or gaolers, *instance of* who was naturally very rigid, observing that one of those *one of them* young princes was better clothed than the rest, and was more nice and careful in his dress, not only severely reprimanded him for it, but tore it off his back; and threatened him, that, if ever he caught him again in such finery, he would provide him a dress that would not please him. Some years after, this prince was raised to the imperial throne, and ordered that guard to be brought before him; who, coming with a heart full of the deepest apprehension, cast himself at his feet, and begged pardon for what he had formerly done to him. His fears, however, were soon turned into joy and gratitude, when that generous prince, bidding him rise, presented him with a rich suit, and a gold bracelet of great value, and dismissed him with words to this effect: *You did your duty as became you, and I am highly pleased with it; and, as you have served my father so faithfully, so I doubt not you will*

¹ TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. ubi sup.

his years, was struck with terror at the expression; and, fixing his weeping eyes upon his father, said, in a moving tone, "What am I then grown up for *Amba Guexen*?" Which words made so deep an impression upon him, that he immediately resolved to abolish that inhuman custom; and not only swore himself, but obliged his

counsellors, and officers of his court, to do the same; viz. that no son of his, nor of any other emperor, should thenceforth be ever confined to that place; which oath hath been so faithfully observed ever since, that no prince of the blood hath ever been sent thither from that time (12),

(12) Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Poncet, Ludolph, & al. sup. citat.

do the same by me: return to your former charge^k. This behaviour, which chiefly tended to make those guards more rigid and severe, plainly shews, that, however hard that prince might deem his condition to be whilst under that cruel restraint, yet he did not think it politic or safe, now he was on the throne, to abate any thing of that severity and harsh confinement. And we may very well question, whether any thing less than the extreme grief and tears of so tender a young prince as he, whom we have just mentioned in the last note, could have prevailed upon the emperor *Nabod* his father to abolish a custom of such long standing, and which had been till then looked upon as one of the greatest securities to the monarch upon the throne, against any domestic faction or rebellion.

That custom since abrogated;
and revived again.

WE may add, that (if what father *Alvarez* tells us of his own knowledge may be credited, and yet all his brethren own that he may be safely depended upon so far^l) this custom was not so thoroughly banished out of the empire as *Tellez* would insinuate, since he, *Alvarez*, positively tells us, that *David*, one of the sons of that very *Nabod*, having been raised to the throne; and defeated by his elder brother, was sent with all his younger brethren to that doleful confinement; and adds farther, that he saw one of the youngest of them, who had found means to escape, taken, and relegated to the same place. We shall not take upon us to reconcile two such different accounts; but only observe, that it is not at all likely, in such a fierce contest between so many young princes for the succession, he that proved conqueror over the rest should scruple the reviving such a custom for his own security, tho' ever so justly and reasonably, and we may add ever so solemnly, abolished by their father, and all the nobles of his empire^m.

F. Uretta's account opposite.

NEITHER shall we trouble our readers with the opposite account which father *Uretta* the *Dominican* hath given us of that princely prison; who rather describes it as an earthly paradise, in which those princes enjoy every kind of pleasure and happiness, except their liberty, and are educated in a manner suitable to their birthⁿ. That author is esteemed too fabulous to be credited against the consentient testimony of so many missionaries, whom he point-blank contradicts not only in this, but in most other parts of his history, which is for that reason generally looked upon as fabulous, and by

^k TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. sup. citat. before, p. 96, & seq.

^l See ^m *ib.* Vid. LUDOLPH, ubi sup. ⁿ Hist. de Ethiopie.

them

them represented as a heap of romantic forgeries^o; yet is he not the only one who contradicts those fathers in many material points (F); and it will perhaps remain a doubt, on whom we may most safely rely, till a fresh access to these dominions be opened again to the *Europeans*. However, with respect to the nature of this manner of confining these young princes, we shall only beg leave to observe, that the delightful description which *Uretta* gives us of it being the most natural, and by far more for the honour of the *Abissinian* monarchs, than the dismal and melancholy one of *Almeyda* and his brethren, it is scarcely credible that so zealous a subject as the abbot *Gregory* would have confirmed the latter, had he not been convinced that it was the most agreeable to truth.

THE manner in which any of these young princes was brought out of that wretched abode, to ascend the throne, was as follows; which, by the way, was not done till after due consultation, and a strict inquiry into the character of the happy person. If the emperor, indeed, did declare him during his life, there was then no debate or opposition; but if he had not done it, the nobles and officers of the army had a right to chuse him whom they thought most worthy of the crown. As soon as they had agreed upon a successor, the viceroy of *Tigre* went at the head of some forces, and incamped at the foot of the mountain, whence, with a proper retinue of grandees and officers, he went up to the top; and, entering the hut or cell of the prince elect, he, with the usual formality, fixed the *Belul* or imperial ear-ring to his ear, which was the token of his election; immediately after which, the other young princes were sent for, to come and pay their homage to, and congratulate him, on his happy accession to the crown. The reader will easily conceive with what a heavy, not to say envious, heart they paid him that compliment, and took their final farewell of him.

° THEVENOT, LUDOLPH, TELLEZ, & al.

(F) The reader may see, in particular, *Poncet's* description of some of the royal palaces, especially of the great city of *Gondar*, its vast concourse of merchants, and affluence; description of its houses, churches, and other buildings; the appearance of the empress, whom he represents as covered all over with jewels (13); and many more of the like kind, all which are quite contrary to the account of the missionaries, and Mr. *Ludolph's Gregory*.

(13) See *Poncet, English*, p. 53, &c seq.

As soon as the new emperor was come down, the governors, and other officers, came at the head of the army, to meet him; and, as soon as they approached him, they all alighted together and saluted him; and upon his giving them the signal, they all mounted again, and taking him into their center, conducted him to the *Debana*, or imperial pavilion, with loud acclamations of joy, heightened by the sounds of the trumpets, kettle-drums, and other musical instruments. Here he alone alighted within, whilst all the rest did the same *and anoint-* without the *Debana*, and was soon after solemnly anointed by *ing.* a proper prelate, called the *Saraje Macare*, whilst the rest of of his clergy accompanied the ceremony with psalms and hymns suitable to the occasion^p. Presently after that ceremony, he was invested with the imperial robes, and the crown was set upon his head, which, as we lately hinted, was made of several pieces of gold and silver, shaped like lilies, or flower-de-luce's, intermixed with pearl seeds, and fixed on a kind of hat or cap, of blue velvet; on the top of which was a cross of the same metal: the sword of state was drawn and put into his hand, and he being seated on the throne, a herald (or as father *Tellez* styles him, the *Ker Ace*, *Other ce-* or head chaplain) immediately proclaimed him emperor, in *remonies on* words to this import; *We have caused* ——— *to reign*; *their coro-* whose words were on a sudden answered by the loud acclamations of the whole assembly and army, who came to pay homage to him, *mation.*

THE sceptre, or an equivalent to it, is unknown amongst them, though it bears such a lively representation of the regal power and dignity in the sacred books of the *Old Testament*^q. Some have indeed fancied, that the cross which they hold in their hand, was used by them instead of it; but that is a mistake, and this last is carried by all the clergy in general, in token of their sacred function, the emperor being obliged to be ordained priest or deacon before he can be crowned, as we shall shew in the sequel. A kind of ritual, which we suppose contains the whole duty of a good sovereign, is next read and explained before him, either by the metropolitan that anoints him, or by some of his substitutes; but whether the prince promises, or swears to the observation of it or not, we are not told. From thence the new monarch goes and assists at the divine service, and receives the holy communion; and is afterwards accompanied by his court and army to the royal tent, through the joyful accla-

^p TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & seq. ^q Vid. int. al. Gen. xlix. 10. Pf. cx. 2. it. alib. plur.

mations of the people, and with the sound of the trumpets, silver kettle drums, and variety of other musical instruments; and the whole solemnity closed with feasting, and other tokens of joy^r. We have omitted the whimsical ceremony of *cutting the cord*, which is peculiar to this country, and is *That of* to precede the coronation, but which being below the grand *cutting the* deur of such a solemnity, we shall give it our readers in the *cord*. margin (G).

THE

^r TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LUDOLPH, & al. sup. citat.

(G) This ceremony is performed in the old ruined city of *Axum*, formerly described (14), that being still the place where all the *Abissinian* monarchs are crowned. The same authors have added some other circumstances to it, which, though ludicrous, and beneath the dignity of a coronation, yet, thro' long standing, received as an irrevocable sanction; and there are few nations that have not adopted something, at least as whimsical and trifling as this we are going to speak of, in their grandest solemnities; witness the champion's office at the coronation of our monarchs.

There is an ancient stone, all over carved with unknown characters, standing at about the distance of two bow-shots from the cathedral of *Axum*, at which the emperor elect is obliged, as he goes thither, to alight, and perform the ceremony called *the cutting of the cord*, which is commonly a silk line, or ribbon, which the maidens of *Axum* hold across his way. The place, before his coming, is spread over with rich carpets; and those of his retinue that go before, open the way to him thro' the crowds on both sides; and he being alighted, marches three

times towards the silk line, and is asked by the maidens who hold it, Who he is? to whom he answers, *I am king of Israel*; and they reply, *Then are you not our king*; and he draws back. But being asked the same question at his third approach, and answering, *I am king of Sion*, he draws his sword, and cuts the cord with it; upon which, they joyfully cry, then are you truly our king, the king of *Sion*; upon which the air is immediately filled with the loudest acclamations of joy, with the firing of the army's small arms, and the sound of variety of warlike, and other instruments. The cord being cut, the abuna, or metropolitan, and his clergy, who stood at some small distance from it, and come on purpose from *Dembea* to perform the ceremony, march forwards towards him, and introduce him into the outward court of the church; with proper palms or canticles, in their own tongue; where being crowned and anointed, he is thence conducted into the church to hear the divine service, &c. Thus far father *Tellez*, and his brethren (15), concerning the coronation of the *Abissinian* monarchs.

(14) See before, p. 33.

(15) *Tellez*, l. iii. c. 53. *Ludolph*, l. ii. c. 12.

They have THE next grand ceremony relating to the *Abissinian* mo-
plurality of narchs, is their nuptials, and the manner of marrying, and
wives of declaring their empresses. We have already observed, that
different they allow themselves the liberty of having a plurality of
religions. them, like their ancient progenitor *Solomon* king of the *Jews* ;
 and they not only imitate him in that, but likewise in taking
 those of different religions, whether Gentiles or *Mohamme-*
dan ; and some of them have carried this licence so far, as,
 like that *Jewish* monarch, to allow their heathen wives to
 have their own temples and idols ; so that one might see on
 one side, the church of God, and on the other, a *Pagan* tem-
 ple, as it was the case in Sultan *Segued's* reign ; tho' others
 indeed had so much regard to religion, as to cause those *Pa-*
gan, or *Mohammedan* princesses, to be instructed and bap-
from tized in it before they married them. The generality of
among them, however, chuse to marry the daughters of noble fami-
their sub- lies, of which there are abundance in some of their chief pro-
jects. vinces and kingdoms, especially in that of *Tigre* ; whilst some

* See before, p. 107.

In that at which farther *Pays* was present, of the emperor *Se-*
gued, on Sunday, March 23, 1609, the imperial army that
 accompanied him to that so-
 lemnity, consisted of 25,000
 men and 1500 horse, all dressed
 in their best accoutrements.
 The emperor, together with
 the grandees of his court, ap-
 peared richly clad and mount-
 ed, and their horses in most
 sumptuous furniture. The mo-
 narch had on him a costly vest
 of crimson damask, and over it
 a *Turkish* robe of rich brocade ;
 which, like the ancient *Roman*
 gowns, had narrow, but long
 sleeves, hanging down to the
 ground : the vest, as well as
 robe, would have done the same,
 had it been let loose ; but the
 former was girt with a broad
 girdle, all of pieces of gold,

curiously wrought : a thick
 golden chain went several times
 round his neck, whence hang-
 ing down on his breast, and the
 ends falling very low be-
 hind, gave him a grand ma-
 jestic air, as he was himself a
 handsome man (16).

Father *Uretta*, in his usu-
 al way, adds many other
 pompous circumstances at-
 tending this coronation cere-
 mony ; which, if true, would
 greatly add to the grandeur and
 magnificence of it (17) : but
 being rejected by *Telles*, and
 the rest of his society, as fictions
 and fables, or at best, as de-
 vised by a fertile brain, to
 shew how such a grand cere-
 mony might be performed with
 a more suitable splendor (18),
 we shall not trouble our readers
 with them (19).

(16) *Jesuits Travels*, l. iii. c. 13.

(17) *Hist. de Etbiop.*

(18) *Telles*, ub. sup. *Jes. Travels*, l. i. c. 9.

(19) *Telles*, ub. sup. *Jes.*

Travels, l. i. c. ult. vid. *Le Grand Dissertat.* 746.

of them, paying a greater regard to the natural endowments of the mind, or the beauty of the person, than to the nobleness of their extract, which they thought added nothing to their own grandeur, chiefly chose them for the former; they being thought sufficiently ennobled, by being preferred to the imperial bed¹.

As soon, therefore, as the monarch has pitched upon any *Ceremony* young lady for his wife, she is brought away from her pa-*of their* rents, and lodged in the house of some of his relations, in *nuptials*. order to come to a better knowledge of her good qualities. If he is satisfied with her in that point, he takes her with him to church on a *Sunday*, where having assisted at the divine service, and received the Holy Communion, they are led back to the imperial pavilion, attended by the whole court, in their richest attire; there the abuna, or chief prelate, commonly performs the matrimonial ceremony; which ended, the emperor, as is usual at all other times, dines by himself in his own apartment, and she in hers, in company with a number of other ladies. The nobles, clergymen, and depteras (H), are likewise sumptuously treated at other tables and tents, with variety of meats and liquors; and the feast *Feasting* generally does not conclude among the male guests, till all *and carous-* the plenty of liquors, which had been prepared for them, be *sing*. quite drank out: after which, every one lays himself down on the next convenient place that comes in his way, and sleeps it out till the next morning; a custom observed, not only at these royal weddings, but in most others of their feasting; but in such royal ones as these, care is taken, that there be a plentiful supply of those liquors lodged before-hand in some convenient part of the pavilion, where the guests may come as oft as they please to replenish their cups².

¹ TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, ALVAREZ, LOBO, & al. See LUDOLPH, lib. ii. c. 6. §. 99, & seq.

² TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

(H) These deptaras, or depteras, we are told, are a peculiar sort of ecclesiastic chanters, or singers, they have among them upon these occasions; and who boast themselves not only of *Jewish* extract, but to be descended from the ancient *Jewish* scribes. Their office here, as well as at church, is to

sing; and beat a kind of a drum, and to dance and skip with such violent gestures and dreadful noises, that one would imagine the church, or place where they play their antics, was coming down about one's ears; and yet these men are in great vogue and esteem among the great, as we shall see elsewhere.

The queen
how pro-
claimed,

THE conclusion of the nuptial festivity ended, the bride is not immediately declared empress (K), but is kept some days, weeks, or months, according to the emperor's pleasure; nor is she admitted to dwell with him in the royal pavilion, but hath one assigned near, but separated from it by a different inclosure, and comes from thence to it when sent for. On the day she is to be installed Itigue, or empress, she appears in his tent, seated on a couch near the imperial throne, on which his majesty sits likewise, but higher by one step; and both are clad in the richest apparel, as well as the nobles and officers of his court, who assist at the solemnity. Upon a signal made, one of his dignified chaplains, who is commonly a prelate, goes out into the court, and standing on a chair, or desk, proclaims her empress in these words, *Anagafna danguetere ssem*, that is, We have ordained our slave to reign (L); or, as Ludolph words it, *the king hath created his servant*

(K) This title of Itigue, which is the most honourable that is given to the emperor's consort, is variously rendered queen, empress, and highness. When joined with their proper name, it is then shortened into Ite, or, as some pronounce it, Ethie, as Ite *Miriam*, Ite *Hamelmal*, queen *Mary*, or queen *Hamelmal* (20).

It is, however, to be observed, that though she be declared queen in the manner we are describing, yet is she not permitted to take the high title of Ite, or Itigue, as long as the late emperor's mother is living, to whom alone that title is given; insomuch, that not only the wife of the reigning emperor, but he himself, calls her mother, though he be not her son, and pays her the same honour as if she had been really such (21),

(L) As harsh as the word slave may sound in our ears, it is in such common use amongst them, that even the king's own kindred and brethren have it given to them; so that when he raises any of them to any dignity, such as that of viceroy, which is the highest under him, their commission always runs, We have constituted — our slave, viceroy, or governor, &c. without giving them the title of brother or kinsman: and well may he stile them slaves, seeing they are all such to him, from the highest to the lowest; and their lands, lives, &c. are wholly at his disposal (22).

To soften, however, the harshness of that word, the *Abissinians* set a higher value upon a slave of their own country, and will give much more money for him, *ceteris paribus*,

(20) See Ludolph, l. ii. c. 7. §. 66, iii. 10, 66. See also his index under *It. que.* (21) Teller, *ub. sup.* Ludolph, *ub. sup.* (22) Teller

@ *al. ub. sup.*

servant — *queen* *. This is immediately answered by the loud echoes and acclamations of the by-standers ; after which she is dignified with the title of Itigue, or Ethie, which is equivalent to that of highness with us. As to the ceremony of crowning, we do not find that it was ever used to any of them, unless when the imperial dignity was solely invested in them, else the emperors alone are honoured with it. *When allowed to be called Itigue, or highness.*

WE have lately hinted, that the *Abissinian* emperors are in holy orders ; and, we are told, that many of them heretofore have been consecrated priests, and used to officiate as such, and to consecrate the sacred elements, and to administer them to the people ; but with this restriction, however, that if they ever chanced to shed human blood, whether it amounted to murder, or only man-slaughter, they were, *ipso facto*, deprived of their priestly office, and could never more officiate in it †. Some of these authors still carry this point much higher, as the reader may see by one or two quotations we have subjoined in the margin (M), but which

* LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 1. §. 68. TELLEZ, l. i. c. 10. † See LE GRAND, and the authors quoted by him, Dissert. 4. p. 240, & seq.

than for a stranger ; for which, some of their literati have found out this learned reason ; that their emperor is called *Prester Jan*, or, according to the *Persic* etymon, *Chan* ; which last signifies with them, a prince, or sovereign ; so that that title implies his being chan, or prince, of the *Prester*, or best, slaves (23).

But as little undervaluing as they think the title of slave is among them, it was not so accounted by the *Portuguese* when they were there ; one of whom, they tell us, having obtained some great post from the emperor, and, as a subject of the king of *Portugal*, who calls them all his children, disdaining to be stiled a slave to that of

Ethiopia, offered a good sum of money to the herald, or crier, who was to proclaim his promotion, to leave out that odious title, and call him only by his name : but that was more than the officer dared to do (24).

(M) The words, as quoted by *Le Grand*, run thus, *Ethiopiae reges omnes sunt sacerdotes, liturgiam celebrant super altaria; et quoad regnum obtinent, nihil quidquam manu propria occidere solent. Si quis contra fecerit, amittit jus liturgiae* (25). Another author adds some other particularities, such as, that the kings pulled off their crown when they went to officiate, and sat bare-headed all the time of divine service ; that if they administered the Holy

(23) Ludolph, l. i. c. 14. §. 11, & seq.
(25) Simon Episcop. Aſſon. ap. Le Grand Dissert. 4, de Preſtre Jan, p. 240.

(24) Tellez, l. i. c. 10.

to us appear of no credit. It is plain, that since the coming of the *Portuguese* among them, there have been none of those monarchs in higher orders than deacon's; a privilege, which *Mostly that of deacon.* it seems is granted likewise to the nobles and great officers of the court, and which, for aught we can find, is coveted by them for no other end, than that they may not be obliged to remain with the common laity in the body of the church, but be admitted within the curtains, (as they stile that part of the chapel which answers, as we conjecture, to our chancel) among the clergy, and receive the communion with them. In consequence of this ordination, they are likewise allowed to carry little crosses in their hands when they go abroad, and to give them to the laity to kiss, as the rest of the clergy do; which, by the way, plainly shews, that that which the emperors carry in their hands, hath no analogy to the royal sceptre used among other nations. This order of the diac-nate is bestowed upon the children, and even sucking infants *Bestowed upon in-* of great men, in order to intitle them to the same privileges; by all which one may judge, what regard the *Abissinians* pay to the clergy, and their sacred functions; seeing the emperor himself, absolute as his power is in all other respects, would not be admitted into the sanctuary, or chancel, if he was not first ordained deacon, but must submit to receive the communion at the gates of it, with the rest of the laity: and

7 ALVAREZ, c. 97. TELLEZ, l. i. c. 10. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 7. §. 30, & seq.

Communion, they received it themselves after all the rest. One thing more he adds, that if any of them had killed any thing, he lost all right and title to the obedience, or allegiance, of his subjects (26). The *Abissinians* likewise mention several of their kings who exercised the priestly function, particularly their famed *Caleb*, who did so during forty years. He lived, according to them, in the sixth century, and waged a long bloody war against *Dunawas*, a *Jew*, then king of the *Heme-*

rites, and totally ruined his kingdom; by which one would conclude, that the law against their shedding of blood was not yet in force.

What credit may be given to those authors, we will not take upon us to say; but if there was such a law as absolved the subjects from their allegiance to a king in priestly orders, who had shed any blood since his admission into it, we need not wonder, if they have since contented themselves with the lower one of deacon (27).

(26) *Abusclach op. eund ibid.*
c. 1. §. 40. *ibid.* 24. §. 21, & seq.

(27) *Id. ibid. & seq. Ludolph, l. ii.*

these

these are, as far as we can see, all the orders so much talked about, of this pretended *Prefter John* ^a.

BUT in all other respects, except what relates to church discipline, (to which they usually conform) one may affirm, that his authority is boundless over his subjects. He is the only sovereign over all the kingdoms and provinces of the empire, nor hath any other king under him (N). He disposes of all the lands throughout his dominions, excepting in the kingdoms of *Tigre* and *Dembea*, where there are some noble and privileged families, whose properties and dignities he never alienates from the ancient possessors. Such are, in the former, the *Bahrnagaes* and *Xumos*, or governors of *Sirave*, *Syre*, *Dembea*, &c; and in the latter, the power of the *Cautiba*, which never departs from the family: though even in these, the emperor, in one or two years, more or less, as he sees fit, takes these commands from the possessors, and gives them to some other of the same family ^a.

IT was their custom heretofore, never to appear in public; and it was seldom known that they troubled themselves with the affairs of the government, the care of which they chiefly committed to their two prime ministers, whom they called the *bahluded*, or favourites. That custom hath long ago been abolished, and they have since thought it more convenient to shew themselves to their subjects, at least three or four times a year; though none, even to this day, is allowed to see them eat, except the pages that feed them ^b. Even the empress herself is denied that privilege, though she herself eats in company with her ladies; and when they give audience to foreign ambassadors, they always sit behind a curtain out of sight. Instead of a favourite minister, they have created a chief officer, whom they call *Rash*, or principal, and who is generalissimo. He hath under him two head officers over all the rest; the one stiled *Bellatinoche Goyta*, or *Gouta*, that is, the lord of the servants, who is a kind of

^a Id. *ibid.*

^a Id. *ibid.*

^b See before, p. 82.

(N) Some have indeed affirmed, that those of *Dancale* and *Gingiro*, the former of whom is a *Mohammedan*, and the other a *Heathen*, were subject, or tributary, to him. But they neither are dependent, nor pay any tribute to him, but only acknowledge him as a powerful neighbour, who is every way superior to them, and with whom they think it their interest to live in peace and friendship (28).

(28) *Tellez*, *ub. sup.* l. i. c. 10. *Ludolf*, *ub. sup.* l. i. c. 2. §. 11. iii. c. 11. §. 9. & *sq.* *Lobo*, *ub. sup.* *voy.* 2. p. 48, & *sq.*

high-steward. This officer's power extends itself, not only over all the viceroys, governors, Xumos, and generals of the army, but likewise over the Azagues and Umbares, who are the civil judges of the empire. The other is stiled *Tu-kak*, or *Zekase Bellatinoche Goyta*, or lord of the lesser servants, and is only a kind of under-steward to the king's household, which is commonly composed of men of a lesser rank (O).

Places all bought and corrupted. THE misfortune is, that not only these, but all places that are under them, are rather sold to the highest bidder, than given to the fittest or worthiest; and consequently more is given for them than they are honestly worth: so that to be gainers by them, or even to save themselves, the owners are obliged to oppress all that are under them; and those governors and officers, from the highest to the lowest, become rather the plunderers than the protectors of the people. What is still worst by far, these last can obtain no redress against their oppressors; for though there be appeals from the inferior to the supreme courts, and even from them to the emperor, yet the remedy proves so often worse than the disease, that few, if any, dare venture upon it. But as this is the case of all arbitrary governments, where places, and justice itself, is venable, we shall not dwell longer upon this subject; only one inconvenience arising from that general corruption of offices and officers, we cannot forbear taking notice of, because, perhaps, more severely felt in this empire than the country in any other, viz. that the universal poverty and misery which it spreads every-where, fills the whole country with swarms, not only of idle vagrants, such as we have already

Appeals dangerous and few.

Which fills the country with robbers.

(O) We have been indeed told, by the fabulous father *Uretta*, that the emperors were served by none but kings sons, and princes of the royal blood; but if we may depend upon the rest of our *Portuguese* writers, and the *Abissinian Gregory*, these monarchs are so far from it, that they will have none but slaves of their own breeding up, to be about their person, or to wait at their court; and these, not of their own subjects, but the *Agas*, *Gallas*, *Gongas*, and

Cassres, who are brought up there from their youth, and whom they often afterwards prefer to be Xumos, and raise them to such other employments, as their merit and abilities intitle them to: and they give this reason for their preference, that they find none so faithful, as those whom they breed up, and raise from nothing; and that if they do not all prove so, yet they are in general more trusty than any of their own *Abissinians* (29).

spoken of on another occasion^c, but of desperate banditti, and murdering robbers, who range through all the provinces that are at a distance from the imperial camp, and, for want of a sufficient body of troops, or through their being too often employed in some war with the adjacent kingdoms, or through the remissness of the government, cannot be suppressed, or deterred from committing the greatest outrages on the poor natives, and the vilest cruelties and robberies on the travelling strangers, who come thither to traffic^d. But what can be said of these enormities, if they are not only winked at, but even countenanced, by the government: and if that be really fact, which is affirmed by a late author, that those banditti are incorporated under one chief, or captain, who pays a certain yearly tribute to the emperor, and even buys that post from him^e? But to return.

WE observed a little higher, that the viceroys and governors of the kingdoms and provinces of the empire were under the Bellatinoche, as well as the military commanders and civil magistrates, or judges. All these hold their several courts of judicature, where all causes, either civil or criminal, are brought and decided; only those of the martial kind, have martial officers to preside in them; the others are tried before the civil judges above-mentioned: these last are called *Umbares*, or chairs, because they alone are allowed to sit, whilst the plaintiff, defendant, and the rest, stand; and, upon proper occasions, will even sit down upon the ground in the highway, or open field, to try a cause; and every body that will, may be present at it. They make use of no writing, nor keep any records, much less allow lawyers, attorneys, &c. to argue for or against either; both plaintiff and defendant (or, in criminal causes, the accuser and accused) plead their own cause; the former speaks first, and the latter after him; each may answer and reply to the other three or four times, by turns; after which, the judge, commanding silence, asks the opinion of the by-standers; and, according as the evidence turns the scale, for the one or the other, pronounces sentence upon the spot, which in some cases is without appeal, but in others may be removed to a superior court; as first, to the vicery, or governor; thence to the Bellatinoche, or lord high steward; and lastly, from him to the emperor. In criminal cases, if the accused is cast, he is either kept prisoner by the judge till he has made satisfaction to the accuser; or if the crime be capital, as murder, he

Whose chief buys his post from the emperor.

Justice, how administered. Altogether venal.

^c See before, p. 90.

^d Vid. auct. sup. citat.

^e LE

*Capital
punish-
ments.*

*May be
redeemed.*

*How in-
flicted.*

*Prosecu-
tors cruel
in inflict-
ing them.*

is delivered up to the plaintiff, to be punished with death, at his discretion, and that of the relations of the deceased; which custom they seem to have borrowed, among many others, from the *Jews*; and these relations either sell the murderer's life for a certain value, or put him to death in what manner they please. But when a murder cannot be sufficiently proved against any man, all the inhabitants of the place are severely fined, or put to some corporal punishment; which at once prevents all concealments of that kind, and by that means, a great deal of blood-shed. The greatest inconvenience of these courts of justice, is, that they allow of no witnesses to be heard, but those of the plaintiff; which it is not always in the power of the defendant to discredit or invalidate, though he is permitted to use all proper means to do it ^f.

THEY have here three kinds of capital punishments; the first is, that of burying the criminal in the earth, quite up to his mouth, and then to cover his head with thorns and briars, and lay a heavy stone upon them; the second is, that of beating them to death with thick clubs, about two feet long, with a heavy head at one end, of the bigness of a man's two fists; but the third and most usual is, that of piercing them through with their zagays, or lances; in which case, the nearest relation of the deceased makes the first thrust, the rest following him in due order; even those that come last, or after the criminal is expired, commonly dip their weapons in his blood, to shew that they are likewise concerned to revenge the murder of their relation. What is still more dreadful, and in some measure barbarous, is, the feasting and loud rejoicings which these relations make over the criminal, from the time that he is delivered up into their hands, to the time of his execution, but more particularly on the night preceding it; to all which the prisoner is witness, as well as to the preparations which are made for it; all which, frequently exasperates his own relations to such a degree, that it scarcely fails of ending in the death of some of his most zealous prosecutors ^g.

THE emperor's army is nothing answerable to the extent of his dominions, nor indeed to the exigencies of them, considering how surrounded they are on all sides by enemies, and how frequently his frontier provinces are invaded and plundered

^f TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, CODIGN, &c. l. i. c. 16, & seq. also N^o. xxxv. pass. Deuter. xix. 6, 12. & alib. pass. Jos. Ant. l. iv. c. 7. Philo Legat. & seq. ^g Id. ibid. Lobo Relat. p. 98.

by them. They seldom exceed 40,000 men, when he brings *The empe-
ror's army.* them all into the field, but often fall very short of that number. Of them, between 4 and 5000 are horse, and the rest foot; and of the former, about 1500 are well sized, mounted, and accoutered; and about one-half of them wear coats of mail and head-pieces, but all the rest are as indifferently armed and accoutred, having no other arms, offensive or *Their
weapons.* defensive, than a spear and buckler (P). They are very little acquainted with fire-arms, and as poorly furnished with powder and ball. There is in the whole about 1500 fire-arms, and not above 3 or 400 musqueteers in any action, and they, for the greatest part, so ill trained to the use of them, that they never make above one firing, for want of a

(P) To give our reader a more exact idea of each of these weapons, we must inform him, that the spears are of two sorts; the one like our half, or short pikes, the other more like a halberd, or partisan. The staves of the former are slender, and the iron narrow, like our pike; the iron of the other is broad and thin: the first is to be darted by dint of strength, and the last to be used in close fight with one hand, whilst the other holds the buckler, which is usually made of buffalo's hide, very thick and strong.

Each common soldier carries two of these spears; the one they dart with such strength and fury, that they will even pierce a coat of mail, or buckler; and the other is kept to continue the fight, as we do here with sword and buckler. Those of a higher rank have likewise their swords, but seldom make use of them in a battle, but rather wear them as a mark of distinction, and chiefly in time of peace, and then they commonly hold them in their hands when they converse with any one; but if they

walk, they make their servants carry them under their arms. They likewise wear a kind of dagger under their girdle, with the hilt towards the right, and the point towards the left-hand. Some likewise carry a club of some hard wood, very heavy, with a dagger in it: this weapon they call bolota, and commonly use it when they come to close engagement with the enemy, and sometimes dart it against them.

But the sword being chiefly worn as an ornament, they are most curious about, and chuse to have the hilt of gold or silver gilt, and the scabbard of velvet, or rich damask, commonly of a red colour.

The horse are pretty much accoutred and armed like the foot; but those who are allowed to wear the coat of mail, do, for the most part, throw aside the buckler as an incumbrance. They are said to be all very good horsemen, mount and sit their horses to admiration, but in other respects, are not better disciplined than the foot (30).

(30) *De bis, vid. Teller, l. i. c. 11. Ludolph, l. ii. c. 14. pass. Codign, Lobo, Le Grand, Ponce, & al.*

*Want of
fire arms
and mar-
tial disci-
pline.*

greater supply of powder and ball. They seldom have any to use at their exercises, except some few of that higher rank, and these commonly use a rest with their muskets; and those are rather an incumbrance, especially in their wars with the *Gallas*, and other such wild enemies, so that they are little the better for their exercises. The rest being still worse disciplined, their armies, battalions, and squadrons, are commonly drawn up with as little regularity; so that the very first shock frequently begins and ends the battle; one side turning their back, and the other pursuing, without ever endeavouring to rally, or knowing how to go about it; neither is it looked upon as a disgrace to run away from the enemy, because it is become a common practice ^b.

*The soldi-
ers stout
and hardy.*

It may be justly said, nevertheless, of the *Abissinian* soldiery, that if they perform no better, it is intirely owing to want of discipline; for they commonly are very stout and hardy, inured to hunger, thirst, and fatigue, beyond expression, being trained to it from their youth, and continuing in the field the greatest part of the year, equally capable of bearing the most excessive heat, the sharpest cold, and the most violent rains, and all this with a surprisingly small sustenance. Even this they get out of the few lands which the emperor allows them, whilst they continue in his service, to live upon, and no longer; for as soon as they begin to fail, they are taken from them and given to new ones. What is still harder, is, that they take their wives and children along with them; and these are commonly so numerous, that a camp of 30,000 men, may be justly said to consist of above 100,000 persons, and all obliged to live on the product of the lands, which are assigned to them for their maintenance: and hence it is that the *Abissinian* monarchs are able to raise such great armies upon any occasion with so little charge, all their subjects being either farmers or soldiers ^c.

*Poor al-
lowance.*

*Carry
their fami-
lies with
them.*

WE have already had occasion to describe the form and magnificence of the imperial camp, in speaking of his metropolis; as likewise of the manner of its marching, both in time of war and peace; in both which he is always placed in the centre of his army. He observes the same method in all engagements, where he is always surrounded, not only by his household and guards, but likewise by all his nobles and chief ministers, and composes a small kind of separate army. In

*Drums and
other mar-
tial instru-
ments.*

this, as well as in the rest of the great body, they have the use of drums and kettle drums, (these last much larger and louder than ours) besides trumpets, hautbois, flutes, and

^b Id. ub. sup.

^c Id. ibid.

other

other instruments, whose music, however, is more remarkable for its confused noise and din, than for any either courtly or martial harmony. We omit a great variety of other instances of gait and grandeur which attends the imperial army, especially when the emperor is there in person, which some authors have lavishly heaped together ^k, in order to *Solemn attendance of the clergy.* raise its magnificence above even that of the eastern monarchs, but which we think their bare word is not a sufficient warrant for inserting here; the only thing we find worth adding to what hath been already said of the imperial army, is, that it is always attended with a vast number of priests, and even prelates, who not only perform the divine service in pavilions, and those not a few, assigned for that purpose, but likewise escort and attend the sacred utensils that are made use of in it, with great pomp and ceremony, and with vocal and instrumental music: among which, those belonging to the imperial court, are carried about with the greatest form and grandeur ^l.

FROM what we have already observed, of the vast dominions, and very extensive power of the *Abissinian* monarchs, one might be naturally led to conclude them to be immensely rich, and their revenue to be answerable to so potent an empire: and yet we much question, whether, comparing one with the other, he may not be more rightly deemed poor than opulent; at least nothing like what he is represented by the two authors above quoted, and some others of no better authority. *The emperor not so opulent as reported.*

THE imperial revenue chiefly arises from the four following branches, *viz.* from the tribute paid to him by the governors of such provinces and kingdoms as are said to have golden mines, particularly those of *Enarea* and *Gojam*, from which he receives a certain weight yearly of that metal; but whether arising from any mines in those parts, or from their commerce with the *Caffres*, and other neighbouring nations, we cannot be certain ^m. This is reckoned one of the most considerable branches; and yet, according to father *Almeyda's* First account, which he assures us he had from the emperor *Se-gued's* own mouth, amounts but to about 5 or 6000 oukeas, *it.* or ounces, *per an.* one with another, as the reader may see by the computation which that author has given us; and which *His revenue.*

^k URETTA, VINCENT, LE BLANC, part ii. c. ii. ^l TELLEZ, ALVAR. & al. sup. citat. ^m See before. p. 38.

may be seen in the following note (Q). The next *ad branch*. branch of the imperial revenue, arises from the sale of all the great

(Q) According to that author, the kingdom of *Enarea* brings in the greatest quantity of gold of any in the empire; and yet Sultan *Segued*, who reigned from the year 1563 till 1596, and is said to have received the greatest quantity from it of any of his predecessors, could seldom draw more from thence than to the amount of 1500 oukeas, or ounces, valued at about 15,000 pieces of eight, and in that father's time, only 1000, one year with another. A poor sum this from such a rich kingdom; especially, considering the emperor is obliged to send one of his generals, at the head of an army, to fetch it from thence to him; it being not only the farthest of all, but the road to it lying through the territories of the plundering *Gallas* and *Caffres*. But as we observed in a former section (31), this last is one of the reasons why he receives so little from thence, it being paid to him by that conquered kingdom, rather as a free-will-offering, than a tribute, seeing he cannot send a sufficient force thither through those territories, to extort a greater from them.

The kingdom of *Gojam*, according to the same author, brings in yearly about 1100 oukeas in gold; but this, we are told, is commonly either lavished among some favourite grantees, or distributed among his

sons and brothers; so that he hath but a small share of it left to himself. He receives likewise from the same kingdom 3000 pieces of cotton cloth, worth a piece of eight each, besides 200 bezetas, another sort of cotton cloth, thick, and with a shag on one side, valued at about an oukea each. He also received formerly a tribute of 3000 horses from it, which Sultan *Segued* hath been obliged to remit, ever since the *Gallas* have made such inroads and cruel wars into that kingdom, in order to enable the people to defend themselves against them.

For the same reason, the tribute paid by several governors of provinces, equally infested with those wild ravagers, hath been either vastly diminished, or even quite set aside.

The several duties which these monarchs received on the commodities imported or exported, and paid by the two great seaports on the *Red Sea*, are now ceased, or paid to the *Turks*, who are since become masters of them. Some other duties were paid them by the merchants at certain passes, going from one part of the kingdom, which they have thought proper to bestow on the governors of the province where they are paid, as they have likewise a certain number of loads of corn, and other provisions, which they were obliged to pay to them. Those that came from *Dem-*

(31) See before, p. 38, & seq.

great places in the empire, as lately hinted; such as the viceroyships, governments of kingdoms and provinces, and other offices and posts of trust, the yearly tribute they pay to him for being continued in them, as likewise for the product of those lands which are in their respective governments: for as all the lands in general appertain to him in chief, these governors do, in some sense, farm them from him, and pay him a yearly proportion of their product; though in this respect, they are very far from either cultivating them to the best advantage, or from paying him a due proportion of their income: this plainly appears from those of the two kingdoms of *Tigre* and *Dembea*; the former of which is by far the largest, and hath the greatest number of governments; and the latter, the richest of all; and yet the former, according to father *Almeyda*, above-mentioned, brings him in no more than about 25,000, and the latter 50,000 *French livres*. The third branch consists in a tenth, which he levies every third year, upon all the cattle in the empire. By this last, which it appears was unknown till about the middle of the last century, every man that hath cows, is obliged to pay him one out of ten every third year; and the country breeding vast quantities of them, makes it perhaps by far the most considerable branch of the three. It is, moreover, so well distributed between the various kingdoms and provinces of the empire, that there is pretty near an equal quantity of them brought in every year. This tax they call burning, or branding, because the emperor's officers brand those with a particular mark which they set aside for him: but it might much more justly be branded with that name, on account of the insolence and cruelty of the officers that are commissioned to levy it, who make no conscience of ruining the poor people by their inhuman extortionsⁿ.

To this we may add a fourth, though not so considerable, which is laid upon every loom of cotton cloth, and which, if it belongs to a Christian, pays one piece of cloth, and if to a *Mohammedan*, a piece of eight, *per an*. By this duty are ga-

ⁿ *Id. ub. sup.*

bea, and amounted commonly to 10 or 12,000, they have been obliged to bestow upon such of their soldiers, to whom they could not assign lands for their maintenance. Others of the same sort, coming from other provinces, are reserved for charitable uses, either feeding the poor, or in maintaining decayed men and women of quality belonging to their court (32).

(32) *Almeyda op. Tellen, l. i. c. 11. Ludolph, l. ii. c. 10. pass.*

thered, in the kingdom of *Dembea*, and parts adjacent, about 1000 of these pieces, and in that of *Gojam* 3000; besides about 200 bissetes, which are a thicker and stronger cotton cloth, all shagged on one side. The same is levied in other kingdoms and provinces of the empire, but is mostly bestowed on, or swallowed up by, their rapacious governors^o.

The whole inconsiderable; THESE are pretty near the whole of all the so much boasted riches and great revenues of the *Abissinian* monarchs; of which, though there be no possibility of knowing the exact amount, because, for the most part, it rises and falls, according to the munificence or frugality of the prince, and many other obvious causes, yet plainly appears to come very short of what one may expect from so vast an empire, so great a number of kingdoms and provinces, and such an immense extent of pasture and arable ground, of which he is the sole proprietor and disposer. It will, however, be far from appearing so inconsiderable, if we take an estimate, not so much from the opulence of ours, and other kingdoms, as from the poverty of the country, and the extreme indigence of the people; a people inured to indolence and penury, and a country left, for the most part, uncultivated and barren, because the present possessor is not sure how soon its despotic landlord may transfer it to other hands, and is not sure whether what he sows or plants in the spring, will not fall to the lot of some favourite, who bestowed no labour upon it. In such an arbitrary government as this, a monarch hath cause to think himself rich enough, who hath the lives, lands, and fortunes of all his subjects, at his disposal, and powerful enough to bind them to their allegiance; whilst one part serves him for fear of losing the lands he hath given them, and another, in hopes of obtaining them from him. This likewise induces the possessors to be more generous in their presents and tribute to him, seeing he generally gets most, according to father *Almeyda*, who gives most, and those least, who present least^p.

yet sufficient to make the prince rich and powerful enough.

^o ALMEYDA, ap. Tellez, LUDOLPH, LOBO, & seq. ^p ALMEYDA, ap. Tellez, ub. sup. LOBO, LUDOLPH, & seq.

S E C T. VIII.

Of the Religion of the Abissinians, both before and since their Conversion to the Christian Faith, and the Hierarchy of their Church.

WE have already hinted, that the *Abissinians* boast themselves to have received the *Jewish* religion, together with a continued series of monarchs, from *Solomon*, the great king of *Israel*, who caused the son whom he had by their celebrated queen to be educated in the *Mosaic* religion; and sent him back into *Abissinia*, accompanied by many eminent doctors of the law, and particularly by *Azariah*, the son of *Zadoc*, the then *Jewish* high-priest, by whose assistance the *Jewish* religion was propagated through the whole empire, and continued to be professed in it, till their conversion to Christianity^a.

The Jewish religion brought into Abissinia by the Queen of Sheba.

THE misfortune is, that the only record they have of this remarkable transaction, (except a common tradition, which hath been firmly believed by them from time immemorial) is so clogged with difficulties, and mixed with fable, that we cannot much rely on its authority. Neither hath this nation taken any care to preserve any records of the reigns that followed this memorable epocha. What books they have are mostly such as treat of religion, and these they are very shy of shewing to Christians of any other denomination, lest they should furnish them with arguments against their own favourite herefy; so that the whole credit of the memorable event we are speaking of, rests solely on that of the book above-mentioned, and an immemorial tradition, which is no less clogged with difficulties than that.

WE have formerly endeavoured to reconcile some of them, with relation to the real country of the queen of *Sheba*^b; and to that we shall only add, that it is far from improbable that so great a princess should have a son from the *Israelitish* monarch, who had not only married the daughter of the king of *Egypt*, but had likewise a multitude of other wives of several nations and religions^c; much less that that son, and all his successors, should be so ambitious of owning so mighty and opulent a monarch for their progenitor, whom all the world so justly esteemed and revered: their retaining to this day the

^a See before, p. 107, et seq. See also *Anc. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 303. ^b *Anc. Hist.* ub. sup. p. 304, & seq. ^c 1 Kings xi. 1, & seq.

*Arms of
the kings
of Abissi-
nia.*

arms of the tribe of *Judah*^d, and still calling all the descend-
ants, by the male line, by the name of *Israelites*, is a mani-
fest proof of it, as well as of that famous queen introducing
the *Jewish* religion, and worship of the true God, into her
own dominions; especially if those, and other proofs,
which the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez* hath brought in confir-
mation of this point, namely, the great conformity there is
between not only the old religion, but likewise between the

*Confor-
mity with
the Jews.*

customs of the *Abissinians* and the *Jews*; various instances of
which we have already had occasion to remark in the course
of this chapter^e, and many more of which, the reader will
still find in the sequel of it; insomuch, that that learned pre-
late, who appears to have been very well acquainted with
both, makes no difficulty to own, that his becoming conver-
sant with those of the former, did greatly help him to under-
stand a great number of the latter, dispersed in the *Old Tes-
tament*, of which he was before wholly ignorant^f; to all
which proofs, if we add, their tenacious observation of the
rite of circumcision, even after their conversion to Christianity,
their keeping still the sabbath on the *Saturday*, as the *Jews*
do, and more particularly the instance of the eunuch, or
chief treasurer, of *Candace* queen of *Ethiopia* going so regu-
larly to *Jerusalem*, and reading in his solitary return the pro-
phet *Isaiah*^g, we shall be forced to own, that all these cir-
cumstances cannot but reflect some considerable evidence to
the book above-mentioned, so far as relates to these few prin-
cipal points we are upon, though intermixed with some others
which are manifestly fabulous; as the reader will see by the
short sketch we shall here subjoin of that so much boasted
record, which they give as great credit to as they do to their
sacred books &: the account it gives of this singular event is
as follows.

*An ancient
record of
their queen
visiting of
king Solo-
mon.*

“ THAT a great and potent queen, named *Azeb*, or
Maqueda, reigning in *Ethiopia*, being informed of the
great power and wisdom of *Solomon*, by a merchant named
Tamerin, and being desirous to be an ear and eye-witness of
it, took a journey to *Jerusalem*, attended with a vast reti-

*Obtains a
son from
him.*

nue of the greatest princes and nobles of *Ethiopia*, and with
an immense treasure. There *Solomon* instructed her in the
knowledge of the true God; and upon her return home, at
the end of nine months, she was delivered of a son, be-
gotten by *Solomon*, who was called *Menilchech*, and by
another name, *David*. This son went afterwards to *Je-*

^d See before, p. 83, & seq. 107, & seq. & alib. pass.
^e before, p. 116. ^f Viaggio d'Ethiop. TELLEZ, l. i. c. 13.

^g TELLEZ, ub. sup.

^{*} Ad's

"*rusalem*, to see his father *Solomon*, and was magnificently
 "entertained by him, and anointed, and sworn king of
 "*Ethiopia* by *Zadoc* and *Joash*, the then high-priests; and
 "when he was thoroughly instructed in the law of God,
 "which he was to cause to be observed in his dominions, he
 "assigned him several of the first-born of *Israel* to attend and
 "serve him in *Ethiopia*, and furnished him with officers and
 "servants belonging to the house of *Judah*, together with a
 "high-priest, levites, and doctors in the law of *Moses*."

HITHERTO there is nothing in the whole relation, but *Some fa-
 bulous ad-
 ditions
 made to it.*
 what we have shewn is extremely probable; but the same
 book goes on and tells us, "That these *first-born of Israel*, at
 "the instigation of *Azariah*, the son of *Zadoc*, bound them-
 "selves by a mutual oath, to fetch away the ark of the co-
 "venant, which they stile *the heavenly Sion*; and that going
 "by night into the temple, the gates of which, by some sin-
 "gular Providence, they found open, they put the ark
 "upon a cart; and being attended by abundance of people,
 "and much wealth, and with loud acclamations, they marched
 "off with such haste, that *Solomon*, who pursued them *Menile-
 bech and
 his Jews
 carry off
 the ark.*
 "with no less speed, could not overtake them. With the
 "same surprising expedition they went over the *Red Sea*, as
 "the children of *Israel* had formerly done, but with this dif-
 "ference, that whereas the *Israelites* crossed it on foot, and
 "without being wet, they fled over it in their chariots, so
 "that the waters assisted the one, and the air the other, in
 "their flight.

"WHEN the queen *Makeda* was informed that her son had
 "been anointed king, and was not only returning with such a
 "grand retinue, but had brought with him the ark of the God
 "of *Sion*, she went forth with great pomp and solemnity to
 "meet them, and placed the sacred ark in the temple of the
 "land of *Makeda*, and caused all the people of *Ethiopia* to re-
 "ceive the knowledge of the true God; so that there were not
 "in the whole world, at that time, any monarchs compara-
 "ble to king *Solomon* in *Palestine*, and to queen *Makeda* in
 "*Ethiopia*." The book farther adds, "That the queen did *He succeeds
 his mother.*
 "afterwards resign her kingdom to her son *David*, and
 "obliged him, and all the grandees of the empire, to swear
 "by *the heavenly Sion*, that they would not from that time *Women ex-
 cluded
 from the
 succession.*
 "forward ever admit any woman to the throne of *Ethiopia*,
 "nor any but the male descendants from him^a."

THIS is the substance of that famous record, and contains
 many other circumstances, which, though equally uncertain,

^a TELLEZ, l. i. c. . LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 2. §. 3, & seq.

*The record
interspersed
with
fable.*

and some of them too fabulous to deserve farther notice, is in the whole looked upon as of great authority by all the *Abissinians*. Nor is it any great wonder, that a people no less fond of such surprising and miraculous peculiarities, than the rest of the eastern and southern nations, should in process of time, interpolate that ancient record with such fabulous stuff, in order to raise a greater veneration for the tabot, or altar-chest, upon which they celebrate the Communion Service, or, as it is vulgarly stiled by the *Portuguese* missionaries, the mass, and to their great church of *Axuma*, where that pretended stolen sacred utensil was kept. What other motives might induce them to trump up that absurd story, and how easily they might get it to pass for current, and to be greedily swallowed by their *Abissinian* converts, may be seen by what we shall subjoin in the margin (A), and yet none of it be sufficient

(A) If we suppose the first part of this record to be true, that the king of *Israel* had actually such a son by the *Abissinian* queen, and that he bred him up to the *Jewish* religion, in order to convert that whole empire to it, it will be no difficult matter to conceive, how this fabulous story of his carrying away the sacred ark, came afterwards to be foisted in. *Solomon* might send him away with a positive order, that in case his subjects should become proselytes to the true God, he should not presume to erect a temple to him, seeing that of *Jerusalem* was the only one where he had established his public worship; much less would he permit them to embellish it with any of its sacred ornaments, such as the sacred ark, altars, candlestick, &c. which could have no place any-where but in that in which he had ordained all the sacrifices, and other parts of the divine worship, to

be performed according to his direction.

Such a prohibition, we say, could not but be necessary and proper, in order to prevent such a schism in the *Jewish* church, as was afterwards introduced in *Egypt*, by *Onias*, a dissatisfied *Jewish* high-priest (1), and to keep the *Abissinian* proselytes in a due dependence on that metropolis and centre of religion. On the other hand, as those injunctions must in all likelihood appear somewhat harsh to the young prince, whose heart could not but be greatly affected at the majestic solemnity with which he saw the divine worship performed in that sacred edifice, and had in all probability set his heart upon introducing it in his dominions, and assisting at it in the same splendor and magnificence that his father did: and if this was the case, how natural was it for some of those priests and levites, who were to accompany him, to pro-

(1) See *Ant. Hist.* vol. x. p. 298, & seq. 315 (M).

sufficient to undermine the credit of the ancient tradition and *Accounted* record, whilst we have so many corroborating arguments to *for*.
prove

cure, at least, a model, or resemblance, of the sacred ark, the most significant, and most esteemed of all the sacred utensils, to be made privately, and carried with them into *Abissinia*, in imitation of that of the temple. How natural was it for him, and the queen his mother, to order that holy symbol to be deposited in some of their most sumptuous edifices, such as was then the great temple of the territory of *Makeda*. And in order to procure it a deeper, and more general veneration, how easy was it for them, either then to cause it to be whispered, or in process of time to have it publicly affirmed, to be the very same which the *Jewish* law-giver had been directed by God to erect and set up in the tabernacle, and that it was privately stolen, and brought away in that (pretended) miraculous manner: and how easy and natural to have this whole forgery to be tacked together, as of a piece, and of the same authority with the ancient record, and to be as readily believed, and pass for current, considering the vast distance, and small commerce, there was between the kingdom of *Israel* and this; for this reader'd the cheat more difficult to be known, and more still to be confuted, by either any of the *Jewish* kings or priests, whilst even those very ones that accompanied the young prince into his country, might easily be induced, by that very consideration, to join in it, as a sure way of securing to

themselves, not only the favour of the king, and reverence of the people, but likewise some considerable income and perquisites, as the sole guardians of that sacred *depositum*.

Accordingly we find, that they gave it the title of *tabót*, or ark of the covenant; the same which they give to *Noah's* ark, and by way of excellence stiled it *Sion*; from whence the temple in which it was kept, being after their conversion to Christianity dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, was called *St. Mary of Sion*, or *Seon*, according to their way of pronouncing that name.

It was, moreover, preserved with such veneration, and kept so closely concealed from the vulgar eyes, that even their monarchs were not admitted to the sight of it. Since the *Abissinian* emperors have taken up the custom of living in tents, this precious relique, no longer confined to a temple, doth always accompany the royal camp, and is carried about with the greatest pomp and ceremony, attended by four prelates in their pontifical habits, and about forty or fifty other priests, who go chanting before and after it, whilst one of them marches backwards before it with a censer in his hands, and incenses it all the way, till it be deposited in the grand pavilion, which serves instead of a church to the imperial court; no priest whatever being permitted to officiate, or say mass before it, but he that

prove the main part of it, that the queen of *Sheba* was the person who was first instructed in the *Jewish* religion, and introduced it into her dominions. But we have still one proof more to add, to shew, that if that princess brought it not into *Abissinia*, at least that the *Abissinians* received it from the *Jews*; and we are the more willing to mention it here, because it hath not, that we know of, been taken notice of by any of the writers upon this subject.

Many of
their pecu-
liarities
probably
derived
from the
Jewish
Recha-
bites.

THE reader may recollect, from what we have already observed of some peculiarities in their way of living; such as their letting their ancient famous cities, palaces, and other structures, go to ruin, in order to live more at large in their camps and tents; their abstaining from the juice of the grape, even in their celebration of the Lord's Supper; and either wholly neglecting all sort of agriculture, or turning that care over to the nations that live among them, such as *Jews*, *Turks*, and *Gentiles*, to apply themselves more closely to pasturage, and the breeding of numberless flocks, to live chiefly on their milk or their flesh¹: none of these customs are enjoined, or so much as hinted at, in the *Mosaic* law; nor are any of them agreeable to the practice of the *Jewish* nation, but rather quite opposite to them, till we come to the times of *Zedekiah* king of *Judah*, who reigned about two hundred and forty years after the death of *Solomon*: about which time, we read of a sect of *Jews* who called themselves *Rechabites*, from their progenitor or founder; and were chiefly famed and distinguished from the rest of their nation, for their observation of all those customs, as having been strictly enjoined them by him².

¹ See before, p. 81, & seq. ² Vid. *Jerem.* xxxv. 6, & seq. See also *Anc. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 136, & seq.

that doth it before the emperor (2).

Their veneration for it was still so great when the jesuits came thither, that as soon as they perceived that they were likely to succeed, and bring their church under the authority of that of *Rome*, one of their first cares was, to secure this sacred chest from falling into their hands; and some of the

most zealous among their monks, conveyed it with the greatest privacy, to the territory of *Bur*, near the *Red Sea*, where they hid it in some close thickets, among vast high mountains, and where, in all probability, it continued concealed till the total expulsion of those missionaries, when it was again restored to its pristine use and veneration (3).

(2) *Tellus ab. sup. Vincent Le Blanc Survey of the World*, part 2d. c. 11. *Pesci*, & al.
(3) *Tellus*; *Ludolph*, & al.

FROM a comparison, therefore, of these and the *Abissinians*, we may justly infer, that the latter not only derived ^{Some pre-} *Judaic* rites from the observers of the *Mosaic* law, but ^{nant in-} that they borrowed their other customs of abstaining from ^{stances of} *wine*, living in tents, &c. from some of the descendants of *Rechab*. These, we find, lived at large in tents, till the numerous host of the *Babylonish* king obliged some of them to take shelter in the city of *Jerusalem*, contrary to their founder's injunction, and either perished in that siege, with many myriads of other *Jews*, or were carried away captive by the *Babylonians*; for at their return from that captivity, we find a branch of the *Rechabites* that came back with them, and settled in the canton of *Jabesh*¹. But it is very probable, ^{How they} that much greater numbers of them, foreseeing the storm ^{first came} coming, wisely withdrew themselves with their herds, into ^{into Abis-} other countries, before the enemy's approach; and where ^{sinia.} should they seek for a safer asylum out of the kingdom of *Israel*, than in this of *Abissinia*, where the monarchs that reigned in it were the descendants of the great *Solomon*; and where the whole, or the greatest part of the nation, had so long professed the *Jewish* religion? Accordingly, a *Jewish* traveller of the twelfth century acquaints us, that he found them very numerous about these parts, and still strict observers of their old institution. He farther gives us a fine description of their country, princes, government, and other particulars, which, though interspersed after his usual manner with some fabulous circumstances, seem plainly to intimate, either that those *Jews* we have elsewhere spoken of, who formerly were masters of several parts of the empire, out of which they have been since driven by some of the emperors, and sent to live upon barren and inaccessible mountains *, were of the descendants of the old *Rechabites* of *Judea*, or else that he hath, either wilfully or ignorantly, mistaken the *Abissinians* for *Rechabites*, from the affinity of their religion, customs, and manner of living †.

FROM all these observations we would infer, that as it is by no means likely that so opulent and polite a prince as *Solomon*, should have instructed his royal visiter, the queen of *Sbeba*, and her son, in the institutions and customs of such a wandering and uncourtly sect, had it been then in being, which we have formerly shewn to be scarce probable ‡, or

¹ 1 Chron. ii ult. * See before, p. 67, & seq. † BHWJ.

DE TUDELA, itinerar, p. 75, & seq. edit. l'Empereur 81, & seq.

‡ Anc. Hist. vol. iv. ub. sup. (S).

that he would have sent any of them with her into *Abissinia* : we think it much more reasonable to suppose, that some of these last-mentioned, who fled from the conquering sword of *Nabuchadnezzar* hither for shelter, might introduce their customs among them, and recommend their wandering, active, and abstemious way of life, not so much from religious motives, as because it was the most effectual way to promote health, peace, and long life ; by which means, all the large cities, spacious palaces, and other structures, that flourished in that queen's and her son's reign, became by degrees neglected, and fell to decay ; and even the celebrated imperial seat of *Axum*, or *Axuma*, became a heap of ruins, by being exchanged for an imperial camp ".

When first converted to Christianity. THE next article relating to the *Abissinian* religion, is their conversion to Christianity ; and this great change they firmly believe to have been the work of the famed eunuch, or prime-minister, of their queen *Candace*, or, as they call her, *Handake*. The account which the ancient record, or book above-mentioned, gives, is, according to father *Almeyda*, much the same with that which *St. Luke* gives us of his conversion by *Philip* °, with this addition only, that upon his return into *Ethiopia*, he gave the queen his mistress a full account of all that had happened unto him, and what had passed between *Philip* the deacon and him, in his way homewards ; upon which that princess believed in the gospel of the grace of Jesus Christ °. But, besides that the learned are not agreed whether this princess was really queen of this *Ethiopia*, or *Abissinia* (B), or of the island of *Meroe* † : we can scarcely date

° See before, p. 31.

° Acts viii. 27, & seq.

† AL-

MEYDA, ap. Tellez, l. i. c. 17.

† Vid. CODIGN,

JARRICK, LUDOLPH, & al. sup. citat.

(B) What hath occasioned this difference of opinions, is, what *Pliny* says of the queens of that name (4) ; that they reigned in the island of *Meroe*, and that there had been a good number of that name who had already reigned there ; whence some have imagined it to be the common name of all the queens of that island. Hence also Mr.

Ludolph, and many other authors whom he quotes (5), strongly opposes the opinion of this queen *Candace* being queen of *Abissinia*. But if, as we have formerly shewn, the kingdom of *Gojam*, and not any island formed by the *Nile* in *Egypt*, be the *Meroe* of *Strabo* and *Pliny* *, then that objection falls to the ground, and *Candace* will still

(4) *Plin. Hist. l. vi. c. 29. Strabo, l. xvii.*
2, 5.

* See *Anc. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 273, & seq.*

(5) *Lib. ii. c. 4, 8, 3.*

have

date the conversion of that empire from this one instance ; that *but very* book mentioning only that princess as believing in Christ, *imperfectly* without mentioning so much as any of her court. Besides, *ly.* Philip being neither bishop nor priest, but only a deacon, could have no power to qualify the eunuch for a preacher of the gospel ; neither had he time sufficient to instruct him thoroughly in it, or perhaps to give him more than a general idea, that Jesus was the Christ, the Redeemer of mankind, and had by his miracles, death, and resurrection, fully proved himself to be the promised Messiah, and Saviour of the world. We may even question whether he did mention any-thing to him about the abrogation of the law of *Moses*, by the cross ; so that both he and his profelytes, if he made any other besides that princess, did, in all probability, continue in the observance of it, as they still do, since their fuller conversion ; particularly with regard to the rite of circumcision, and the keeping of the seventh day as the Christian sabbath.

It is more probable, therefore, that whatever foundation might be laid by that great profelyte, yet the general con-

have been queen, at least of this part of *Abissinia*.

Mr. Ludolph farther urges, that this is contrary to what is affirmed in the old record of *Axuma*, lately spoken of, that the queen of *Sheba* caused her son and nobles to swear, that they would never suffer a woman to ascend the *Ethiopian* throne. But besides that, he quotes here an authority which he elsewhere slights ; how is he sure that that oath was never broke ? Sure it is that we meet with a fresh queen of *Abissinia* of that name, who being converted herself by *Fruementius*, about three hundred years after, sent him to *Alexandria* to be ordained bishop, by the then patriarch of it, St. *Atbanasius*, in order to have the rest of her dominions instructed in the same faith (6). To all this we would

add, that the *Abissinian* histories are full of the great and good deeds of that pious queen, her eunuch, and all her nobility ; of the great spirit of piety, charity, and generosity, which reigned through her dominions, during hers, and some of the succeeding reigns ; and of the many noble churches, monasteries, and other pious structures, that were erected about that time, both by her and the grandees of her empire (7) : all which being so very agreeable to that spirit of religion, piety, and charitable disposition, for which that nation is so justly extolled, cannot be supposed to be all fiction, but must have some foundation in truth, though we shall allow them to be exaggerated beyond the limits of it.

(6) See *Anc. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 325.
op. Le Grand, p. 65.

(7) *Almeida*, *Teller*, *Lob*, *Relat.*

When fully converted. version of that great empire was not perfected till after the year of Christ 335, when the great *Athanasius*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, being informed by *Frumentius* of the good disposition which the queen and her subjects were in to receive the gospel, ordained him bishop of *Axuma*, and sent him to propagate it thro' *Ethiopia*; an account of which remarkable event we have formerly given out of *Rufinus*, and to which we shall now refer our readers¹, to avoid needless repetitions.

Who converts the Abissinians.

From this time Christianity began to flourish through the empire, and the true faith was so firmly founded by that zealous and excellent prelate, that when *Constantius* the emperor came to be informed of it, he tried all the arts and stratagems he could invent to introduce Arianism among them to no effect²; though they afterwards fell so unhappily into the errors of *Eutyches* and *Dioscorus*, as we shall soon see.

Alexandria their mother church.

At the same time the discipline of the church was settled, conformably to that of *Alexandria*; priests and deacons were every-where ordained, liturgies, articles, and canons settled and confirmed by the same *Alexandrian* patriarch; and among the latter, one by which the *Abissinian* church acknowledges that of *Alexandria* as her mother, and herself as wholly subject and dependent upon her, inasmuch, that it deprives her of the power of chusing her own bishop, or to receive him from any but the patriarchs of *Alexandria*, in whom alone the power is vested, both to nominate and consecrate them.

Abunas very ignorant.

Subject to the patriarch of Alexandria.

What is still more remarkable, is, that it excludes the *Abissinians* from having one of their nation for their abuna, or patriarch, which those of *Alexandria* have been so strict in the observation of, that they have never suffered an *Abissinian* over that see: a monstrous subjection this, seeing those men that are nominated to it, being quite strangers to the language of the country, must be altogether unfit, not only to instruct their flock, but even to be proper judges of the fitness and capacity of those whom they ordain priests and preachers over them. Neither indeed can he be fit to perform the divine service, which is always in the old *Ethiopic*, seeing he is as unacquainted with it, as he is with the modern³. Notwithstanding all which inconveniencies and hardships, the clergy and people pay such religious regard to the canon above-mentioned, which they deem to be as ancient as their conversion, that they would look upon it as a kind of heresy to question its authority, and of apostacy, to act contrary to

¹ Anc. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 324, & seq.

² Ibid. p. 326.

³ TELLEZ, ub. sup. c. 19. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 6 & 7. LISO, LE GRAND, &c.

it. As our reader may be desirous to know the tenor of that ancient instrument of their subjection, we shall oblige him with a copy of it in the margin, according to the version of *Abraham Ecchellenfis*, as the clearest of the two; that of *Turenus* being in some places scarcely intelligible: for which reason we shall add a remark or two upon that piece, that the reader may know what dependence may be laid upon it (C).

BUT

(C) This singular piece, which is the 42d in *Ecchellenfis*, and the 36th in *Turenus's* collection, runs thus, with respect to the points above-mentioned:

Ne patriarcham sibi constituent Aethiopes, ex suis doctoribus, neque propria electione, quia patriarcha ipsorum est constitutus sub Alexandrini potestate, cujus est ipsis ordinare et praeficere catholicum qui inferior patriarchae est, cui praefato in patriarcham constituto, nomine catholici, non licabit metropolitanos constituere, sicut constituunt patriarchae; etenim honor nominis patriarchatus illi deferretur tantummodo, non vero potestas. Porro si acciderit ut congregetur synodus in terra Romanorum, et adfuerit iste, sedeat loco octavo post dominum Seleuciam, in qua est Alma-dajoint, nempe Babylonia Harrac, quoniam isti facta est potestas constituendi episcopos suae provinciae, prohibitumque fuit ne ullus eorum ipsum constituat.

This version differs in some things, from that of *Turenus*; as where he says, if the synod shall meet in *Grecia*, instead of in *terra Romanorum*: 2dly, it doth not fix the meaning of the *Seleucian* see as the other doth: and 3dly, in speaking of the *Abissinian* patriarch

appointing of prelates, concludes with these words: *Non licabit illi constituere aliquem ex illis*: which words are scarcely intelligible, unless they mean, that he shall not chuse any of the *Abissinians* to that dignity, as *Ecchellenfis* hath rendered it.

We must further observe to our readers, that this collection is neither to be found in the *Greek*, nor mentioned by any *Greek* author: we are neither told when, by whom, nor on what occasion, it was made; neither is any *Abissinian* prelate recorded to have assisted at any synod or council, by which one might know what rank they held in it. And as it is not probable that any rank should have been assigned to them after they fell into the *Jacobitish* errors, so it is more reasonable to conclude, that this collection was made at *Alexandria*, before the *Arabs* made themselves masters of that place; and that the church of *Antioch*, and afterwards that of *Abissinia*, received it as they found it (8). This last in particular paying almost the same veneration to it as they do to the sacred writings; tho', as we observed a little higher, it be so ill calculated for their advantage or edification.

(8) De hac vid. Le Grand, disert. 9, de convuls. Abissin. p. 285, & seq. Vid. Et Codign. l. i. c. 21. alib. pass. Jarris, & al. sup. citat. Ludolph, l. iii. c. 7. & ubi. pass.

BUT how small soever it may appear to him, it doth not so with the *Abissinian* clergy; who, notwithstanding all the inconveniences we have been mentioning above, have been most religious observers of it, never once, that we know, complaining against it, or ever appearing uneasy under such a foreign subjection, or at their being so unjustly and unnaturally, we may add, excluded from the succession to that dignity, tho' they have so much greater a right, and are naturally so much better qualified for it, than any stranger that could ever be set over them, unless they had been thoroughly acquainted with their language, which, for aught we can find to the contrary, was ever the least of their care.

Abissinians strenuous in their subjection to them.

What will appear still more surprising, is, that they have shewed themselves still more strenuous in it, when their emperors had the greatest reason to resent the arbitrary proceedings of those prelates, and their frequent presuming to oppose them in civil affairs, which were entirely out of their province to intermeddle with, as we shall see in the sequel of this chapter; till being justly tired with the tyranny of the *Alexandrian* patriarchs, and their *Abissinian* substitutes, who grew still more intolerable, after these became subject to, and the more creatures of, the *Ottoman Porte*, their professed enemy, they were reduced at length to that strange and dangerous expedient, of exchanging an *Egyptian* for a *Romish* servitude. This was a very proper time, if they had been as uneasy under the former, as they were apprehensive and averse to the latter, to have proposed a middle way, more reasonable in itself, as well as more advantageous to themselves, and which, in all probability, would not have failed of being readily agreed to by their monarchs, viz. that of chusing a patriarch of their own, and making themselves equally independent on that of *Rome*, and that of *Alexandria*. Of how much greater and more universal benefit, both to the clergy and people, as well as ease and safety to their monarchs, such a revolution would have proved, than the applying to the Pope, and the *Portuguese*, upon such an emergency, could not but be visible to every eye; and the clergy, who would have been the greatest gainers by it, must, one would imagine, have proved the most zealous promoters of it; yet, to one's great surprize, we find them no less strenuous and indefatigable in ascertaining their subjection to the see of *Alexandria*, than they were in opposing the authority of that of *Rome*, which was going to be introduced amongst them. Neither did they, after they had so wonderfully succeeded in the

Continue still under the same.

* Id. ibid. vid. & CODRON, GOZZI, & al. pl.

latter,

latter, ever take one step towards obtaining better terms from the former, but have constantly adhered to the strict tenor of the canon above-mentioned, and tamely submitted to such abunas, or patriarchs, as their *Alexandrian* metropolitan, if not rather the *Ottoman Porte*, whose vassal he is, hath thought proper to set over them: so that, upon the whole, the government of the *Abissinian* church hath continued in the very same form in which their first bishop *Fruementius*, or, as their books call him, *Fremonatos* *, sent thither by St. *Athanasius*, did at first settle it; and it is owing to the great veneration they have for that prelate, to whom they give the title of Saint, and of Abba Salama, or peaceable father, as well as the singular regard they pay to the authority of the canon above-mentioned, which they believe to have been framed either by him, or the patriarch *Athanasius*, that they have never since ventured to make any alteration in it to this very day.

THIS patriarchate, therefore, which is the highest ecclesiastical dignity in the *Abissinian* empire, and wholly subject to that of *Alexandria*, plainly appears from the tenor of the above-said canon, as well as from the constant practice of that church, to be no more than a mere title without the power. He is by his clergy called *abuna*, or *our father*: *The abuna*, he may in his letters take the title of patriarch, or catholic; *or patriarch, the only bishop.* but hath no power to create any metropolitans under him, as other patriarchs and catholics have; neither hath the *Abissinian* church ever had any more than one at a time, since their proto-patriarch *Fruementius*; nor any of them ever had any bishop under them: and as none have ever presided in that church, but such as were consecrated and appointed by the *Alexandrian* patriarchs, except a few that were sent thither by the Pope, of whom we shall speak in the sequel; so hath it ever followed the faith and doctrine of its mother church unto this day †.

THESE abunas, however, if we may believe the account *Vastly ignorant and remiss.* which the missionary writers give us of them, have, for the most part, been very ignorant, as well as negligent, in their office, whether of instructing the people, or conferring of holy orders. As to the first, it is no wonder, seeing they are strangers to the language of the country; but as to the latter, we are told, they will refuse to ordain those that have been twice married, and at the same time will admit the blind, lame, halt, &c. which they do only by the imposition of

* Id. ibid. See LE GRAND, dissert. 15, de Hierarch. Abissin.

† ALVAREZ, PAYS, TELLEZ, & al. sup. citat.

hands, and repetition of a few words, without administering the holy communion to them: so that those good fathers much question the validity of their ordination, as well as of the baptism, and other sacraments, administered by them.

Strange manner of giving absolution.

THE manner of absolving penitents in public, from their episcopal chair, is still more strange: these stand before the bishop, and confess two or three of their most heinous sins; upon hearing of which, he stands up, and in a great passion asks them, *how they could do so? whether they did not fear God?* and the like. The rest of the absolution is performed by giving them three or four heavy strokes with his pastoral staff; after which he consigns them over to some of his mazers, or officers, that attend him on such occasions, and orders them thirty or forty lashes more with a thong, which those officers carry in their hands to keep off the people. This punishment is the more severe, as they go so thinly clad; but by that time they have received seven or eight strokes, the by-standers commonly interceding for the penitent, he is permitted to go off with his partial absolution, which they think, however, more full and effectual, than that which is obtained by private confession. The reader will find an instance of it in the margin, out of the same author (D), which, if not exaggerated,

✓ Id. *ibid.*

(D) One day, we are told, on which the abuna was busy in hearing these public confessions, a fellow, who had stolen a certain number of cows, came to be absolved by him; but fearing to declare his crime publicly, and so expose himself to condign punishment from the hand of justice, begged of him that he might be permitted to whisper it in his ear: why so, said the prelate? will it not be made public to all the world at the day of judgment? declare it therefore here immediately. The poor man, not daring to disobey, was forced, though against his will, to make public confession of the fact. Unfortunately for him, the owner of

the cows was present, and went immediately to accuse him before a judge, who both ordered him to make full restitution, and laid a farther penalty upon him, which proved more grievous to him than the lashes of the abuna's mazers; whereas, had the abuna been contented with a private confession of his crime, he would have come off with a few lashes from them, and been absolved without any restitution. For the private confessors, it seems, never oblige them to any such thing, as those of the church of Rome do; it being a duty, we are told, altogether unknown, and unpractised, all over *Ethiopia* (9).

(9) Tellen, l. i. c. 19, 38. Ludolph, l. i. c. 6. § 52, & seq.

aggrated, on purpose to expose both prelate and people, give us but a melancholy idea of that church's discipline and government; especially, if to the ignorance and remissness of those patriarchs, we add their wicked lives and bad examples; many of them being branded with the worst of crimes, and accused of having lived publicly in the most scandalous manner; and instead of duly visiting their churches, and reforming such abuses as they found in them, suffered still much more grievous ones to be committed by those visitors whom they appointed to perform that office for them, to fleece and oppress the people, instead of instructing and benefiting them.

WHAT is still more deplorable, is, that some of these abunas, that have been sent thither from *Alexandria*, were so far from being ordained bishops, that they were not so much as in priestly orders, but were mere lay monks. Such was that *Alexandrian* monk, of whom the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez* speaks, who was sent thither in his time to succeed *abuna Simeon*, and had been immediately acknowledged and complimented as such; but who being afterwards deposed by the emperor *Segued*, and soon after persuaded by the missionaries to turn to their church, did frankly own that he was no bishop, but a bare lay monk. This man, we are told, married afterwards, and got his living by making of mills, for which he proved much better qualified than for the office of *abuna*. One can hardly read such things, without suspecting some latent artifice or fraud; and yet, when we observe, that neither *Mr. Ludolph*, nor his *Abissinian* abbot, have offered any thing to confute, but rather, in some measure, confirmed them, that very consideration will hardly give us leave to doubt of the truth of them.

THERE remains now only, that we should give a short account of the revenue of these worthless prelates, before we speak of the inferior clergy. One branch of their income,

= Id. *ibid*.

We are farther told, that the people only confess their greater sins, which are murder, adultery, and theft; but as to those of a smaller size, they only confess them in the lump, in such words as these: "we have sinned; we are sinners;" with-

out any farther detail of the particular sins, much less of the manner and circumstances that accompany them; and it was with very great difficulty that the *Romish* missionaries obliged their new proselytes to descend to such particulars (10).

(10) *Id. ibid*.

and that no inconsiderable one, when they happen to be worldly men, arises from the grant, or, as we may then more properly term it, the prostitution of dispensations, of which they are the sole disposers, as having no bishops under them to share that privilege, nor any comptroller over them to oblige them to keep close to the tenor of their canons; so that in many instances they extend their power to a shameful degree beyond it^a. They likewise have the sole privilege of ordaining; and this brings them likewise a considerable income; few or none being received into holy orders, unless they send some equivalent offering before-hand to gain them admittance.

*Lands
very consi-
derable.*

BUT besides these, which we may stile simoniacal perquisites, they have certain lands assigned to them in the kingdoms of *Tigre*, *Gojam*, and *Dembea*, of which they are the sole farmers. The first of these are computed to bring them in about forty or fifty oaks, or ounces, of gold, *per ann.* or about four or five hundred pieces of eight (E): those of *Dembea* and *Gojam* afford them a more than sufficient quantity of provisions for their own table, the remainder of which he disposes of to his own profit: to this we may add a kind of public gathering of salt and cloth, which is yearly made for him through the empire, and amounts to a considerable value^b; all which put together, makes up a very considerable revenue; and the more so, as their lands are free from all taxes to the emperor, and their other perquisites so extensive and arbitrary. Add to this, that they have no particular cathedral, nor sumptuous palaces to keep in repair, nor hardly any officers and underlings to pay salaries to; these commonly arising from the nature of their places, which they know full well how to make the most of^c.

The Debtaras, or chanters.

THE next order of ecclesiastics, if not in rank and dignity, yet in vogue and esteem, is that of the *Debtaras*, of whom we have already given some account upon another occasion^d. These are neither priests nor deacons, but a mongrel kind of *Jewish* levites, or chanters, who assist at all

^a TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, et al. sup. citat.

^b Id. *ibid.*

^c Id. *ibid.*

^d See before, p. 119 (H), 143, et seq.

(E) This branch was once more considerable, but was (on what occasion we are not told) charged with a yearly kind of fine, by the emperor *Theodore*, of 500 crowns *per ann.* which is thence called *ida abuna*, or the abuna's fine, and is sunk into the emperor's coffers (11).

(11) *De hoc, vid. Le Grand dissertat. 25, de Hierarch. Abissin. p. 355.*

public offices of the church, and whose head, or superior, called *Barca Guyta*, hath the care and direction of the sacred pavilions in the imperial camp. As these boast themselves of *Strange Jewish* extraction, they pretend, by the songs, dances, and *attendance* beating of their drums and tabors, to imitate the service of the *Jewish* tabernacle and temple of *Jerusalem*, and the dancing of king *David* before the ark. Though their noise, and horrid din and gestures, are the very antipodes of what we have formerly observed was performed by the *Jewish* musicians and chanters *, and fitter for a masquerade than a church; yet in such esteem are they here, that even some of the princes and grandees have taken singular pride to beat time to them, or beat upon their tabors †. These *Debtaras* always attend at their high masses; for low ones they allow not of in *Abissinia*, nor of above one a day in every church. On their grand festivals they begin their music and dancing long before day, and are able to continue that hard exercise till noon, without appearing in the least tired or hoarse ‡.

THE priests are the next order to the bishops; but as they have none of these but the abuna, they have instead of them, those they stile *komos*, who, preside over them. Of this order was *Petrus Ethiops*, whom *Paul Jovius* conversed with. Every parochial church hath one of these, who is a kind of hegumenus, or archi-presbyter, and hath all the inferior priests and deacons, as well as the secular affairs of the parish, under his care and government; and as they have no bishops over them, they preside in chief at the divine service, and distribute the several offices of the inferior clergy, and compound their disputes; so that they may be reckoned the highest order next to the abuna (F). The office of the inferior priests

* See Anc. Hist. vol. iii. p 202, & seq.
 1. i. c. 19. LUDOLPH, 1. iii. c. 7. §. 26. LE GRAND dissert. 19.
 de Hierarch. † Id. ibid.

‡ TELLEZ,

(F) According to the canons of the *Alexandrian* church, on which this of *Abissinia* depends, their office and dignity are thus defined: *Hegumenus ejusdem ordinis est; atque archiepiscopus sacerdotum, seu archipresbyter, atque adeo jus habet pronuntiandi orationem absolutionis super sacerdotem celebrantem, ut etiam ado-*

lendi incensum post eum & communionem accipiendi post eum ante omnes alios. Quando simul adeft episcopus accipit ab eo thuribulum (12). And as that church hath a great number of bishops under its patriarch, there are few, if any, priests raised to the episcopal dignity, that have not been previously hegumens, or

(12) *Hist. patriarch. Alex.* p. 585.

priests is to supply that of the komos in their absence, and, when present, to assist him in the divine service, to baptise, marry, visit the sick, inter, and the like^a.

Deacons.

THE Deacons are the lowest rank of the priesthood, and likewise assist at the divine service, though in a lower sphere than the priests; and both have their proper offices and vestments when they officiate. We have already taken notice, that this order is conferred by the abunas on the emperor, princes, grandees, and even on their children; not that they may have the privilege of officiating as such, but only to assist at the divine service, and receive the communion in the chancel with the clergy, and be separate from the laity, who stand in the body of the church¹.

Priests and deacons marry, and are numerous and poor.

ALL these orders are allowed to marry, and may even do so after they have been ordained priests. Their sons also are allowed to succeed them in their church benefices; but as they have for the most part, very large families, they are commonly very poor, and forced to supply their wants by labour and industry, but chiefly by farming and pasturage, as the lay farmers do; all which renders them less respected than they are in other countries, especially as they wear no particular dress, tonsure, or other mark of the priestly office, except a little cross, which they carry in their hand, and bless the people with, and a small round cap, of any colour, which they wear on their heads. Neither have they those immunities which those of other churches enjoy, but are liable to be punished by the lay magistracy, in the same manner as secular persons, for any crime they commit².

Pay a great respect to their churches.

THEY pay a great respect to their churches, and never enter them but bare-foot; which made them take great offence at the Portuguese missionaries, when they saw them celebrate the mass with their shoes, or sandals, on their feet. The vestments they use in that divine service, are suited to

^a TELLEZ, et al. ub. sup.

¹ See before, p. 128.

² Id ibid. vid. & CODIGN, JARRIC, & al.

archipriests: but in this of *Abissinia*, where there are no bishops, a priest, when raised to the comosal, is got to the highest preferment he can arrive at; there being no other above him but the abunate, from which

they are excluded by the canon lately mentioned: and on this account, these komos look upon themselves as an order superior to all the rest of the priesthood, and claim a precedence over them (13).

(13) *Le Grand Dissert. de Hierarchy*, p. 356, *Ludolph, lib. ii. c. 7, pass. Tellez, l. ii. c. 19, &c.*

the

the dignity of the person that officiates, but the best of them are vastly short of those which the meanest *Romish* priest wears on such occasions. Instead of the alba, or white linen garment, *Priestly*, which is used by the latter, they use a tunic, bought of the *Turks*, which is commonly old and thread-bare. They use neither girdle, stole, maniple, &c. as those of the *Romish* church do; and as to their chasuble, or upper ornament, it is much narrower than theirs, and trails behind about half a yard. The divine service consists of a set of prayers, *Divine* psalms, hymns, &c. suitable to the seasons, and judiciously *service* enough composed; and, for the most part, performed with great decency and devotion, and without any thing of that *how per-* pomp and ceremony which is used in the church of *Rome*. *formed.* This divine service, which is performed but once a day, begins on *Sundays*, and great festivals, in the morning, and ends about noon: on *Wednesdays*, *Fridays*, and other fasting days, it begins about three in the afternoon, their usual time of eating; and at sun-set in *Lent*; which, as hath been elsewhere observed, they keep with uncommon strictness and severity.

THEY have no bells through all *Abissinia*, but call the *The people* people to church by the sound of some wooden hammers, *how called* which they strike upon a hollow board or stone; at the hear- *to church.* ing of which, both priests and people repair thither, with a decent gravity and devotion, saying some sort of prayers all the way they go; and, when there, behave with the greatest *Their pious* reverence, neither suffering themselves to stare about, or on *behaviour* one another; much less to whisper or talk, cough or spit. *in it.* The priest and laity are separated from each other; the former, in a kind of choir, like that of our cathedrals, and the latter in the body of the church, by a curtain drawn between, which hinders them from seeing, though not from hearing, the divine service, which is performed within it. They have neither pews, benches, nor hassocks in their churches; but continue standing all the time of divine service; *They all* which posture they think the most proper to raise their devo- *stand up.* tion, and keep up their attention to it; but yet allow the aged; lame, and infirm, to use a kind of folding chairs, which; when the service is done, are left at the church-porch; but if any of them offer to sit down upon the ground through weakness or weariness, he is sure to be soon called upon to rise up, by some one of the deacons, who often cry out, *stand up, ye that sit*: and though the greatest part of their churches are now so poor and mean, that they are only covered with

¹ See before, p. 75. TELLER, & al. sup. citat.

Polluted
men and
women ex-
cluded.

a little straw or reeds, they pay such a regard to them, that those who come thither on horseback will alight at a considerable distance from the gates, and enter them, as they all do, with their feet bare. Nor are any men or women, under any natural pollution, or even after the matrimonial intercourse, permitted to set their feet in them, till after due ablution (G).

No carved
images.

IN none of these sacred edifices, whether sumptuous or mean, are any statues, or carved images, of any kind, to be seen, or any other figures, except painted ones; any other, tho' but in bass-relief, would be looked upon by them as rank idolatry: much less would they suffer any crucifixes, whether carved, or cast in metal, to be seen in them, or to be worn about their necks, representing a naked Saviour hanging on the cross. We are told indeed of a curious small one of that kind, which was presented by *Poncet* to the emperor *Segued*, an. 1700, which that monarch viewed with some admiration, kissed it with great respect, and laid it up among his curiosities^m. But if we consider, that he professed himself more than half a convert to the *Roman* church, and was then courting the friendship and assistance of the *Portuguese*, he could hardly avoid doing so before him; yet he did not dare to wear it about him, for fear of alarming both clergy and people by it. Several of these religious customs may, and have indeed been supposed to have been received from the *Jews*; but whether so or not, they must be owned to be, *toto calq*, opposite to those of the church of *Rome*, which not

Most of
their reli-
gious cus-

^m *PONCET'S Voyage into Ethiopia*, p. 7.

(G) They appear to be such strict observers of those *Mosaic* injunctions, that they not only exclude women in their monthly purgations, and in child-bed; but, with respect to the latter, they extend this interdiction to the same number of days that the law-giver did, viz. forty after the birth of a male, and eighty after that of a female (14). Much the same they observe with regard to those pollutions incident to either sex, such as running sores, boils,

scabs, and other cuticular excretions and defilements; all which we thus particularly mention, to shew whence these observances had their origin; and if they could still continue such strict observers of those legal rites, which were to end as soon as the gospel appeared, can we wonder they should continue so with respect to the observance of the sabbath and circumcision, which were not of *Moses*, but of the fathers (15)?

(14) *Levit.* xii. 2, & seq. See *Telleri*, l. i. *Ludolph*, & al.

(15) *J. bn.* xxx. l.

only admits all kind of religious imagery in their churches, *flows op-* but likewise an inferior kind of worship to be paid to it; and *posits to* yet pretends, that the *Abissinian* doctrines and worship bear a *those of* greater affinity to theirs than to any other churches, whether *Rome.* *Greek* or Protestant. But these few we have gone through, are far from being the only ones in which they differ, as we shall soon see. Every church here hath a small room behind *Manner of* the east end, in which are repositied the materials for making *celebrating* the communion bread, which is allowed to be a leavened *the Lord's* cake, and is consequently contrary to the unleavened wafer *Supper.* used by the *Romish* church. This cake is not kept till the *Use a lea-* next day, much preserved whole weeks and months, as they *vened cake,* do their consecrated wafers, which they give to the laity, more particularly that which is vulgarly called the host, and is kept in a particular repository over the altar, in order to be taken out and exposed to the people, and to receive their prayers, incense, and adoration; some of which have been kept so long in the pix, that they have bred worms, or have been otherwise damaged, and made unfit for use. Well might the *Abissinians* be offended at it, and wonder that they did not consecrate every day as they do, and order it so among the communicants, that none of it might remain, and be exposed to such indecent and offensive accidents *.

THEY differ no less from them in their ordering and ad- *and rais-* ministering of the other part of that sacred rite; and instead *ins* of wine, from which they abstain altogether, as hath been *squeezed in* already observed *, they keep in this same little room a small *water, in-* quantity of dried raisins, of which they take four or five, more *stead of* or less, and squeeze and macerate with their fingers, in a *wine.* quantity of water, greater or less, according to the number of communicants; for they administer the cup also to the *Give the* laity, and are no less surpris'd at its being with-held from *cup to the* them by that church, whilst they think themselves obliged to *laity.* administer it to all the laity. They likewise differ in their form of consecration; and instead of *this is my body*, and *this is my blood*, they say, *this bread is my body*, and *this cup is my blood*. Father Tellez much questions, with many learned casuists of his church, whether this last form be proper and efficacious to transubstantiate the elements into the body and blood of Christ. We shall not enter into the merit of that *Do not be-* question, because if their argument against that form be *lieve tran-* good, it is a sign the *Abissinians* have no notion of any such *substantia-* transubstantiation of the elements, but believe and reception.

* TELLEZ, ub. sup. l. i. c. 19. ALVAREZ, c. 54. & seq. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 6, pass.

* See before, p. 83.

them,

them, as symbols representing, and chanel conveying unto us, the benefits of Christ's meritorious death. This is the explanation which abbot *Gregory* gave of his church's belief of that sacred mystery; of which their practice is a standing evidence, seeing they do not pay any adoration to the consecrated elements^o.

*Receive
standing.*

AGAIN, they do not admit laymen and women to come up to the altar to receive, but administer it to them at the door of the chapel, or choir. Neither do they oblige them to receive it kneeling, but standing. The priest, in giving the bread, uses these words: *The holy flesh of IMMANUEL, our God of truth, which he took of the Lady of us all: to which the communicant answers, Amen, Amen.* The deacon comes next, and gives the wine, with a little spoon, and says; *this is the blood of JESUS CHRIST, for the life of the flesh and soul, and for everlasting life.* After which, a subdeacon pours a small quantity of water into the palm of the communicant's hand, with which he rinses his mouth; and swallows it. To conclude this article of their church worship and communion, which the missionary writers affect to stile their

*The laity
not ad-
mitted into
the chan-
cel.*

mass; though, as we have seen, it bears so little analogy to that of the church of *Rome*, either with regard to their notion of, or the ceremonies that accompany it; we shall only observe farther, that whereas in the latter, or *Roman mass*, the laity stand in full view of every thing that is performed in it from the beginning to the end; in the former they are excluded from seeing every part of the divine service, excepting only the giving them the communion at the chapel door, and the hearing of the gospel read by the officiating priest, without the chancel; and not at the altar: neither doth what they call the gospel, consist of select portions out of the evangelists; but here they divide the four gospels into so many portions, that one of them serves them a whole year; and after that, the next; so that they are four years in going through the whole: they likewise constantly close the lecture of it with an ALLELUIAH, even when the service is performed for the dead^p; whereas the *Roman* church never uses that doxology but on their three grand festivals^q.

*The gospel
read out
of it to
them.*

*Their mo-
nasteries
and orders
of monks.*

HAVING now gone through the different orders and offices of the *Abissinian* clergy, it is time we should say something of their religious orders, which are here so numerous, and their monasteries stand so thick, that, when they are at their divine

^o LUDOLPH, ub. sup. l. v. §. 54, & seq. TELLEZ, ibid. JARRIC, CODING. & al. plur. ^p Ibid. ibid. ^q See the Rom. missal, & ritual.

service,

service, one cannot hear them chanting their prayers and psalms at one place, without hearing one, or more, doing the same at another; insomuch, that one may see sometimes two, three, or more, standing within the hearing of each other. Their music, indeed, must of course be very loud, not only from the number and loud voices of the singers, but from the number of instruments that are heard with them: these are commonly drums and tabors, of several forms and sizes; to which they add, the stamping with their feet, striking the ground with their long staves, &c. all which increases the noise, and helps to convey the voice still farther. Besides all this, we are told, that almost every one of those monasteries hath two churches, or chapels, the one for the men, the other for the women; but when, or whence, this custom was introduced amongst them, is not easy to guess from any of their records, any more than the precise time when the monastic life began, and how, or by whom, it was introduced, and of what orders the first founders of these monasteries were. Such a tedious enquiry, could we strike any probability out of the monkish stories we have left, would be foreign to our purpose. The ancient chronicle of *Axuma*, often quoted in this chapter, tells us, that *in the days of Amiamid, many monks came from Rum, who filled all the empire; nine of whom staid in the kingdom of Tigre, and each of them erected a church of his own name*: and the author of the life of Tekla Haymanout, adds, *that he came to the monastery of Damo, built by Abba Agaravi, one of the nine worthies above-mentioned, who came also from Rum and Egypt in the days of Almida, the son of Salodeba, the predecessor of Tacena; and that these nine, like so many bright stars, filled the world with their brightness*. The people afterwards found names, it seems, for the other eight; for which we shall refer the reader to the margin (H), and only observe,

* LONO, voy. 2. p. 77, & seq. : De his, vid. ALPHONS. MENDEZ, *diffic.* ap. TELLEZ, l. i. c. 16. LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 4. iii. 3, pass.

(H) These were *Abba Pantalern*, *Abba Guaripa*, *Abba Aleffa*, *Abba Sabami*, *Abba Affe*, *Abba Licanos*, *Abba Adimata*, *Abba Has*, called also *Guba*, or *Swooken*; all which we have chosen to set down here, according as they are spelt by fa-

ther Tellez, out of the above account of the patriarch Mendez, in order to shew our readers, that even abating the almost unavoidable incorrectness of the orthography in transcribing them out of the *Ethiopic* into *Latin* or *Portuguese*, there is not one,

Tellez's
account
strained,
and imper-
fect.

observe, that one of them, and one only, appears of *Greek* extract, viz. that of *Pantaleon*, who became a founder of another monastery. It is therefore very difficult, from these two accounts, to fix, not only the precise time of their arrival, but the true import of the word *Rum*, whether it means *Rome* or *Greece*; and yet the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez* hath not scrupled to fix it between the former and the year 470 or 480; and the meaning of the latter to *Greece*, rather than *Rome*, on the bare evidence of the name of *Pantaleon*; and to infer from thence, that *Rum* means no other than *New Rome*, the name which *Constantine* the Great gave to the metropolis of his new eastern empire¹.

Paul and
Anthony
not the
first found-
ers.

THIS short sketch may serve at once to shew the uncertainty of those two records, if they were rightly understood by the interpreter; and the poor shifts here used to fix the time when, and country whence, the monastic life was first propagated through this empire; and all this, for aught appears to the contrary, merely to give the honour of it to some of those enthusiastic founders, of whom we read such incredible wonders in their ascetic legends, such in particular as were their two famed heroes, *Paul* and *Anthony*². Neither *Mendez*, nor any of the *Portuguese* writers, could be ignorant, that this ascetic life had been several centuries in great vogue and esteem among the *Jews*, both in *Palestine* and in *Egypt*; witness the *Essenians* in the former, so much celebrated by *Josephus*³; and the *Therapeutes* in *Egypt*, amply described by *Philo*⁴; of both which sects we have given a full account in our *Ancient History*⁵; both whose lives, rules, retirement, piety, and austerities, were the most perfect patterns and quintessence of the ascetic life; inasmuch that many learned men have been induced to believe these latter to have been a Christian order of ascetics, instituted by *St. Mark*, first patriarch of *Alexandria*; and that *Philo* had represented them as a set of *Jewish* monastics, in com-

The *Essenians* and *Therapeutes* more probably the first introducers of the monastic life here.

¹ Ub. sup. ² Vid. int. al. *STURMY'S Ascetics*, pass.
³ Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7. ⁴ De vita Contemplat. ⁵ Scé
vol. ii. p. 439. x. 478, & seq. 480, & seq.

one, except the first, that doth not plainly appear to be of *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, or *Chaldee* extract, to any man that hath but a moderate knowledge of those tongues; for by this they will be able to judge, how warped that author must be to his own

opinion, that will have those nine ascetics to have come from *Greece* or *Thrace*, merely because one of them happens to be called by a *Greek* name, whilst those of the other eight plainly appear to be of a quite opposite extract.

pliment

pliment to his own nation ^a; though he, being a native of *Alexandria*, and cotemporary with *St. Mark*, would hardly have dared to have not only challenged them, but represented them as a fraternity of a much longer standing, if, before that, they had not been in being long before that evangelist. Hence others have supposed, with greater probability, that many of those *Therapeutes*, being afterwards converted by him to Christianity, separated themselves from their *Jewish* brethren, and formed themselves into Christian societies under the protection and direction of that patriarch ^a.

HOWEVER that be, we need not go now so far as *Thrace* or *Constantinople* for the meaning of the word *Rum*, since *Rum Misraim* means no more than Higher or Upper *Egypt*, in which these ascetics swarmed. Neither need we descend so low as the fifth century, for the first introduction of them into *Abissinia*, since their neighbourhood to it, the conformity of religion, customs, &c. which we have observed thro' this, and some other chapters, not to mention the boasted pedigree of the *Abissinian* princes from *Solomon*, could hardly fail of inviting even the *Jewish Therapeutes* thither; especially as the country every-where abounds with rocky solitudes, the most adapted to a recluse and ascetic life, and the inhabitants are so naturally inclined to it. And how much more easily may we suppose them to have spread themselves over this empire, soon after its conversion to Christianity, if we admit, as we may with great probability, that many of them became proselytes to the gospel so early as *St. Mark's* patriarchate, and formed themselves into societies under his rule and government ^b.

ONE thing we are very sure of, that those monasteries of *Abissinia* bear no resemblance at all to those of the *Roman, Greek, Armenian*, and other Christian churches, either with regard to their structure, form, church-service, government, discipline, and way of life; but appear, in all these points, the very transcripts of those of the *Essenians* and *Therapeutes*, as described by *Josephus* and *Philo*. Instead of being inclosed within stout high walls, they appear only like so many large villages, or parishes, in which every monk hath his hut, or cell, at a distance from each other. Instead of being confined within their walls, and not being permitted to stir out without the superior's leave, these, except at the times

^a Vid. EUSEB. AEC. HIST. l. ii. c. 17. BELLARMIN, BARONIUS. MONTFAUCON, BASNAGE, & al.

^a Vid. DRUS,

TRIGLAND, BASNAGE, PRIDEAUX, & al.

^b De his,

vid. EUSEB, & auct. sup. citat.

Laborious life.

Great abstinence.

Strict observance of Lent.

Some admission of marrieds.

Separate chapels for the women.

Some prefer the heremical life.

of their devotions, may range where they please. Instead of leading an idle life, and living upon the charity and benefactions of the laity, these spend most of their spare time in cultivating each the portion of land which is assigned to him. Instead of eating in common, and having their tables served with variety of flesh, fish, fowl, and other dainties, and having a competent portion of wine to help their digestion, these eat their small pittance within their homely cells, which is commonly the product of their own grounds, and of their own rearing; a few herbs, pulse, or roots, without any other condiment than a little salt, and on holidays a little butter; or even any other diluter than plain water. Instead of that delicious variety of lenten dishes, which those are allowed, at least once a day, together with a small collation at night, the most part of these never eat above once every two days, during their whole lenten times, which take up almost one-third part of the year^c; during which time they live upon unfavoury herbs, not so much as allowing themselves either bread or butter to eat with them; and some there are amongst them, who during all that time will abstain from all manner of sustenance, except on *Sundays*. Instead of excluding women from their communities, they have, like the *Jewish* monastics above-mentioned, some orders among them, which allow them in the married life, to bring up their families in the same way of life, and distribute their lands, cells, and what other few goods they have, amongst them: but these, as we observed a little higher, do not admit their wives and daughters into their churches, but have particular ones, or chapels, for their use; and to which they repair at all the canonical hours of the day and night, with the same exactness as the men do, and use much the same divine service as they do, except the additional music of drums and tabors, which are peculiar to the latter. There are, however, other orders of them, who wholly abstain from all commerce with that sex, and never admit them to live within the limits of their monasteries^d. We may also mention here a third sort, who prefer the eremical life, as more adapted for contemplation than those social ones; and for that reason, chuse to abide in towers, caves, caverns, or on the top of high rocks, and other lonesome and unfrequented retreats (I); and these are commonly more highly esteemed

^c See before, p. 75 (D).
^d Vid. TELLEZ, l. i. c. 17; LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 3.

(I) Of the first sort was their mentioned, whose retreat, (which is still shewn at some small distance,

esteemed and revered than the rest, by the bulk of the people.

BUT to return to those of the monastic kind; they likewise differ from those of the Christian churches in many other particulars, which we have no time to dwell upon; such as, in the form and structure of their churches, which we have elsewhere had occasion to describe; and by their roundness, gates, and choir, seem to answer much more to the synagogues of the *Essenians* and *Therapeutes*; the ablutions after *ablutions*.

stance eastward of *Axuma*, and within a small bow-shot of the church and monastery said to have been built by him, and called from him *Beb Pantalon*) is still seen standing, viz. the little tower where he was shut up, and visited by the emperor. Between the church, and the city above-mentioned, is likewise seen the cave to which he frequently retired, which consists of three apartments, hewn by the hand into the rock. One of them, which is the entrance into the rest, and hath its door fronting the west, is fifteen cubits long, and about four in breadth. At the end of it are two other little rooms, in the form of a cross at the entrance, each of which is ten cubits long, and that on the right-hand, towards the south, is four cubits wide, and the other, opposite to it, six cubits; and all the ground lying round these caves hath a square wall about it (16).

This place is honoured by the *Abissinians*, as being that to which the emperor *Caleb* retired, after he had gained a signal victory over a Jewish king of the *Flamerites*, and betook himself to a recluse life; and his tomb, as well as that of *Abba Pantalon*, are still shewn

in the church above-mentioned; which, we are told, was laid open by an earthquake, *an.* 1630, but repaired soon after by the monks (17).

Of the other sort of hermits, was the *Abba Hos*, surnamed *Gubba*, or *Swollen*, who lived on a high barrea rock, and built a church upon it. Hence the *Abissines* (if our author (18) understood them right) surnamed him *Swollen*, because those that passed by the foot of the mountain used to say, *What a high swollen monk is this!* But from the affinity of the *Ethiopic* to the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, &c. at the occasion of his nick-name, we should rather think, that the epithet *Guba* (or *Geboab*, as the *Hebrew* hath it) meant lofty, or stately, alluding to his situation. However that be, all those nine monks are reckoned very great saints and miracle-workers; and, among other wonders of that kind, are recorded to have caused a huge serpent, which used to devour men, children, and cattle, to burst asunder, by the bare virtue of their prayers. *Quere*, whether they did not give him such a sop, as *Daniel* is said to have done to the *Babylonish* dragon (19)?

(16) *Alphonf. Mendez*, ap. *Teller*, l. i. c. 17.

(17) *Id. Ibid.*

(18) *Id. ub. sup.*

(19) *Apost. of Dan. Hist. of Bel & Drag. vers. 27.*

Mortifications.

any accidental defilements, observation of the sabbath, circumcision, and other *Jewish* rites; and more particularly in the proper choice of their other works of mortification. They know not the use of the monkish discipline, and other punishments, which, perhaps, rather stimulate than damp the fleshly appetites; instead of which, they will plunge themselves into the coldest rivers, and continue in them, with the water up to their chin, for some hours together, and even whole days, in the coldest weather^a; the very apprehension of which penance would be enough to throw some of the most mortified monks of *Rome* and *Greece* into a quartan ague. We omit some other penances of the like nature, which are still more austere, and almost incredible, but which father *Almeyda* relates as things of his own knowledge; and which we here mention, not as worthy of a greater degree of praise, but as conformable to those rigorous ones which were so common among these *Judaic* ascetics, from whom they in all probability adopted them.

Not unlike those of the Essenians.

Mean way of living.

Churches.

Chairs.

General.

THIS is the true case of all those so highly extolled monasteries; all whose boasted greatness chiefly consists in the number of their religious, and the vast extent of the lands they possess; in every one of which we see nothing but meanness, their very churches and chapels are most of them thatched, and void of all ornaments, except, perhaps, some few ordinary paintings: yet they are well lined with timber on the inside, and have some accommodations for the old and weak to lean their elbows upon, because they chaunt all their service standing. They have neither refectories nor halls, and their cells are of clay, small, low, thatched, and as meanly furnished within as they are adorned without: every thing within them is answerable to their mortified life; their beds a poor mat, lying upon the floor; their chairs and tables of the same, only raised a little higher with earth^f.

THERE are two different orders of them, who are called by the name of their founders, or rather reformers, viz. those of *Tekla Haymanout*, and of *Abba Eustatius*; the former a native of *Ethiopia*, and the latter of *Egypt*: the order of the former have a kind of general amongst them, whom they call *Ikegue*, who is chosen by the abbas, or heads of every monastery under him: the other have only a superior, stiled abba, or father, over each monastery, chosen by the majority of votes of the monks belonging to it; but whe-

^a *Iid. itid.*

^f *Iid. ibid.*

ther

ther annually or triennially, we are not told (K). The habit *Abbas* of both is almost the same; or, to speak more properly, *how di-* differs in each particular: for, except their *ashama*, among *singuis-* the *abbas* or *priors*, who are the only order that wear it; *ed.* and which is only a little braid of three thongs of red leather, *Monks* which they put about their necks, and fasten with an iron or *habit va-* copper hook, every one cloathes himself as he thinks fit, or *rious, but* as he can best afford, but all of them meanly; and the cloth *mean.* or skin, which covers their body, is girt about them with a leathern srop. Some of them go bare-headed, like all the laity; others wear a kind of hat; others some sort of caps; and some cover their heads with a piece of cloth. Those who affect a more ascetic life, now-and-then, as their fancy or religion leads them, retire into the desarts, and come out again, distinguish themselves at pleasure; some by a yellow skin, hollowed and worn about their neck; others, by a piece of cloth of the same colour and shape; a third sort, by a black kind of mantle, which they throw over their shirt or cassock; which last is commonly white, and girt with a leathern thong

(K) The *Abissines* celebrate still their festivals with unusual solemnity, especially that of the former, which is kept on the 24th of *August* and the 24th of *December*; besides which, they have another, in memory of the translation of his relicks, in the month of *May*. That of the other is only once a year, in the month of *July*. They relate several wonders of them both.

Tekla Haymanout, they say, had led the ascetic life some considerable time in the desert of *Thebais*, with such abstinence and mortifications as are almost incredible, till at length coming into *Abissinia*, with many others of his fellow-hermits, he was chosen to succeed *Abba Jobanni* in the abbaship, who was the third in succession to *Abba Argavi*, the first abbot in *Ethiopia*; and, among other institutions which he left among them,

one was, that they should have an *Ikegue*, or general, over the whole order, who should keep his circular visitation through all their monasteries at proper seasons; which dignity became the highest ecclesiastical one next to the *Abuna*. We omit the miracles, apparitions, writings, and other feats, which are recorded of him in his life, and other of their legends.

The same are related of *Exstatius*, not worth mentioning; only, among the rules which he gave them, he did not oblige them to chuse a superior, or *Ikegue*, over them; which they attribute to his going from them into *Armenia*, and dying there, without naming a successor. For which reason, they are contented with an *abba* to preside in each monastery, who is one of their own chusing (20).

(20) *Telles*, l. i. c. 17, 33. *Ladolph*, l. iii. c. 3. *post*.

like the rest; but some chuse to have both mantle and cassock of the same black colour, as having a deeper air of gravity. In all these last-mentioned particulars, they totally differ from all other monks, whether *Roman, Greek, or Armenian*; but agree exactly with what we read of them in *Philo* and *Josephus* concerning the *Therapeutas* and *Essenians*. So that, upon the whole, those nine founders above-mentioned appear to us rather to be reformers, or, to speak more properly, the persons that converted the antient *Abissinian* ascetics to christianity. Had they been founders or reformers, they would, in all likelihood, have brought them into a greater conformity of dress, living, &c. with those of *Europe* and *Asia*; whereas it appears from what hath been said hitherto, that they made no sensible alteration in any thing but in their faith. In consequence of which, they have all of them, like the rest of the clergy, the privilege of carrying a cross in their hands, and blessing the people with it.

Carry a cross in their hands.

The unmarried in great esteem;

though not the more chaste.

THOSE of the abbots, or superior orders of convents, have them much larger, better shaped, and without a foot to stand on; and these are usually carried before them by some inferior monk, as a token of their dignity, whenever they go abroad. Those monks, who observe celibacy, are commonly in greater esteem than those that marry, and are often, especially their abbots, employed by the emperors in public affairs, negotiations, &c.; and it is very likely that they make some kind of vows of chastity at their first admittance into their convents; but in what manner, we are not told. The patriarch *Alvarez* indeed informs us, that having one day asked the question of the *Azaga Tikho*, who had been a monk, but was then the emperor's secretary, whether they bound themselves to it by any vow? that minister, who was of a gay facetious temper, answered, that their candidates for the monkish habit being prostrate before the abba, said aloud to him, *We bind ourselves to observe the rules of chastity*; and softly whispered, *as you do*; and added, that they made most of their other vows with the same tacit restriction^s. But we may justly question whether that reply was not rather thrown as a squib at the patriarch, and the *Romish* clergy, than at the *Abissinian*; seeing all missionary writers so unanimously agree, that the abstinence and mortification of those monks exceed by far all that is practised in any other Christian monasteries.

THOSE of *Abissinia* did not, as with us in *Europe*, swarm in great cities, even when they had very considerable ones of

^s Vide LE GRAND, Dissertat. 15. de Hierarch.

these;

these; but, answerable to their name and design, were chiefly *The mona-*
 to be found among the most mountainous and solitary parts *series*
 of the country; and are therefore called *Debras*, which, in *called by*
 the *Ethiopic* tongue, signifies both a mountain and a mona- *Jewish*
 stery, and, in the *Habrew*, a desert; and whether out of re- *names.*
 gard to their affinity to the *Jews*, or, as we supposed a little
 higher, because they were first introduced hither by *Jewish*
 monks, were distinguished either by some of the most re-
 markable territories in *Palestine*, such as *Debra Libanos*, *De-*
bra Bezan, or *Bajban*, *Debra Tabor*, *Debra Sinai*, *Debra*
Zayte, &c. or by some religious *Habrew* word, as *Debra*
Hallelo, or *Hallelujah*^a; names which we cannot suppose
 either *Tekla Haymanot*, the *Ethiopian*, nor *Eustace*, the
Egyptian, would ever have thought to have given to those
 places, unless we suppose them to have been themselves of
Jewish extract, or that they had been long before called by
 them by some more antient founders, whether of the *Essenian*
 or *Therapeutic* order, and were suffered to retain them by
 those two new-comers.

HITHERTO we have only given our readers a general de- *Some of*
 scription of those religious communities; they would not *the chief*
 perhaps be displeased, if we here subjoin some farther ac- *ones de-*
 count of two or three of their most celebrated ones, to en- *scribed;*
 able them to form an idea of the rest. But here it is that we
 are quite at a loss how to reconcile the pompous account of *but gone to*
 those antient communities with the mean and poor condition *great de-*
 which they, even the most celebrated of them, appear now *cay.*
 in. Such dreadful devastations have the frequent invasions
 of the *Agas*, *Gullar*, and other barbarous nations, made, by
 possessing themselves of their lands, destroying their churches
 and habitations, and forcing them to exchange the ascetic for
 a vagabond life; neither have their intestine wars contributed
 less to their decay, and, with regard to a great number of
 them, to their total inanition: so that one can hardly guess
 at what they are recorded to have been, by the few sorrowful
 ruins that are left of them. The chief of those that still
 make any tolerable figure, are those that follow¹.

DEBRA LIBANOS, in the kingdom of *Xava*, is still *Debra*
 famous on account of the bones of *Tekla Haymanot*, of whose *Libanos;*
 order that monastery is, being translated into its church; on
 which account, the *Abissinian* monarchs bestowed great abun-
 dance of lands. It was also the residence of the *Regue*, or
 general; yet the structure of it much exceeds the general de-
 scription we have given of the rest. It had a church like the

^a Id. *ibid.*¹ TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO. &c. *ubi sup.*

*Resemble
towns
more than
convents.*

*All mean
in and
about it.*

others, built on the top of a hill, and round about it were the thatched houses, in which the monks lived; so that it looked more like a country town, or rather village, than a religious community; and till the *Gallas*, who made themselves masters of a great part of that province, had seized on their vast extensive lands, its chief grandeur consisted more in the great multitude of its religious men than in the beauty or richness of its buildings, or any thing else that can deserve that name. Since that time, there are only some few Christians, who still live among the rocky mountains, called *Ambas*^k, and in the monastery not quite forty monks. And yet this place was formerly so considerable, that it contained, including the churches and little monasteries round about, that were subject to it, about 10,000 persons, according to the unanimous reports of the *Abissines*^l. Since the time of the invasion of the *Gallas*, the *Ikegue*, or general of the order, hath removed his seat into the kingdom of *Bagamendra*, whither the greatest part of his monks followed him, and where it hath continued ever since.

*Debra
Bisan.*

DEBRA BISAN, or *Basan*, was likewise built among very high mountains, about a day's journey from *Mazowa*. It belongs to the order of *St. Euface*, and was once very famous; but hath been since much reduced; yet it is still famed for being the burying-place of one of their abbats, named *Philip*, whom they still honour as a saint, and celebrate his festival in the month of *July*. One of whose most remarkable actions was, that he shewed so much zeal for the sabbath, that he ventured to go and reprove one of their emperors for obliging his subjects to work on that day, and obtained a revocation of that impious edict.

*Debra
Hallelu-
jah.*

*Once very
consider-
able;*

BUT none of their monasteries has suffered such a surprising decay as that called *Hallelo*, or *Hallehujah*, belonging to the same order with that of *Debra Bisan*. It is seated in the kingdom of *Tigre*, about a day's journey from the ancient metropolis of *Auxuma*, on a very high mountain, and in the heart of a spacious wood. Its noble ruins, still to be seen, shew it to have been one of the most considerable in the whole empire. The river *Mareb* runs along on the north-east of it, and waters the vallies below it, a little before it loses itself in the ground*. The church was 99 feet in length, and 78 in breadth, and round about it stood the round cells of the monks, very thick. The missionaries often inquired of some of the oldest monks belonging to it, what

* De his vid. sup. 93, & seq. ^l TELLEZ, l. i. c. 17. LUDOL. l. i. c. 3. LE GRAND, dissert. 15. p. 356. [¶] See before, p. 102.

number of them it might formerly contain; and were answered by some of them, 12,000; and by others, 40,000. The first number is therefore supposed to have included only those that belonged to, and lived near, the church; and the other, those that were scattered at a greater distance, and composed little communities, subject to the great one; which they confidently affirm to have amounted to ninety; having each a suffragan church, or chapel, depending on the mother church above-mentioned. Here resided the chief abbot of the order, who was so considerable a person, that when he went to court upon any urgent business, he was always attended by 150 of his monks riding upon mules, and distinguished from the rest only by a loose gown, close before, and without sleeves, having only a hole in the top to put their heads through, and which covered the rest of their habit. Of all this vast number of churches, chapels, and cells, all that remains now is so inconsiderable, that one cannot help being amazed how they could undergo such a general ruin, in so rich and fertile a kingdom, that there should hardly be any thing left standing to give us an idea of its pristine grandeur, if we except the ruins of the church, long since fallen. In the midst of which stands now a little one; near which, and about those of the suffragan ones, live about ten or twelve monks, only, as it were, to keep up the memory of that once so famed a community, and its no less celebrated founder, a reputed saint, named *Samuel*^m; of whose extraordinary penances and austerities they relate such wonders as exceed all belief. And thus much of the hierarchy of the *Abissinian* church.

Retinue of the abba of it.

Reduced from 12,000 to 10 or 12 monks.

S E C T. IX.

Of the Faith and Practice of the Abissinian Church, with respect to the other parts of their Religion, and the Errors into which it has fallen since its Conversion to Christianity.

THE *Abissinians* are justly charged with professing a religion mixed with *Judaism* and Christianity, the Law and the Gospel. We have already had occasion to give a great number of pregnant instances of the former, from which their two zealous defenders, the abbot *Gregory* and Mr. *Ludolph*, have in vain tried to disculpate them. Yet we think we should be very unjust to them, if we should charge that church with *Judaism*, or paying an almost equal regard to

The Abissinians charged with observing a mixture of the Law and the Gospel.

^m TELLEZ, *ibid.* ad fin.

... the Law of Moses, as they do to the Gospel of Christ, as several of the Portuguese missionaries have done ^a. We hope, therefore, our readers will not be displeased, nor think it out of our province, if we endeavour to set that important point in a more impartial light, whereby they may be enabled to make a more candid judgment concerning their observance of such a variety of Jewish rites, which hath given occasion to that heavy charge.

Their cir-
cumcision
not in vir-
tu: of the
Mosaic
law;

nor be-
lieved to
be a sacra-
ment.

Counte-
nanced by
the apostle
St. Paul.

WE, therefore, with regard to the two great articles alleged against them, viz. circumcision and the keeping the sabbath, or 7th day, think it plain, not only by their own confession, but, what carries a much stronger evidence, their practice, that they do not look upon either as necessary to salvation by virtue of the Mosaic law, as the Jews do, but as ordained by God, the one from the creation, and the other to Abraham, the father of the faithful; and, consequently, not to be put on the same foot with those other precepts and ceremonies which were to be abrogated at the coming of the Messiah. Neither do they, 2dly, look upon circumcision as a sacrament of the same indispensable obligation as baptism; because though they all in general practise it, yet they only enjoin the latter as such, and leave the other as a matter of choice. For which reason, any old woman may, and among the common people usually do, circumcise the children; whereas none are allowed to baptize them but the priests only; and what is still more remarkable, if a child be first circumcised, he must be afterwards baptized before he can be admitted a member of the Christian church; but, if baptized before circumcision, he is not suffered, much less required, to be circumcised. And this was passed into a canon of the whole church about the close of the 12th century, at a time when some of their patriarchs had ventured to enjoin it as a matter of obligation and necessity ^c. So that, in all this, they only followed St. Paul's excellent rule, who, when he wrote to the Galatians, who had never been circumcised, tells them, that if they become so, Christ will profit them nothing ^d. But, when to the Corinthians, explains himself more clearly in these terms ^e: *Is any man called being circumcised, let him not become uncircumcised, &c. (A). Let every man abide in the same calling*

^a Vid. ALMEYDA's Letters to Alvarez, Tellez, & al.

^c ALVAREZ, TELLEZ, LUDOLF, LE GRAND's Diff. 8. p. 278.

^d GALAT. v. 2.

^e Cor. vii. 18, & seq.

(A) It can hardly be supposed, that the Apostle could, by those words, have a retrospect to the scandalous method that had been formerly practised by apostate Jews, of erasing

calling wherein he was called. Can it therefore be wondered at, that a nation, which boasted to have received, with the Jewish religion, this sacred rite from Solomon, and their monarchs to be lineally descended from him, should be easily persuaded to give it up, after so plain a concession from the great apostles to the Gentiles? or could those who converted them to Christianity reasonably enjoin them more than that they should no longer receive it as a sacrament, but as a rite of mere indifference to their salvation? and hath not their practice ever since plainly shewn how readily they complied with that injunction? Can there be a greater proof of it than that noble opposition which their whole clergy made against those of their *Abunas*, who would have forced them to believe it of indispensable obligation, and the decree of their national council against it, lately mentioned, and their forbidding any child being circumcised after he had received the baptism? If, therefore, they pay any religious regard to that rite, it can only be on account of its divine origin, and their having received it, together with the knowledge and worship of the true God, from the great king of *Israel*; now no longer as an obligatory seal of the old covenant, but as a voluntary and thankful memorial of it, and of their having been formerly admitted into it.

Believed to be of mere indifference;

BUT this regard to that ancient rite is so far from being and a political one, that many of them look upon it as a political one, either to preserve a distinction between them and those nations who either do not, or practise it in a different manner: for the *Isbmaelites*, *Edomites*, &c. differ from one another in their manner of performing the operation; and so do the *Abissines* from the *Jews*; these last not only circumcising the prepuce, but tearing with their nails the

ing the scar or mark of circumcision, of which we have given some account in our *Ancient History* (1). The meaning, therefore, of that expression can be no other than the neglect, setting aside, or abrogating, of that rite. In this sense, a man may be said to become uncircumcised, if, having been circumcised, he neglects to have his children circumcised. The same may be said of a church, which having once received that rite, doth afterwards abolish the use of it; which is what the apostle seems here to disapprove; and therefore enjoins every man to abide in the same calling wherein he was called, whether he be circumcised or uncircumcised; seeing neither the one nor the other is of any import towards a man's salvation (2).

(1) See *Ant. Hist.* vol. I. p. 248. (2) 1 Cor. vii. 18, 19.

A preserver of cleanness.

Why they circumcise their females.

tender skin which sticks round the glans, which the former do not. Or, secondly, in order to promote propagation, to which they think it contributes on several accounts. Or, thirdly, to preserve those parts from contracting any filth, which they say, if not prevented, in time will create inflammations, cancers, and other inconveniencies equally dangerous^b. And it cannot doubtless be with any other view that the *Abissinians*, as well as the antient *Egyptians*, subjected their female infants to it; there being, as is alleged, a kind of excrescence, or superfluous skin, growing over the pudendum, or rather between the labia and the nymphæ, which must be rescinded, in order to preserve those so useful parts clean from the like natural defilements, which are no less dangerous in that sex in those hot climates. As, therefore, St. Paul could not but know, that many nations had, from time immemorial, adopted this custom merely with the like indifference, without any other religious views, it was natural for him to censure the pharisaical condemning of its practice, upon any other foot than that of ascribing a sacramental efficacy, which it had not, in order to render it obligatory; and therefore affirms it to be a matter of absolute indifferency, in opposition to the whole pharisaic tribe, who insisted upon the necessity of it.

Other pretended Judaic customs vindicated.

Observance of the sabbath.

THE same charitable and tender caution doth that great apostle observe towards his new converts, with respect to sundry other observances and abstinences; for which, nevertheless, the *Portuguese* writers scruple not to call the *Abissinian* a judaizing church. Like many other primitive Christians, whose example is still followed to this day by some of the moderns, they observe the sabbath day, by abstaining from all laborious works, though they admit those of necessity; such as lighting their fires, baking their bread, dressing their victuals, and such-like, which are reckoned unlawful by all the *Jews*. They abstain from blood, things strangled, swine's flesh, hares, rabbits, &c. use some purifications and washings after certain defilements, and other observations of the like nature, in common with the *Jews*; and, for these, their religion is represented as a mixture of the *Jewish* law and gospel. Whereas, in fact, they all in general allow, that the ceremonial law was absolutely abrogated by Christ; and that no one precept of it is binding, but what had previously received its sanction from God. Thus, the sabbath was ordained from the creation^k; the abstaining from blood and

^b See Ant. Hist. vol. iii. p. 259, & seq. & (R), xviii. 295.

^k See Ant. Hist. vol. iii. p. 15. sub not.

^k GEN. ii. 3.

things

things strangled was enjoined to *Noah*, and his posterity¹; *Abissinians* had been accordingly revived and ratified by the whole college of apostles, in their first synod at *Jerusalem**, and afterwards by several general and national councils†. It was therefore in virtue of this and the *Mosaic* law, that they abstained from them. The same may be said likewise of their observing what some authors stile the law of *Levirate*, which obliges a man, if his married brother die without issue male, to marry his widow, and raise up seed to keep his name: for though we find it enjoined to the *Israelites* in the *Levitical* law, it plainly appears to have been in force long before among the *Canaanites*, from the instance of the patriarch *Judah* and his *Canaanitish* daughter-in-law *Tamar*‡. The same custom, therefore, might be observed by other nations, and might also be rightly preserved by the *Abissinians* after their conversion, either on account of its antiquity, or of its fitness to keep up the memory of the dead, without looking upon it as obligatory, as being enjoined by the *Mosaic* law. But farther,

As to the eating of swine's flesh, and other unclean creatures, though we find no prohibition against them before the *Mosaic* law, yet there was certainly a distinction made between the clean and unclean ones, long enough before that. But not to insist further upon this, it is certain the *Abissinians* were not the only people out of *Palestine* that not only abstained from the flesh of, but who professed the utmost abhorrence to, that creature, without any regard to the *Mosaic* prohibition. The *Phenicians* never eat any, if we may believe *Porphyry*², who gives this reason for it, that they, like the *Jews*, did not breed any among them. And *Herodotus* assures us³, that the *Egyptians* had such an aversion to them, that if they chanced but to touch them, they immediately went and plunged themselves over head and ears in the next river; and adds, that they shewed the same abhorrence against all swine-herds. The same may be said of the *Scenite Arabs*, and other nations; among whom that creature was accounted one of the most impure and unwholesome, and its flesh the most apt to create leprosies and other loathsome diseases. Why might not then the *Abissines* suppose that it was on that account that God had forbid the eating of it to the *Israelites*, and abhor it for that reason? And may not the same reason

¹ GEN. ix. 4, & seq.
Hist. vol. iii. p. 154 (D).

* ACTS xv. 20.

† Vid. Ant.

‡ GEN. xxxviii. 7, & seq.

² GEN. vii. 2, & seq. & alib. See Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 225 (A).

³ De abstin. animal.

⁴ Lib. ii. c. 27.

Incline,

incline, nay oblige, them to continue in all the other Jewish institutions relating to cleanness and ablutions, without any regard to the *Mosaic* law? or was it possible, in this and all other such hot climates, to neglect them, without endangering health and life? ^{p. 2}

Counte-
nanced by
the apostle,

and misre-
presented
by the mis-
sionaries;

THUS then we hope, that those missionaries lay their charge too home against the *Abissinian* church, when they represent it as paying an equal regard to the Law and the Gospel: for all the observances above-mentioned plainly appear not only to be enjoined by it, without any regard to the *Mosaic* law, but, which is still more, to be countenanced and justified by the same apostle to the Gentiles, in many of his Epistles, and more particularly in that to the *Colossians*, in these words ^{p. 1}: *Let no man therefore judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day or sabbath; which are a shadow of the things to come, but the body is of Christ; or, as these last words might be more properly rendered, but the body (or substance of those shadows) is Christ.* They might, therefore, with more justice, have charged that church with ascribing too great merit, and placing too great a confidence in those observances, and a charge which they but too justly deserve; but which would recoil with double force against their own; and is not therefore once mentioned, though by far the heaviest of all that can be laid against it. However, the true cause of all this misunderstanding might be probably enough owing to the *Abissinian* clergy's refusing, as we are told by all the missionary writers they did, stiffly declining all manner of conference with them, from a consciousness of their own ignorance and inability of holding an argument with them; otherwise it would have been easy for them to have cleared themselves from the imputation of judaizing, as they have done since in writing. But, instead of it, we are farther told, they sought only how to exasperate the people against them, by calling them *Cosas*, that is, uncircumcised; a term, it seems, of the greatest reproach among them; and taxing them with eating the flesh of swine, and other unclean creatures ^{p. 2}. So that, from the odium which the people conceived against them on that account, they too hastily pronounced them to be half *Jews* and half Christians; if their prejudices and resentment hath not caused them to be beheld in the first sense with the large, and in the last with the small, end of the spying-glass.

^p See Ant. Hist. vol. iii. p. 156 (E).

¹ Ch. ii. 16, 17.

² See LE GRAND, Dissert. viii. p. 281.

AND indeed, unless we read those church-zealots with as well as some such caveat, we shall hardly be able to reconcile them the cha- with other less partial writers of *Abissinian* affairs, nor, in many racter of instances, even with themselves. Let any one compare the their following character, extracted by Father Tellez out of all the clergy. writers of his fraternity, with what others have said of them; Their ac- and he will be easily satisfied that we have not inserted it in counts not vain. " Besides the antiquity of their errors," says that au- to be im- thor, " there is a profound ignorance in *Ethiopia*; for having plicitely " neither schools nor knowledge of philosophy and divinity, believed, " nor any other than some imperfect books, with scraps of " homilies and councils, very full of mistakes; and their " Bible, which is no less depraved, they are so very unlearned, " though they have good capacities, that they can neither " argue in form, nor defend their wrong notions syllogisti- " cally, but blindly adhere to what they have been taught " by their forefathers. And though they believe in Christ " our Lord, it is after their own manner, and with a thou- " sand follies intermixed with the mysteries of his life." We shall conclude this article of their pretended observance of the *Mosaic* law, with a transaction which one of their au- thors, on what authority we are not told, affirms to have happened soon after the total expulsion of the Jesuit mission- aries out of the *Abissinian* empire *; by which our readers will clearly see what a necessity there is to read those authors with their eyes open. After having told his readers, that the *An in- Abissinians* have such an abhorrence for uncircumcised persons, stance of that they break all the vessels they have eat or drank out of in it. pieces, and have a form of prayer to purify and bless those they have defiled by the bare touch, he adds, " But what is " the most remarkable of all is, that the Jesuits, and with " them the catholic religion, were no sooner banished out of " *Abissinia*, than an order was published, that all the youth, " who had not been circumcised, should forthwith be so; and Their in- " that if the soldiers met in their way with any that had not consist- " the circumcision-mark, they struck the point of their hal- ency. " bards into their privities, to give it them." We shall not here inquire how this dreadful piece of news was conveyed thence into *Europe*, after the whole fraternity was expelled out of the country; nor how we can reconcile the above-men- tioned abhorrence of the *Abissinians* to all uncircumcised per- sons with the profession which they make in several of their

* De his vid. ROGERS, PONCET, JARRIC, CODIGN, MAILLET, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. plur. TELLEZ, lib. i. c. 17.

* LE GRAND, ubi sup. p. 280.

letters to the pope, king of *Portugal*, and other great persons, that they looked upon circumcision as a mere antient custom, and a piece of the same decency and cleanness as paring of their nails, or any other excrescence. How is it consistent with the kind and hospitable reception which all those missionaries tell us they met with from their monarchs, princes of the blood, grandees, and even from several of their clergy of the first rank, who yet did not, it is very probable, dream any thing of their carrying the scar of circumcision about them? If it be said, that they were already above half-converts to the church of *Rome*, before they came thither, then may we not justly ask how such stiff, ignorant, irrational, unphilosophical, bookless, people jumped at once, with these small helps they had, into so right a way of thinking and judging in favour of the *Roman* church? or was it their ignorance that induced them to prefer it to their own? But, lastly, how doth the edict above-mentioned, or the insolence of the soldiers, prove that they paid a religious regard to the rite of circumcision, or any thing but a natural resentment against those who had neglected it, in obedience to the *Romish* patriarchs and missionaries? But it is time now to give some account of their faith, and their unhappy defection from it.

The faith of the Abissinian church pure till the time of Dioscorus.

WE have already hinted, that the *Abissinian* church received the gospel, and their discipline, from that of *Alexandria*, and hath continued in subjection to that patriarchate ever since. So that so long as the mother continued orthodox, the daughter followed her example, and persevered in the faith, which the first bishop *Erumentius* had established among them. But no sooner was the former infected with monothelism, or monophysism, by her unworthy patriarch *Dioscorus*, and his no less worthless abbot *Eutyches*, the two first broachers of that heresy, about the year of Christ 444, than the poison was communicated to the latter by the *Abunas* sent thither from *Egypt*, and quickly spread itself through the greatest part of the empire; so that both clergy and laity have been strongly tainted with it ever since.

Infected with that heresy.

THIS stupid and unaccountable error (which consisted chiefly in allowing in Christ our Redeemer but one nature and one will, though they acknowledged him to be very God, as well as very man, and to be the second person in the adorable Trinity, and had spread itself not only thro' the churches of

^u See ALVAREZ, BERMUDEZ, ALMEYDA, MENDEZ, LOBO, & al. plur. ^w ALVAREZ, TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, CO-DIGN, & al. sup. citat.

Egypt and *Abissinia*, but over *Greece*, *Armenia*, and other parts) was no less warmly opposed by others, especially those of *Rome* and *Constantinople*; and was at length condemned by a council of no less than 630 bishops, convened at *Chalcedon*, as a damnable heresy. Soon after which, their decision was confirmed by pope *Leo I.* in his letter to *Flavianus*. This, however, instead of making a due impression upon the *Abissinian* clergy, served only to excite their hatred and contempt against both. They called that council an assembly of factious and servile madmen, who scrupled not to betray the truth, in order to please the emperor *Marcian*; and, in derision, give them the name of *Melchites*, or *Imperialists*. The letter of that worthy pontiff they brand with no less odious epithets (B); and have had his very name and memory in the greatest

(B) The reader may see a sketch of the bitterness of those heretics, not only against pope *Leo*, but against the emperor *Marcian*, the empress *Pulcheria*, and the whole *Chalcedonic* council, and, finally, against all that own its authority, or, like those that convened it, believe that there were two natures in Christ after his incarnation, in the history of the patriarchate of *Alexandria*; where he will see the following anathemas fulminated against them by spirits pretended to have pronounced them from the sepulchres of the dead.

Maledictus Leo, impius animarum prædator cum impuro tomo suo! Maledictus Marcianus cum Pulcheria improba, & Chalcedoniensi concilio 630 episcoporum hæreticorum, & quicumque eos suscipit, aut qui in Christo Dei filio duas post unionem naturas agnoscit (3)!

On the other hand, if he would know what exasperated the *Alexandrian* clergy to that height of resentment, Mr. *Lx-*

dolph will tell him, that not only that church, but all *Egypt*, was miserably divided and torn in pieces by the two factions of *Melchites* and *Jacobites*; each of which had a patriarch of their own, who persecuted the opposite side without the least mercy, till at length the latter were obliged to have recourse to the *Saracens*, who were then invading the country, for protection against the cruelties of the former, who were always too hard for them whilst they were upheld by the *Constantinopolitan* monarchs. An instance whereof the same author gives us out of an *Ethiopic* MS. intitled, *The Life of the Abbot Samuel*; which is as follows:

The emperor had sent 200 men to seize on all the bishops; upon which abbot *Paul*, who had fled into a desert, was taken by some peasants, and brought back bound. *Maxirianus*, the officer who was to put the emperor's orders in execution, having caused all the monks to be brought before him by his

(3) *Hist. patriarch. Alexand. p. 120.*

Great ve-
neration
for Dio-
scorus.

Disclaim
the do-
ctrine of
Eutyches.

greatest abhorrence ever since; whilst they still retain the highest veneration for the arch-heretic *Dioscorus*, whom they reverence as a very great saint. What is still more surprising is, that they as absolutely disclaim *Eutyches*, and disown his doctrine as erroneous, though the main difference between them be merely about words; they confessing that the nature of Christ consisted *ex duabus, sed non in duabus naturis*; that is, composed of two natures, the divine and human; but which being united, became one single nature; whereas *Eutyches* affirmed the human to be wholly absorbed in the divine *. If we may conjecture at the meaning of this unintelligible distinction from some of their writings †, they seem to insist that this compound nature of the divine and human, by this miraculous union, becomes so intirely one, as to partake of all the frailties as well as perfections of both; so that the divine part should become equally pas-

* ALFONS. MENDES, l. i. c. 6. Hist. patriarch. LE GRAND, Dissert. x. LUDOLF. Comment. TELLEZ, CODIGN, & al.

† Vid. SANUT. Epist. & MINA's Confess. Fid. in hist. patriarch. Alexand. p. 369, & seq. Vide LE GRAND, ubi sup.

soldiers, and producing the formulary of faith which he had received from him, laid his commands on them that they should accept it: *Credito*, says he to them, *id quod scriptum est in hoc codice*. The Formulary, continues the *Ethiopic* writer, being full of blasphemy, the whole assembly kept such a profound silence, as gave the officer cause to think that they would never accept it; upon which, he repeated the same orders a second and a third time, and grew so exasperated at their refusal, that he ordered them to be stripped, and very severely whipped, adding to the rebellious monks, "Do you think that I will spare you, or that I am afraid of shedding your blood? What is the reason

"that you do not answer me?" At these words, the abba *Samuel* arose, and, with a noble resolution, becoming a true martyr, spake to him in these terms: "We will neither receive that impure formulary, nor acknowledge the council of *Chalcedon*; neither do we own any other patriarch than the abba *Benjamin* for our master." After this, he added, "The *Roman* emperor is an heretic; and I do here pronounce anathema both against the book you offer to us and the council of *Chalcedon*, and against all that acknowledge the authority of it." After this, he tore the formulary in pieces, and flung it down at the church door (4).

(4) Ludolph. Comment. hist. Ethiop. p. 462, & seq.

file and sensible of pain and death as the human; which it could not have done, according to their conceit, if the latter had been wholly absorbed in the former; for they do not think that the atonement of Christ, or the Word incarnate, would have been perfect and sufficient, unless both parts, thus inseparably united, had borne their share in his suffering and death: and, for this reason, they anathematize both *Eutyches*, and all that dissent from the doctrine of *Dioscorus*, whom they extol and reverence above all the saints and martyrs of the church.

THIS is the only fundamental error in which they deviate from the catholic faith; in all other cases they join with it, admit of the *Nicene*, *Constantinopolitan*, *Ephesian*, and some other provincial councils; besides which, they have eighty-four other canons in the *Arabic* language, which had been sent to *Jerusalem* by the emperor *Constantine*, about the year 440, and were brought thence to *Rome*, and translated by *Baptista Romanus*, a Jesuit, about 1646. This book contains the acts of the synod of the apostles, vulgarly called the *apostolical constitutions*, said to be written by *St. Clement*, those of the councils of *Ancyra*, *Casarea*, *Nice*, *Gangra*, and *Antioch*, *Laodicea* and *Sardis*, with the acts of 318 fathers, a treatise on the sabbath, with a canon or decree relating to penance; to it is annexed their general liturgy, offices for the communion, holidays, &c. the lives of several saints and martyrs, and hymns in honour of the blessed virgin *Mary*. They use not the apostles creed, but only the *Nicene*, which they stile the *profession of faith*; but, like the *Greek* church, *Nicene* strike the word *filioque* out of the clause which declares the procession of the Holy Ghost, as interpolated. But that which contains the summary of all their religion, is that which they call *Haymanota Abbaw*, or the *faith of the fathers*, and esteem it as of the greatest authority next to the sacred books, as being compiled from the homilies of *St. Athanasius*, *Basil*, *John Chrysostom*, *Cyril*, *Ephremius*, the four great *Gregories*, *Taumaturgus*, *Nazianzen*, *Nyssen*, and *Armenius*. *Tellez* adds *St. Austin*; but *Mr. Ludolph* much doubts whether they know any thing of him or his writings, or of the *Latin* fathers.

THEY receive the same canonical books, both of the Old and New Testament, that we do; the former of them is translated into *Ethiopic* from the *Greek* version called the *Septuagint*; but by whom, or at what time, is hard to determine.

² LUDOLPH. lib. iii. c. 47. §. 30, & seq.

³ Ubi sup. §. 3,

& seq. ⁴ De hoc vid. Ant. Hist. vol. x. p. 239 (N). LUDOLPH.

ubi sup.

termine,

and the
apostolical
constitu-
tions.

terminie, but most probably soon after their conversion by *Fruventius* (C). The latter, or New Testament, is likewise translated from the *Greek* text, but very corruptly, for want of able hands, which they themselves acknowledge; and allege that as an apology for it (D), and for their faulty editions thereof. They dispose the order of those of the Old Testament somewhat differently from us, as the reader may see in Mr. *Ludolph*; neither do they make any difference between the canonical and apocryphal, but receive them both alike; only the apocalypse, or, as they awkwardly stile it, the vision of *John Abukalamse*, they looked upon as super-added to the canon. In lieu of which, they have the book of apostolical constitutions, lately mentioned, but sadly mutilated, and, in many respects, differing from that we have under that name. Nevertheless, they believe it to be of divine authority, and to have been written by *St. Clement*, whose name they bear.

(C) Mr. *Ludolph* tells us, that he found it asserted in one of their martyrologies, that *Fruventius* himself was the translator of those sacred books; which yet he much questions: however, he assures us that it was done from the *Alexandrian* copy*, which is by far the most correct; most other copies being very corrupt and faulty. Those of our readers who have not perused our antient history, will be glad to be told that this valuable MS. is now in the king's library; and that the *London Polyglot* copied it (6).

(D) Thus, at the end of the *Acts of the Apostles*, they add these words, *Ἰστὰ ἀκτὰ ἀποστόλων maximā sui parte versa sunt Romæ ἐν lingua Romanā & Græcā in Ethiopicam, propter defectum archetypi, id quod addidimus aut omisimus, condonate nobis; vos autem emendate illud* (7); that is, These Acts of the Apostles were,

for the greatest part, translated out of the *Latin* and *Greek* into the *Ethiopic* tongue, for want of the original. Whatever, therefore, we have added or omitted, forgive, and correct with your own hands.

And, under the very title-page of the book itself, he makes this apology for the incorrectness of his *Ethiopic* impression: "Fathers and brethren, do not pass too harsh a judgment on the faults of this impression; for those who printed it were as incapable of reading as we were of printing it: so that we tried to help one another, as one blind man doth another; and therefore forgive both them and us." This edition, faulty as it is in almost every page, the compilers of the *Polyglot* above-mentioned were obliged to print theirs after, for want of a better (7).

* *Hist. Ethiop.* l. iii. c. 4. §. 2, et seq.
in fin. (O).

(6) *Vid. Anc. Hist.* vol. 2. p. 245,
(7) *Ludolph. ub. sup.* §. 11, et seq.

THE clergy are very little versed in the Sacred writings, having neither commentators, expositors, concordances, nor any other of those helps which are in use amongst us, if we except a few homilies upon some select parts of the Gospel, or upon some few theological points; and as they never preach nor expound them to the laity, we need not wonder there should reign such a thorough ignorance of them, and such a variety of the grossest superstition amongst them both. In these they may be justly said to come near, if not equal, both the *Greek* and *Roman* churches, excepting, as was lately hinted, that they do not admit of any carved images of Christ and his Saints, much less of the Deity, in their churches and oratories; administer the communion in both kinds, use leavened instead of unleavened bread, and believe the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, without admitting of any transubstantiation of them. In other respects, they, like them, offer their devotions and prayers to the saints, and have proper offices, fasts and festivals, in honour, or, as Mr. Ludolph would intimate, in memory, of them^d. But as he owns, that they not only commemorate their virtues, miracles, and other holy actions, particularly their great fastings and penances, on those days, but offer up fervent prayers to them, pay a religious regard not only to their bones, and other relicks, but even their pictures, prostrate themselves before, kiss and rub their foreheads with them, adding still most devout ejaculations and other respectful gestures; that nice distinction might have been spared, and they cannot in any-wise be said to come behind either of those churches in their *dulia*, or veneration for the saints; and as for that of the virgin *Mary*, they carry it to such an excess as comes little short of a *latreia*, either in the solemn honours they pay to her, the extraordinary attributes they give her, the miracles and unlimited power they ascribe, the prayers they address to her, or the bloody zeal and fury they display against those who condemn or dislike them for it, calling them the enemies of *Mary*, and stirring up the people to overwhelm them with stones^e. If they do not believe a purgatory in the same sense and extent as the *Greek* and *Roman* churches do, they nevertheless believe a middle state, in which the departed souls must be purged from their sins, and may be greatly assisted and relieved by the prayers, alms, and penances, of their surviving friends, who seldom fall of performing so charitable, and, as they deem it, meritorious, a duty to them frequently, and with great fervency. And

*Hold many
superstitious rites
and doctrines.*

*Pray to
the saints
relicks.*

*Highly honour the
Virgin.*

*Pray for
the dead;
yet hold no
purgatory.*

^d Lib. iii. c. 5. §. 81. ^e TELLEZ, lib. vi. c. 26, & 27.

*Their alms
and pray-
ers for the
dead.*

though their priests have no particular office, or, as the *Portuguese* affect to call it, *mass*, for the dead, yet they are obliged to make mention of them in their common service, to pray to God to absolve them from their sins, and to make them fit for the joys of heaven. They keep likewise a kind of anniversary of their departure, in which they give plentiful alms, according to their ability, to the priests, monks, and poor, to pray for their souls; and the two former will read over them the whole book of *Psalms*, from beginning to end, without either doxology or other break, except that they frequently pronounce the word *Hallelujah* (E). They then recommend those, for whom these alms are given, to the divine mercy; but always take care to join them with all those who have lived and died in the true orthodox faith; without which, they would think it in vain, if not a sin, to pray for them. Thus, though they are much divided in their notions about the true state of the dead, yet they all agree that such prayers, penances, and other charitable duties, will turn greatly to their advantage, if they have not rendered themselves unworthy of it by apostacy or impenitence ^f.

^f ALVAREZ, TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al.

(E) Thus we are told, the whole procession of priests and monks were heard to say at the interment of prince *Mark*, the emperor *Segued's* eldest son, not only in the reading of the *Psalms*, but in other parts of the service: as for instance, *Mark is dead, Hallelujah*; *Dead is Mark, Hallelujah*: insomuch that a stranger would be at a loss to guess whether they rejoice or mourn (8), the same words being so often repeated.

In some of their prayers for the dead, one might be induced to think that they had imbibed some of the notions from the *Koran* concerning the state of the blessed; as when they pray

that God would lead or gather them into his most delicious gardens, where rivers of sweet and living water flow, that he would introduce them into the delights of the garden of *Eden*, that they may be ever refreshed with the living waters of paradise; and such-like. But what plainly shews that they borrowed those figurative expressions from the *Jews*, who not only make use of them at their interments, but cause them to be ingraven upon their tomb-stones (9), is that they seldom fail to add, like them, *Let them rest on the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, &c.* (10).

(8) *Tellem*, l. ii. c. 17. *Ludolph*, l. iii. c. 6. §. 105, & seq. *Synagag.* c. 35. *Leo de Modena*, par. 7. c. 8. *Munster*, &c. al. *La Grand*, *Dissert.* xiv. p. 345, et seq. *Tellem*, et *Ludolph*, *ubi sup.*

(9) *Vide Buxtorf.*
(10) *Id. ibid.*

OTHER

OTHER superstitious ceremonies used at funerals, besides *Funeral* the decent washing of the dead, consist in perfuming the *vices* body with incense, and sprinkling it well with holy water : after which, they dress it in a sheet; and, if a person of distinction, they cover it with a kind of buff-leather, and clap it on the bier. The bearers then take it, and hurry it away with such surprising swiftness, says abbot *Gregory*, that the monks and priests, who attend it with their crosses in their hands, and the rest of the retinue, can hardly keep pace with them. When come to the church, or church-yard (for they bury them in either), they again incense it, and throw plenty of holy water upon it. The body is suffered to lie no longer by the side of the grave, than whilst the priest reads the fourteen first verses of the gospel of St. *John*; which done, they do not gently let it down, but shoot it into the ground; the priests all the while repeating some psalms till the body is covered with earth. They go to bewail their dead many days together : their lamentations begin early in the morning, and continue till the evening; the parents, relations, and friends, meeting there every day on the mournful occasion, together with a great number of women-mourners, hired to accompany the solemnity with their outcries and lamentations, clapping their hands, smiting their breasts and faces, and uttering the most affecting expressions in a very doleful tone; to all which they add the beat of drums, and such other gestures as they think suitable to the occasion. If the deceased is a person of distinction, his horse, shield, lance, and other accoutrements, are also brought to the place; offerings are made to the church and the clergy, and alms given liberally to the poor, consisting of bread, flesh, and hydromel. This ceremony continues, according to the quality of the person, three, five, seven, twenty, thirty, or even forty days, and is repeated afresh on the anniversary day. During the mournful solemnity, they all pray to God to be merciful to the soul of the person, for whose sake all those alms, offerings, and supplications, are made; which plainly shews that they indeed look upon them to be beneficial to the dead, and to procure some rest to them, but by no means proves that they believe a purgatory in the sense in which the church of *Rome* doth; which, in their doctrine, they absolutely condemn. They express their grief at the news of the death of a friend or relation, and of their lord, or any of his sons, by such lively tokens as casting themselves on their faces to the ground with such violence, that some have beat the breath out of their bodies, others have broke or dislocated some of their bones, or received a considerable injury

injury in some other parts of their bodies; the omission of which would otherwise be interpreted as a mark of disregard or disaffection to the deceased ^s.

The funeral of an emperor.

THE funerals of their princes are still more magnificent and solemn, as the reader may judge by that of the emperor *Socinius*, or, as he is vulgarly called, *Segued*, and *Sufneo*; a short description of which we shall here subjoin. The body was placed in a square bier, or bed, with steps to ascend to it, which had been made by an *Egyptian*. It was cloathed in his royal robes, and covered with a pall of rich taffety of several colours, and conveyed from *Dancanz*, where the imperial camp then was, to the great church called *Caneta Jesu*, in a town in the kingdom of *Gajam*. The corpse was preceded by all the imperial standards (F), not inverted as with us in *Europe*, but upright, and displaying their various colours in the air, but without any arms or devices. On each side of them marched the large kettle-drums, beating in a solemn manner. These were followed by some few of the finest horses which he used to ride upon, with their richest furniture, and attended by the imperial grooms. Next to these came the pages and other servants, carrying the imperial robes, and other ornaments; one his vest, another his sword, and a third his crown; others his sash-beads, javelin, target, &c. These were frequently taken from them by turns by proper officers, who shewed them to the people, in order to excite their tears; among whom even the empress herself marched a considerable space, wearing his crown upon her head. Both she and her daughters, and other princesses of the blood, with their attendant ladies, rode on mules, with their heads shaved, and a ribband, or slip of white cloth, about two inches broad, tied about them, the ends hanging behind. The remainder of the retinue affected to appear in the most ragged and dirty tatters, as the most expressive marks of real

Solemn procession.

The empress and her daughters follow the corpse.

^s ALVAREZ, TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, CODION, & al

(F) These, we are told, are of two sorts; the one, which they call *Sandecas*, are long poles or staves, beautifully coloured, with a gilt metal ball on the top, under which they wave their little banners, about a foot square; the other are like stan-

dards, of white cloth or silk, intermixed with red stripes in the middle, but, in all other respects, quite plain and unornamented either with coats of arms or any other emblems or devices (11).

(11) *Tellez*, lib. v. c. 37. *Ludolph*, lib. iv. c. 4. §. 29, or seq.

grief

grief and mourning, especially black, and followed in the rear, with their hair likewise cut close.

THERE were no candles carried in the procession, nor *Burial* lighted in the church, as is done in that of the *Romish*, but *ceremony* much weeping and howling heard in both: at the church-door the corpse was met by six or seven monks, who sung their psalms and *hallelujahs* till the body was interred. On *The pro-* the next morning, the whole cavalcade returned to *Gandax*; *cession re-* and, as soon as they came within sight of the imperial camp, *turns to* began to marshal themselves in the same order they had gone *the camp.* in the day before, bringing the empty bier with them; by the side of which rode an officer on a mule, clad in the imperial robes, and wearing the imperial crown, an umbrella held over his head, and, in all other respects, representing the deceased emperor. Before him marched another, with that monarch's helmet and javelin, mounted on his best horse and his richest accoutrements. Upon their approaching near *Renew* *Dancax*, they were met by four or five bodies of armed *their la-* troops, and other persons of rank belonging to the court, *mentations* who received them with the loudest acclamations of grief, *before the* and proceeded with them to the new emperor's pavilion. *new empe-* Here again they renewed their lamentations for the deceased, *ror, and* all the time they were alighting, when some of the first mini- *then con-* sters of state, and other noblemen, attended by *Diego de* *gratulate* *him.* *Mattos*, and father *Emanuel de Almida*, who gives this relation of that ceremony, entered the large tent where *Faciludus*, the new emperor, was, continued the same mournful lamentations near the space of two hours; which being ended, the whole ceremony was turned into loud acclamations and congratulatory prayers for the new monarch, who was crowned soon after with the usual ceremony, formerly described ^b.

IN other respects, the same prayers, offerings, alms, anniversaries, and other fundamental rites, are performed to the deceased monarchs, which, we have observed, are done to the rest, only in a much higher degree: but, if we except the pomp and grandeur, the greatest regard is paid to such of their monks as die, as the common phrase is, with the greatest odour of sanctity, either for their uncommon piety and zeal, or more especially for their extraordinary penances and mortifications. To such as these they pay so superstitious a veneration as comes little short of what the *Venera-* church do to their canonized saints, excepting only that they *tion for* dead neither rear altars nor statues in honour of them. They visit *saints.*

^a See before, p. 115, & seq. Vide & auct. sup. citat.

Translate
their
bones.

their sepulchres, recommend themselves to their prayers, make long pilgrimages, give alms and offerings in honour of them, and translate their bones from one place to another, especially to preserve them from being insulted by any of the *Gallas*, *Agas*, or other barbarous nations that surround them; and even institute festivals in memory of such translations¹.

Pray to
angels.

THEY extend their veneration for the angelic hierarchies also to invocation, on account of their guardianship and ministry to the living. Those they divide into nine degrees or orders, viz. angels, archangels, lords, *κυριότητες*, magistrates, *ἀρχαί*, thrones, princes, powers, cherubim, and seraphim; to which some add a tenth, viz. of those who, for their apostacy, were driven out of heaven, and became devils, and enemies to mankind. But to none of the former do they address any prayers, or pay any other than a great veneration, excepting the angelic, under whose immediate tuition they look upon themselves as more particularly consigned by the Divine Providence².

Held only
two sa-
craments.

THOUGH they hold but two sacraments, properly so called, as necessary to salvation (whatever some of their writings may intimate of their calling the Trinity, incarnation, &c. by that name), (G), viz. Baptism and the Holy Communion.

Father

¹ See LUDOLPH's Calendar of their Saints, lib. iii. c. 6. §. 96, & seq. ² Id. ibid. c. 5. §. 85, & seq.

(G) When the physician *Poncet* was sent ambassador into *Abissinia* by the court of *France*, he was charged, we are told³, to make the strictest inquiry he could into the religion of that country; and how far, and in what essential points, the *Coptic* differed from the *Roman* church. And this he himself tells us, he had frequent opportunities to do, by often conversing with the emperor, the abbots, and others of the clergy (13). Soon after this, that monarch, who was then courting the *French* king's friendship, sent him a letter, in which, among other

things, he gives him a long account of the *Abissinian* faith; and speaking of their five sacraments, or, as he styles them, according to the true meaning of the *Greek* word, mysteries, he says, the first of them is the description of the most holy Trinity, the second that of the incarnation of the Son of God, the third baptism, the fourth the holy eucharist, and the fifth the resurrection of the dead.

This letter, which the reader will find published among the Dissertations of Mr. Le Grand, printed at *Paris*, 1728 (14), as a confession of that monarch's

(*) *Vide la Croix Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, p. 85.
A. J. c. ii. p. 74, & seq.

(14) *Lettre missive*, p. 451, & seq.

(13) *Poncet*,
faith,

Father Tellez adds three more to the number, viz. ordination, penance, and marriage; but owns, with the author last quoted, that they are very ignorant both of the matter and form of administering them; and that they know nothing of the other two, viz. confirmation and extreme unction. But, for this, both he and his *Portuguese* brethren have been censured as dunces, of more zeal than knowledge, by some *French* authors of the same fraternity, with no less warmth, and with as little reason, as the reader may see by what hath been said in the last note, and what has been said in the foregoing chapter, in speaking of the rites of the *Coptic* church.

THAT hold baptism to be necessary to salvation; that it *Baptism* ought to be administered by a priest, and performed by a *how con-* threefold immersion, if the infant is capable of bearing it *ferred*.

¹ See before, vol. xiv. p. 150, & seq.

faith, whether genuine or counterfeited, as it is supposed by many, from the strangeness of its theology, the lame manner in which the mysteries of Christianity are handled and explained, and the badness of the *French* translation, doth however give us a moral assurance, that the *Abissinians* do not hold the same seven sacraments that the church of *Rome* doth, and as a late *French* Jesuit hath endeavoured to maintain, in plain opposition to all the *Portuguese* missionaries (15); and, 2. that they have a quite different notion of that word, and a very imperfect one of what the schools call the matter and form of a sacrament, which is what all the *Portuguese* fathers justly charge them with. Should we suppose that missive letter forged, and falsely ascribed to the monarch for some private ends, yet it is natural to think that the contrivers would take care to be well informed of the faith and practice of this church,

seeing any mistake or deviation, especially so great a one as this, would soon destroy the credit of the letter, and lay the forgery open to the world. — Whereas there is hardly any material article in that piece, but what we find confirmed by one or more of the *Portuguese* writers, from their own knowledge.

The truth is, the *French* Jesuit, above quoted, who, by his long abode in *Egypt*, might be thoroughly informed of the faith and practice of the *Coptic* church, opposes the relations of the *Abissinian* missionaries, only because they are contrary to what he had observed to be practised among the *Copts* in *Egypt*, supposing that there was a perfect uniformity between them; — whereas, in fact, there is, in many cases, a manifest difference between them, as will be seen in the sequel: so that nothing can be justly urged from the practice of the one against that of the other.

(15) Du Bernat Lettre ad Fleurius, op. Le Grand, Dissert. xi. p. 323, & seq.

Sacred un- without danger of its life; if not, the threefold asperision of
ction, water over the whole naked body is reckoned sufficient. The first immersion is made only of one-third of the body, *in the name of the Father*; the second of two-thirds of the body, or up to the breast, *in the name of the Son*; and the last is of the whole body, over head and ears, *in the name of the Holy Ghost*. If the child is only sprinkled, it is done in the same form and order; Thus far they follow the antient rule; but they have since added some other superstitious ceremonies, unknown to the primitive church: as, first, the anointing the whole body, especially every joint of it from head to foot, with the holy chrysm, or, as they call it, *Meyron* (H), which is a most costly mixture of sweet oil, balm, and other odoriferous drugs and gums, made and blessed in a most solemn manner by the patriarch himself, and by him dispersed among the bishops and clergy, to be used immediately after the third immersion; without which they do not think the baptism perfect or valid. The next thing they do is the administering the holy communion to the child, in both kinds;

(H) They use two sorts of unctions, the one with this *Meyron*, *Mupov*, which is so costly, and made with such solemnity, that our author tells us that ceremony had not been performed for 20 years, when the *Alexandrian* patriarch renewed it, *anno* 1703, during his abode there; at which were present a great number of bishops, abbots, priests, and deacons, who were all chanting the prayers, psalms, and other portions of Scripture, whilst the prelate was mixing the several ingredients, which took up almost the whole day. Their emperors, at their coronation, are anointed with it, and so is every one that is baptized according to the rite of the *Coptic* church. Our author adds, that it cost the person who defrayed the charge of the last composition above 1,000 crowns.

The other unction is made only with holy oil, with which the vessels which held the old *Meyron* have been rinsed, or into which a few drops are poured by the patriarch, and is therefore less costly; and, when spent, every priest hath power to consecrate a new supply of it for his own use; whereas the former can only be consecrated by the patriarch of the church. This inferior sort, which they call *Gahileum*, is likewise used in baptism, and in much greater quantity, as they make but six unctions with the first, and 36 with the latter. Both are accompanied with proper prayers and other exorcisms (17), which we need not dwell upon, as we have good reason to question whether the *Abissine* church is so exact and punctilious in these matters as that of *Egypt*; about which see the following note.

(17) *Vide* Bernat, *Letter to Father Fleurian*. *Vide et* Le Grand, *Dissert.* xi. p. 313, et seq.

which

which is done by dipping a bit of the consecrated bread into *and com-* the wine, and applying it to the child's lips; though some *munion* priests content themselves with dipping the tip of their finger *given at* into the cup, and putting it into its mouth. And as they *the same* keep no consecrated elements by them, if the child chance to *time.* be baptized in the afternoon, the mother, or if she is not able to be present, her deputy, must stay with it in the church till next morning, when new ones are consecrated; for this they likewise believe to be of the same importance with the unction, to render the baptism effectual ^m.

THEY admit of godfathers; but whether under the notion *Osterrites* of sponsors, or only to present them at the font and at the *relating* communion-table, which is one part of their office, we are *to it.* not told. Some other superstitious rites they observe, such as lighting of candles, exorcisms, blessing of the water, throwing salt, *meyron*, and holy oil, into it, and intermixing prayers suitable to each, reading of the gospels, and some others not worth dwelling upon; especially as we find such various accounts of them among our authors, that unless we admit, that one part of the *Coptic*, or even of the *Abissinian*, church differs from another, and as probably perhaps one age from another, we shall hardly know which of them to believe before the other (1).

How-

^m ALVAREZ, PELLEZ, LOBO, CODIGN, LUDOLPH, & al.

--(1) Thus, for instance, *Alvarez* tells us, that in his time, there were hardly any fonts or baptisteries, nor any immersions, used in the baptism of infants; but that their godfathers held their naked bodies a little reclined, whilst the priest poured the water over it three times, with the usual form of, *I baptize thee*, &c. Whilst others give us a long detail of the immersion, and affirm it to be universally practised, as well as the unction, communion, and other ceremonies accompanying it (18).

Again, we are told, that many priests, either through ignorance, or in compliance to some

old illicit custom, made use of a different form of baptism than that prescribed by Christ and the primitive church; and, instead of, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father*, &c. said, *I baptize thee in the waters of Jordan* (19).

But this dissonance is not confined to the *Portuguese* and *French* writers; we find it no less frequent among the *Abissinians* themselves; against whom the judicious Jesuit *Codignus*, among many other authors who have made the same complaints, adds this severe, though just, reflection:

Scio Teklum Mariam Abassinum monachum, de quo dicam in-

(18) *Itinerar. apud Tellen, ubi supra, baptif. p. 317.*

(19) *Vide Le Grand, Dissert. xi. de*

fra,

Reiterated
as the per-
mission of
the Jesuits.

Ill conse-
quences of
that step.

HOWEVER that be, the fathers missionaries, after they had gained the emperor *Segued's* favour, and brought him over to their church, found so many faults, whether real or not, in the manner and form of the *Abissinian* priests administering that sacrament, that they easily persuaded him to order it to be reiterated; and accordingly great numbers came, and were rebaptized by them, to the great scandal of the whole people, both clergy and laity, though the ceremony was performed conditionally, that is, with these words, *If thou art not baptized* (that is, *regularly and effectually so*) *I baptize thee, &c.*; for the very calling the validity of their baptism in question so exasperated the nation, that it hastened their total expulsion; and the new emperor *Faciladas*, or *Basilides*, made that bold affronting step a matter of heavy complaint and reproach against the then *Roman* patriarch, *Alfonso Mendez*, in his decree for their expulsion, accusing them to have rebaptized his subjects, as if they had been heathens and pagans, notwithstanding the small difference there was between

sua, in recensendis suorum erroribus, sic à Zagazabo, adeo discrepasse, adeoque in hac re male inter se convenire Abassinos, qui apud nos sunt, ut Thomas à Jesu, in thesaurò suo, de Abassinis agens, eorumque ex variis anterioribus ritibus reserens, merito dicat difficile esse de his rebus certum aliquid definire. Idem ego jure possem dicere nisi hæc quæ hic propono ex ipsi. patrum nostrorum qui in Abassia degunt, omniaque habent perspecta cognovissem litteris (20).

Another author tells us, with relation to baptism, that the *Abassins* have been unjustly charged with repeating their baptism, because they all go and wash themselves in ponds and rivers on *Epiphany* day, in memory of our Saviour's baptism, repeating certain prayers; the priests also assisting at the ceremony: and *Poncet*, who

saw the same performed, adds, that the emperor had caused a spacious basin to be made for that purpose, for his own and household's use, and represents it only as an ablution in memory of our Saviour's baptism, and by which they hope to be washed from their sins (21).—Notwithstanding which, this innocent custom hath been strongly urged as a plain proof of their reiterating the sacrament of baptism, because they have done so upon some occasions of a quite different nature (22). From all which instances, our readers may see how difficult it is to come at any certainty concerning these momentous points of their faith and practice, either from their own accounts, or from those of foreign writers.

(20) *Cadiogan*, l. i. c. 35.

(22) *Alphonse Mendon*, l. ii. c. 33. n. 4. *Cadiogan*, ubi sup. & ad. *Vid. La Grand*, ubi sup.

(21) *Urcelle*, op. cit. *Poncet*, *Engl.*

their

their two churches ". Which expressions, we may reasonably suppose, with Mr. *Ludolph*, that monarch would hardly have urged against them, if the *Abissinian* church had been guilty of that other error with which they brand it ; viz. the re-iteration of baptism ; a charge founded merely on the ceremony mentioned in the last note, of a general washing on the festival of *Epiphany*, in honour of our Saviour's baptism. But here it will, not be amiss to repeat what the good father *Alvarez* says of it, and upon it ; because it will at once convince our readers of the great advantage they made of the emperor *Sagued's* weakness, and compliance to them. His words are these :

Washing on Epiphany day, whether a re-iteration of baptism.

" ON the 4th of *January* 1521, the *Presbyter John*, that *Alvarez's* is, the emperor, ordered us to transport our tents to a place where he had caused a large pond or basin of water to be made, to be baptized in it, according to custom, on the ensuing *Epiphany*. As soon as we were come thither, we were asked whether we would not be baptized ; to which I answered, we have been so already, and cannot be so again. The ambassador, however, and some of his retinue, added, that they would do as the king pleased : upon which, I was again invited to do so ; but answered as I had done before. They then asked, whether any water should be brought into our tents, since we cared not to go into the pond ; which the ambassador agreed to, expecting to have seen some great sight ; but was disappointed ; nothing that was done there being either pleasing or decent.

" THE *Abissinian* priests repaired thither in great numbers on the eve, and sang the whole night. To bless the pond, they threw holy water into it ; and the king, arriving about midnight, was the first that was baptized, with his queen, and the *Abuna March*. On the next morning, the *Portuguese* were invited to come nearer the water, that they might have a fuller view of the whole ceremony. *Alvarez* came, and placed himself over-against the king. The pond was square, surrounded with planks, and covered with waxen cotton cloth, and one went into the water by six steps. The water was conveyed into it by a pipe, and strained through a sack, that was tied to the mouth of it. The croud was very great ; and an old man, who had been his majesty's preceptor, stood in the water up to his shoulders, and plunged the heads of every one that came to him, using these words, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father*,

The emperor and the court assist at it.

An old man baptizes those that come.

• *Ibid.* *LE GRAND*, Dissert. xi.

" *Son,*

Alvarez's
opinion of
it.

"*Son, and Holy Ghost.* They were all stark-naked, without any the least covering; and those of a middle size went down but four or five steps. The king called the *Portuguese* to him, and asked *Alvarez*, what he thought of that ceremony; who readily answered, that it could neither be rectified nor justified by any thing but a good intention, seeing the council of *Nice*, which was equally acknowledged by the *Abissine* and *Roman* churches, allowed but of one baptism. But what must be done with returning apostates, replied the king, in order to reconcile them to the church? *He that believes, and is baptized, answered our Portuguese, shall be saved; and he that believeth not, shall be damned.* We ought to instruct, and pray for, these apostates; and, if they will not return, burn them alive: but if any of them comes full of grief and shame for his apostacy, and begs for mercy and pardon, the *Abuna* ought to absolve him, and impose a suitable penance at the same time, unless he think it much better to turn him over to the pope, in whom alone is lodged the whole power of the church. He added, that, if they refused to be converted, they ought to be committed to the flames, as is practised by the whole *Roman church*.".

The emperor's
reply to it.

THIS whole discourse, it seems highly pleased the king; who, in excuse for that ceremony, told *Alvarez*, that his grandfather had instituted it by the advice of some of his most able and learned divines, in order to prevent so many souls, who had fallen from God, from being utterly lost.

This cu-
lam no re-
iteration
of bap-
tism.

From this account, allowing it to be as genuine, as it is lame and imperfect with regard to what it is brought in to prove, viz. a reiteration of baptism, we would beg leave to observe, that it was, at the most, but a modern institution, and of no longer standing than two or three generations, and not the practice of the antient *Abissine* church. 2. That the dipping of the penitents that offer themselves, and the form of words, *I baptize thee, &c.* is nowhere else, that we can find by other authors, practised in the whole empire but in this place; they every-where else going indifferently into the next river, pond, &c. men and women, without regard to decency, and only washing themselves, and uttering a few prayers; and, if we will believe their own confession, only in memory of our Saviour's baptism in the river *Jordan*?. 3. That, even from the king's own words, it was only instituted in the behalf of such as had apostatized from the faith: for, among those vast

* ALVAREZ, Itinerar. LE GRAND, Dissert. xi. TELLEZ, LUDOLPH. § SEC PÉNGET, p. 89. LUDOLPH, & al.

crouds

crouds that went into the king's pond or bason, we don't find that the good old man baptized any but such as offered themselves to him; and those might be of the apostate kind; and who knows how many of them might not be of the number of those who had gone over to the church of *Rome*, and, having repented of their defection, came to reap the benefits of this new-invented expedient? For it is not said, neither can it be supposed, that the old man could perform the ceremony on those vast multitudes that went into the water, in so short a time as twelve hours; for it began at midnight, and ended at noon. 4. We have elsewhere observed, that the *Abissinians* observed a great number of *Jewish* rites ^{but a Jew-}, one of ^{ish ablu-} which, among the latter, was this of washing and immer-^{tion.} sion, upon every kind of defilement, whether natural or accidental; all which might be properly called, in a large sense, so many baptisms, according to the true meaning of the word. It is, therefore, far from being improbable, that the *Abissinian* church might have instituted this general one with the same ^{In favour} view at first, and deemed it the more efficacious towards the ^{of apo-} states, washing away all such pollutions, by its being ordered to be ^{falsely} performed on the day on which Christ's baptism was com-^{supposed to} memorated; and all this without once dreaming of its ever be-^{be annual.} ing misinterpreted as a reiteration of the baptismal sacrament. And if the repetition of the form was afterwards enjoined in favour of returning apostates, in *Segued's* grandfather's reign, it can only be looked upon as an innovation introduced, perhaps, in imitation of some antient churches and fathers, who thought that such apostates could not be reconciled to the church without being rebaptized; for we find accordingly, that, after the total expulsion of the missionaries out of the empire, an order was issued out for a general rebaptization, to wash away all the sins and defilements, which had been contracted by the late defection to the church of *Rome*, during the preceding reign *. But this, whether we stile it an ablution or a baptism, is no more the true antient practice of the *Abiss-* Baptism *nien* church, than those marks which are branded with a red-^{by fire.} hot iron on the foreheads and noses of the *Abissinians* are of their being baptized with fire (K); with which practice,

* See before, p. 133, & seq. * ALF. MENDEZ, l. ii. c. 33. §. 4.

(K) *Reperi, says Codignus, inurere stigmata: id vero adeo apud antiquos historicos ex veterum imperatorum instituto apud que illo signo deprehendatur, is hanc gentem positum in more baptizati pueruli in fronte quadam toris mancipium (23).*

(23) *Codign. de reb. Abissin. lib. i. c. 35. p. 213.*

never-

nevertheless that church hath been unjustly taxed, but fully cleared since by several learned authors¹; that being only a custom common to *Mohammedans* and heathens, as well as *Ethiopians*, and designed as a caustic, to prevent their children being troubled with catarhs, and other defluxions on the eyes, and in no sense an act of religion. Thus much may suffice with respect to this article of baptism; on which if we have dwelt somewhat longer, we hope the reader will not be displeased at, seeing there was no other way of setting it in a true light, from the different accounts which so many writers have given us of it, and much less from the misrepresentations and calumnies which have been raised against the *Abissine* church, on account of their pretended reiteration, and other abuses, of that sacred rite.

No confirmation joined with baptism.

WE have already shewn from Father Tellez, Mr. Ludolph, and others², that the *Abissinians* neither allow of confirmation nor extreme unction; yet such is the partiality of some of the *Romish*, especially the *French*, writers, that, in order to find out their seven sacraments among them, they have, with much subtilty, endeavoured to blind the world with the notion, that the unction which they use in their baptism, viz. that of the chrysm or *meyron*, is in lieu, or rather is that very sacrament³; the fallacy of which must appear to all unbiassed persons, on the following considerations. 1. That the church of *Rome* uses the same unction by their chrysm in their baptism of infants, without looking upon it as any part of confirmation. 2. It enjoins the latter to be administered to adult persons, who are able to give an account of their faith, and to take these baptismal engagements upon themselves; whereas the *Abissinians* bestow the unction on infants, who are incapable of either. 3. The form and prayers used in the unction, which the curious reader may see in the margin (L), plainly shew it to be the same, and performed with the

¹ Vide, int. al. CODIGN, l. i. c. 35. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 6. n. 41, 42. RENAUDOT, perpetuit. fid. tom. iv. c. 84. ALVAREZ, ubi sup. & al. ² Vide & CODIGN, ALVEEDO, ALF. MENDIZ, & al. mult. ³ Vide BERNAT's Letter to Fleurian, LE GRAND, Dissert. xi. & al.

(L) In this ceremony, the child being held naked before the priest who baptizes it, he takes, with the tip of his finger, a small quantity of the *meyron* or holy chrysm, and begins with anointing the forehead crosswise, with these words, "The chrysm of grace and of the Holy Ghost;" the mouth and nose

the same view as that which the *Roman* priests use it, and is by both churches enjoined as a constituent part of baptism.— To all these if we add, that neither the *Abissinian* rituals nor catechisms mention any thing of confirmation, much less have any set form for performing it, we shall easily perceive how vain it is to seek for any such thing as the *Romish* confirmation in *Abissinia*, or for what Father *Bernat* so peremptorily affirms, that confirmation immediately follows baptism in their church, any more than it doth in his own^a.

WE have already mentioned their manner of confessing ^{*Penance*} and receiving penance and absolution from their priests, or ^{*no sacrament.*} the *Abuna* ^v; but though they allow the necessity of both, than which nothing can be a more plain proof than the multitudes and frequency of penitents attending at the church-doors, and the bundles of olive rods that are constantly set there for that use, yet it doth not appear, that they have ever given that rite the title of a sacrament, or look upon it

^a LE GRAND, ubi sup. p. 321.

^v See before, p. 140.

nose next, whilst he says, "The chrysm, pledge of the kingdom of heaven;" to that of "the ears he says, "The chrysm of fellowship and eternal and immortal life." At the unction of the in and out-side of the hands, he says, "The holy unction of Christ our God, and indelible character." On the breast, he says, "The perfection of grace of the Holy Ghost, and shield of the true faith." To the knees and elbows, he says, "I anoint you with holy chrysm, in the name of the Father, Son; and Holy Ghost;" and concludes every period with *Amen*.

Now, this being almost the very same form and manner in which this unction is performed at the baptism of infants in the *Romish* church, with this only difference, that, in this last, the

priest anoints the child a second time with his spittle, and hath his clerk attending to say the *Amen* for him; how could it enter into any man's head to affirm it to be only a part of baptism in the one, and confirmation in the other? or what is there in the form of words of the ceremony, that hath the least resemblance to the *Romish* confirmation, as is pretended by those *French* authors (23)?

Add to this, that the long prayer, which he afterwards repeats by way of conclusion, the giving them the holy communion, setting the crown on their head, and the blessing he gives to them and the bystanders, are all alike parts of the baptismal office, and so set down in their rituals and liturgy, without any mention of confirmation (24).

(23) *Renaudot, perpetuit. fid. tom. v. p. 65, & seq. Bernat, Letter to Father Fleuriot, Le Grand, Dissert. xi. de baptis. & confirmat. Abissin. p. 273, & seq.*

(24) *Vide Ritual. & Offic. Baptis. Eriop. Latin. edit. Rom. Codign, L. c. 35, & alibi. Teller, Ludolph, & al. sup. citat.*

any

Confessions any otherwise than as a preparatory qualification for that of *begin very late* the holy communion. Neither are they over-hasty in obliging young people to come to either, seeing they look upon all the sins they commit before they are arrived at twenty-years of age little more or less than slips of youth; for which they will not be called to an account². And herein, again, it is plain, that they do not follow the canons of the *Coptic* church, which obliges them to come to confession and communion, at, or soon after, the age of ten; from which time they begin to observe the fasts of the church⁷; but are much more remiss in their discipline; which is no wonder, considering the ignorance and corruption of manners, which we have observed to reign through the whole empire, from the *Abuna* down to the very lowest of the clergy². It is therefore impertinent in our late *French* Jesuits², to be ever objecting the canons and rituals of the *Coptic* church, and to infer from thence, that the faith and practice of that of *Abissinia* must be, in every age, conformable to it, when almost every thing we read of them in the *Portuguese* Fathers, who were most of them eye-witnesses of what they wrote, and cannot be suspected of want of zeal for their church, convinces us of the contrary (M).

The Abissinian church is not in all things conformable to the Coptic.

WE

* TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 6. §. 57. 7 RENAUDOT, Perpetuit. Fid. BERNAT, ubi sup. PONCET, p. 85.

* See before, p. 142, & alib. pass. * DE BERNAT, ubi sup. LE GRAND, Differt. xii.

(M) We have such pregnant instance of this remissness, not only on the side of the *Abissinian*, but of the *Alexandrian* church, with regard to this article of penance and confession, as plainly shews that their practice was far enough from keeping pace with their canons; in so much that, partly through the abuses that had crept into the latter, and partly through the unreasonable penances that were frequently imposed on the laity, three of their patriarchs used their most strenuous endeavours to abolish that rite, one after

another. These were *John*, the son of *Abulfeta*, *Mark*, the son of *Zabru*, and *John*, the son of *Abu'gabeb*, who had so far gained their point, that it was brought into an almost total disuse; when *Mark*, the son of *Alkombari*, a prelate no less zealous for it than they were against it, set up for a strenuous advocate for it; and though, in other respects, a person far from being irreprehensible in his conduct, brought a good number of people back again to it (25).

(25) *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.*

By

WE have already taken notice of their belief concerning the other sacrament, that of the Lord's Supper, and of their manner of celebrating and administering it to the people.—The two Jesuits above-mentioned have furnished us with several clauses of that office out of the *Coptic* liturgy, which plainly intimate not only a real presence, but a real change of the sacred elements into the body and blood of Christ; from which they would infer, that they believe their doctrine of transubstantiation in fact, though not *in terminis*^b: and tho' we have already shewn, that their profession and practice are quite opposite to such a belief^c, yet we think our *English* readers will not be displeased to see some of the principal prayers made use of in their form of consecration, subjoined in the margin (N), as will enable them at once to judge of their belief

Consecration of the holy chrysm.

^b Id. *ibid.* p. 326, & seq. ^c See before, p. 153, & seq.

By this time, they had fallen into a strange expedient for supplying that defect: so that, instead of the usual confession, the priest went with his censer round the church, and fumigated the whole congregation, who, on their part, cried out with one consent, "I have sinned, I have sinned," whilst he, on his, went about uttering some prayers for their pardon; and this served instead of confession, penance, and absolution.

This was not the worst; for, in many countries, the people had even refused this ceremony, and had substituted another in lieu of it, no less ridiculous, and confessed and absolved themselves at home, by fumigating themselves with incense and other odoriferous gums, thrown into a pan of coals, and uttering their confession over the smoke of it (26). We need not here observe to our readers, how opposite that practice is to the pretence of their looking upon that rite as a sacrament;

but this we cannot forbear observing upon the whole, that neither the patriarch above-mentioned, nor any of those that strove to revive it either in *Egypt* or *Abissinia*, ever did, that we can find, insist upon its being one, in order to reduce the people to the practice of it; but, on the contrary, when the *Portuguese* missionaries came first into these parts, they all unanimously complained of this abuse still existing among the clergy and laity, and of the great difficulty they found to bring their proselytes into their opinion concerning it (27).

(N) According to the *Coptic* ritual, the priest in office hath no sooner pronounced aloud the words of consecration, "This bread is my body, which is broken for you," &c. when the whole congregation express their assent with three loud *A-mens*, and add, in the same high tone, "We believe it, we are sure of it, and praise thee for it, and verily believe that this

(26) *Le Grand. Dissert. xii. de Eucharist. et Petit. p. 329, et seq.* (27) *Alvares, Telles, Codign, Ludolph, et al.*

The people
join the
priest with
more de-
votion.

belief concerning this important point, and, at the same time, shew them the excellency of the *Coptic* liturgy, and manner of celebration of this divine office, above that of the church of *Rome*. In the former, he will hear the officiating prelate, or priest, exhorting the congregation with a loud voice, and in a language well understood by them, to join their prayers with his through the whole ceremony, and them, in the same loud tone, professing their readiness to do so; when he declares to them, that the bread he hath blessed is Christ's body, broken for the remission of sins, they immediately answer, *Amen, Amen, Amen*, and confessing their belief of its being really so, and blessing God for it; and so on through the rest of the office^d. Whereas, at the *Roman* mass, whether high or low, sung or said, the whole office of consecration is celebrated by the priest alone, and with such a low voice as not to

^d Vid. Liturg. Copt. vers. Rom. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 5, et 6, pass. LE GRAND, ubi sup. Dissert. xii. p. 326, et seq.

"is thy body."—In like manner, to the words of consecration of the wine, "This cup is my blood," &c. they unanimously answer "*Amen*, it is verily thy blood, and we believe it to be so." The priest goes on, "Do this in remembrance of me," and they answer, "Lord, we shew forth thy death, we believe thy resurrection and ascension, and expect thy second coming." After he hath finished the prayer of consecration and breaking of the bread, the subdeacon and people answer, "The hosts of angels stand up before the Saviour of the world, and round about the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; let us draw near with faith before the face of our Lord, and worship him."

In giving the bread to the communicants, which he doth after he hath received it him-

self, he says, "This is the bread of life which came down from heaven, and is verily the body of *Emanuel*, our God, *Amen*." To which the receiver says *Amen*. "This is the cup of salvation (or of life) which came down from heaven, and is the precious blood of Christ, *Amen*." To which the receiver answers *Amen, Amen*. The same they do at the end of the public prayer, thanksgiving, and blessing, which conclude the holy action. From this short sketch of the *Coptic* communion-office, compared with that of the *Roman* mass, our reader will easily perceive to which of the two the preference ought to be given, either with regard to public edification, or nearest approach to the practice of the primitive church. The reader may see the remainder of that holy office in the *Coptic* ritual, and in the authors quoted below (28).

(28) Ludolph, l. iii. c. 5, et 6, pass. Le Grand, Diss. xii. de Eucharist. p. 326, et seq.

be heard, much less joined in, or answered, by the people, who are perhaps running over their beads, or praying to some favourite saint, during the whole solemn ceremony : so that the main difference between the *Abissinians* and *Romanists*, with regard to the celebration of those holy mysteries, chiefly consists in this, that, among the former, none but priests and deacons are admitted into the choir or chancel, and consequently do not see how the service is performed, but hear and understand every prayer and thanksgiving that is sung or chaunted in it, and answer to each in their turn : whereas, among the latter, the laity sees every thing that is done at the altar, but neither hear what is said, nor, for the most part, rightly understand what is meant by any part of that office. Both may have been designed to excite a deeper regard in the laity for that solemn rite; but it will require no depth of thought to judge which of the two is most likely to do so in the most rational way. All that we shall add, with respect to the holy communion, is, that it never is to be celebrated any-where but at church; not even the emperor himself having the privilege to have the consecrated elements brought to him upon any emergency or pretence, much less to have them consecrated at home, or any-where but in the choir or chancel of the church : neither have they any stated times for the administration of it to the clergy or people; they being left at liberty to receive it oftener or seldomer, as best suits with their devotion, provided the office be performed once a day in every church by a priest, assisted by a subpresbyter, deacon, subdeacon, and one or two inferior attendants or servants.

The holy communion not given out of the church.

THE *Coptic* church hath had, from time immemorial, a Ceremony rite for anointing the sick, with a particular oil, different from the *Meyron* and *Galileum*, formerly mentioned, but blessed with great solemnity by the priest; which rite is observed also in *Abissinia*, in conformity to the precept in the Gospel¹; pursuant to which, they interpret the term *sick*, as including all the diseases of the body, mind, and soul, even down to madmen and demoniacs. It is, however administered, as in the church of *Rome*, at the last extremity, and when the patient is passed all hopes of recovery; upon which account it is called extreme unction: nor is it conveyed to them in their houses, when they lie in the last agonies in their beds, but only in their churches; to which they must either repair or be carried, before it can be administered to them. They have added sundry superstitious ceremonies to that ancient

¹ *Ibid. ibid.*

² MARK VI. 7—13. JAMES V. 14.

Performed rite: such as having seven priests to assist at it, lighting a lamp with seven wicks, whose oil being blessed by holy water, signs of the cross, prayers, incense, and processioning, is made fit for anointing the person with, who is to walk or be carried from the church-doors, where the ceremony begins, to the altar, where the unction and blessing conclude it. From all which circumstances, and many others less worth taking notice of, it plainly appears to be a quite different rite from

Different from the Romish extreme unction. the *Romish* extreme unction; and much more so, when we are told by the *Portuguese* missionaries ^a, that they never saw any thing like this last performed in *Abissinia*. So that we shall give ourselves no further trouble in confuting those *French* Jesuits, who, with more sophistry than truth, have endeavoured to make it appear not only one and the same rite, but to be held both by the *Coptic* and *Abissinian* church as one of the pretended seven sacraments they have in common with the *Romish* church ^b. As to the other two, ordination and marriage, which the same authors have crowded amongst them, to make their number complete, we shall refer our readers to what hath been said already upon those two heads ^c.

Ordination and marriage no sacraments.

WE have now gone through the most material branches of the *Abissinian* religion; not only with regard to their faith and practice, but likewise to the most remarkable errors and superstitions. We might indeed have dwelt much longer on the last of these articles, had it been worth our readers while to be acquainted with all the various branches into which they are reported to have sunk, partly through the ignorance of their clergy, and partly from their own natural proneness to it, above all Christian churches, if we may credit all that hath been written and urged against them, particularly with regard to the great number of superstitious customs which they have imbibed from the *Jews*, and still retain to this day. Neither shall we need to wonder much at it, considering the ignorance in which both clergy and laity are brought up, and the little benefit they have from schools and books of divinity, when we compare them with the many heathenish ones that have, from less excusable motives, been introduced into other churches, which yet abounded with all those great helps, of which they are unhappily deprived. We cannot therefore close this section more fitly than by giving our reader some short account of the manner in which they educate and

^a De hoc, vide CODIGN, l. i. c. 35. TELLEZ, l. i. c. 31. ALF. MEND. & al. Vide LUDOLPH. Comment. p. 267, & alib.

^b BERNAT & LE GRAND, ubi sup. Diff. xiii.

^c See before, p. 182, & seq.

instruct

instruct their youth. It may well be wondered, that so vast an empire as that of *Abissinia*, in which Christianity had been planted so many centuries, if not from the earliest times of the apostles ^k, and which swarms with such numbers of monks and priests, should have been so negligent of the instruction of youth, as to have neither universities nor even public schools to breed them up, if not in other kinds of learning, at least in the fundamentals of religion. And one would be rather inclined to credit the fabulous account of the *Dominican* friar, who gives us the most pompous detail of their noble academies, learned libraries, and public schools, founded in every city and town by the old *Abissinian* monarchs and nobles for that very intent (O), and still flourishing in his

* See before, p. 146, & seq.

(O) Among other romantic fables, which that monkish triester so confidently reports, the description of the imperial library, and treasury of the Holy Cross, may well pass for one of the greatest pieces of forgery that is to be met with among all his fellow-writers. His words are to this effect (29):

“The library and treasury of the emperor are two rare pieces, whereon wonder may justly fix her eye; neither of which are to be matched in all the world. The library of *Constantinople*, which contained 120,000 volumes, nor that of *Pergames* of 200,000, nor that of *Alexandria*, wherein *Aulus Gellius* reckoned 700,000, were they still remaining, would come vastly short of this we speak of. The number of books contained in it is almost inconceivable, and their price inestimable. The queen of *Sheba*, they report, procured them hither from all parts, besides those many which *Solomon* presented her with; and, from that time to this, the *Abissinian* monarchs have imitated her in

the like care and diligence.— There are three spacious halls, each above 200 paces long, stored with books in all sciences, written on fine parchment, embellished with golden letters, and other costly work both of writing, binding, and covering; some even with the floor, and others on shelves one above another. Few of them are of paper, that being of late invention.”

“There are the writings of *Enoch*, transcribed from the stones on which they were engraven, which treat of philosophy, the heavens, and elements. Others, which go under the name of *Noah*, treat of cosmography, mathematics, religious ceremonies, and prayers. Some of those composed by *Abraham*, when he dwelt in the valley of *Mamre*, where he read public lectures on philosophy and mathematics. There are a great number said to have been written by *Solomon*, others by *Jeb*, after he was restored to his former prosperity. Many others of *Ezra*, the prophets, and

(29) *U. etia*, *Hist. d'Ethiop.* l. i. c. 9.

No acad-
emies or
schools for
youth.

his time, did not the concurrent testimony of so many eye-witnesses contradict, in every instance, all that he hath so confidently advanced on that subject^m; inasmuch that there neither remains any footsteps or remembrance of such academies, or places for public instruction, having ever existed among them, if their language hath any proper name for them.

THE

* Vide, inter al. CODIGN. l. i. c. 17.

Jewish high priests; and besides the four canonical Gospels, several others attributed to St. *Bartholomew*, *Thomas*, *Andrew*, and other apostles. Many others of the *Sibyls*, in prose and verse; the works of queen *Candace*, those of all the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Syrian*, *Egyptian*, &c. fathers, translated; the *Talmud*, and all the old *Hebrew* writers, *Roman* and *Greek* historians, philosophers, poets, and a vast variety of others, too tedious to mention. When *Jerusalem* was destroyed by *Titus*, and when the *Saracens* over-ran the Christian world, many of their books were conveyed thence into *Ethiopia*; and when *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* expelled the *Jews* out of *Spain*, many of them entered *Ethiopia*, and enriched this library with their books; and when *Charles V.* restored the *Mulattos* to their country, *Prester John*, hearing of the famed library of *Tunis*, sent and bought above 3000 volumes more, in all arts and sciences."

"There are above two hundred monks appointed to take care of this library, and each has the charge of such books as are written in the languages he is master of; and the abbot, who is set over them, is strictly charged with the care of the

whole library by the emperor, who esteems it much more than his treasury."

And yet this treasury, according to the same author's pompous account, is a sea into which innumerable rivulets have been pouring their yearly tribute of gold; and all precious gems, in such plenty, ever since the time of the queen of *Sheba*, and without ever taking one penny out of it, that it is affirmed to be rich enough to buy one half of the world (30).

The same description he gives us, in another place, of their colleges or seminaries, of which, he says, every city hath two, one for the boys, the other for the girls; the one within the walls of the town, and the other at some small distance without. Each seminary is divided into three cloisters, the one for noblemen and gentlemen's children, the 2d for citizens, and the 3d for those of the meanest rank. Each class of them hath its several proper teachers, and neither they nor the children converse with those of the other. The boys are taught religion, arts, and sciences, according to their rank, and are allowed to go out on holidays, and visit relations. The girls are taught every thing proper for their sex

(30) *Id. ibid.* & *Purchas Pilgr.* l. vii. c. v. § 2.

and

THE construction and situation of their most noted monasteries^a, among the wildest rocks and deserts, and at a distance from places of resort, plainly shews they never were founded for any such design. Tho' their clergy are numerous and indigent enough to undertake so laudable a province, were there proper places and salaries appointed for them, especially as their priestly function takes up so little of their time; yet we do not find, from our *Portuguese* and other writers, that any of them are ever employed in that useful work any-where but at church: so that all that their own and the children of the laity learn of their religion must be *They learn from them these, or from their parents at home.* In the former, from those short portions of Scripture that are read there^o, and a few homilies and expositions that follow the lectures, and perhaps from their catechists, who, in all probability, have some set seasons for instructing the young people in the fundamentals of their religion, particularly in their short catechism, of which we shall subjoin the substance, as the abba *Gregory* gave it to Mr. *Ludolph*. Whatever else they learn beside, must be at home from their own parents, and that cannot be considerable, seeing they can teach them no more than they know themselves; and that is found very little, not only in the laity, but even in the most learned of their clergy, from all the accounts we have of them. This universal ignorance in both, whether encouraged by the emperors upon any particular views, which we cannot find out,

^a See before, p. 154, & seq.

^o See before, p. 149, & seq.

and rank; but are not allowed to go out. The boys are kept in theirs from 10 to 16, and the girls from 9 to 16. The emperor himself is obliged to send his children to receive their education in these academies. All which, and other particulars relating to them, as well as all the rest of that author's romantic fustian, hath been fully answered by the learned Jesuit *Codignus* (31); and is plainly confuted by the different accounts which all the *Portuguese* writers give us of that empire. But we shall take a proper occasion to

give our readers a short abstract of this monstrous romance in the close of this history; and this more especially, as his fraternity have taken such care to destroy all the copies they could get into their hands, that it is become exceedingly scarce, and difficult to be met with in the original; much more in our *English* tongue, in which we have only a short epitome, or abstract, of it in the end of Dr. *Gedder's* history of the *Ethiopian* church; which book is now no less scarce than curious and useful.

(31) *De Abassin. reb.* l. i. c. 17, & al. pass.

*Schools set
up by the
missiona-
ries.*

*Plays act-
ed in them,
which
frighten
the people.*

*Substance
of the
Abissi-
nian cate-
chism.*

or by their *Abunas*, and *Alexandrian* patriarchs, in order to confirm them the more in their subjection to that see, is so much the more deplorable, as we are assured by so many hands, that the *Abissinian* youth are, for the generality, endowed with great vivacity of parts, quick understanding, and a natural disposition for a much better education : and on this account it was, that the *Portuguese* missionaries made it one of their first and chief cares to supply that defect, by setting up as many schools and seminaries as they could, where-ever they were settled. Such an one was that we read of, in which were educated sixty boys, partly *Abissinians*, and partly *Portuguese*; the latter designed to draw in the former. These boys having been taught, among other things, to act some dramatic pieces after the *European* manner, their parents, and other natives, were admitted to see them. In one of which, we are told, they chanced, as the plot required it, to introduce some demons upon the stage ; at sight of which, the *Abissinians*, who took them for real spirits, were so affrighted, that they all ran out with the utmost speed, crying out, *Away, away, they have brought devils hither with them* ^p.

THE substance of the *Abissinian* catechism, according to abbot *Gregory* above-mentioned, runs thus.

Q. What God do you believe in ?

A. *In the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; three persons, and one God,*

Q. Of these three persons, which is the first, and which is the last ; which is the greatest, and which is the least ?

A. *None is first, nor none is last, none greater, nor none less, but they are in all respects equal.*

Q. How many persons are there ?

A. *Three.*

Q. How many Gods ?

A. *One.*

Q. How many Deities ?

A. *One.*

Q. How many kingdoms ?

A. *One.*

Q. How many Powers ?

A. *One.*

Q. How many Creators ?

A. *One.*

Q. How many Wills ?

A. *One.*

Q. Is there any time in God ?

† LUDOLPH, l. iiii. c. ii. §. 38.

A. *None ;*

A. None; for he is from all eternity, and will be to all eternity.

Q. Where is God?

A. Every-where, and in every thing.

Q. Is the Father God?

A. He is most certainly.

Q. Is the Son God?

A. He is.

Q. Is the Holy Ghost God?

A. He is.

Q. Then, there are three Gods?

A. I do not say there are three Gods, but three persons, and one God only.

Q. Who beget the Son?

A. God the Father; and the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father, and receiveth of the Son.

Q. Shew me some kind of similitude to illustrate the three persons in one Godhead?

A. The Sun; although he be identically one, is nevertheless endowed with three properties, viz. rotundity, light, and heat: in like manner, we believe in one God, and that in him exist three persons, viz. Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who are in all respects equal.

Q. Which of those three persons was born for our redemption?

A. The Second, who is the Son of God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

Q. How many nativities belong to him?

A. Two; the first is from his Father, without mother, and without time; and the second from our Lady the Virgin Mary, without father, and in time, she continuing still in her virginity.

Q. Is our Lord Jesus Christ man or God?

A. He is both God and man in one person, without distinction or change, without confusion or mixture.

• IN the like manner, the Abissinians believe and teach all the General other articles of faith concerning him, viz. his baptism, fast-belief, temptations, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension into heaven, and his mission of the Holy Ghost on the apostles: that he shall come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead: that he is really present at the sacrament of the Eucharist: that the dead shall rise again at the last day: that the just shall inherit the kingdom of heaven; and that sinners shall be sent into hell. They likewise believe a catholic church, as expressed in the Nicene creed, compiled by the ortho-

orthodox council of *Nice*, anno 318⁹. This is all that can with any certainty be affirmed concerning the *Abissinian* faith, until the Divine Providence shall be pleased to furnish us with means of being better acquainted with their authentic writings on that subject, or have their faith and practice transmitted to us by less partial hands than, it is to be feared, we have hitherto had them^r.

We have had no certain intelligence from thence since the expulsion of the missionaries.

Wansleb sent thither by the elector of Saxony.

WE may safely say, that, since the coming away of the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez* (and it is plain neither he nor any of the rest of the missionaries were curious, or troubled themselves much, in collecting or bringing what books they could from thence), we have received very little intelligence from that country. And it is no small matter of regret, that Mr. *Wansleb*, who was sent thither by the elector of Saxony, and had learned the *Ethiopic* tongue under Mr. *Ludolph*, met with such unfurmoutable obstacles and dangers in his attempt to penetrate into that empire, in order to bring from thence all the liturgies, and other writings that money could procure; as he was a very good judge of them, and was supplied by that prince with sufficient sums for that purpose: so that finding it impossible to get admittance into *Abissinia*, he contented himself with buying as many as he could get in *Egypt*, and other parts. Some discontents, which happened to him afterwards, or, as he expresses it, the perusing of these liturgies, made such an impression upon his mind, that, being quite dissatisfied with his own religion, he renounced *Lutheranism*, and took the *Dominican* habit at *Rome*. From that time, he became a zealous profelyte to that church (P), to the great regret

† Abba GREGOR. apud Ludolph.

‡ See before, p. 9, & seq.

(P) *Michael Wansleb* was a native of *Ertzfurt*, vulgarly called *Erfort*, a city in the electorate of *Mentz*; but, since it embraced the *Ausburg* confession, under the protection of the dukes of *Saxony*. He had been brought up under Mr. *Ludolph*, and was a master of the oriental languages; and, as such, recommended to that prince as a proper person for that commission (32). Soon after his ill success, and turning

monk at *Rome*, he was again recommended to the great Mr. *Colbert*, who sent him into the *Levant* upon the same errand; where he accordingly purchased above 500 MSS. which were afterwards conveyed to *Paris*, and placed in the king's library; but finding all his fresh attempts to get entrance into *Abissinia* frustrated, he returned into *France*, anno 1676, and died there some years after.— Before that time, he had caused

(32) Vide Ludolph. Comm. Proem. I. p. 20. & in lib. iii. c. 14. §. 135. Le Grand, Relat. d'Abissin. p. 157, & 196, et alibi.

regret and mortification of the duke his benefactor, and of all his friends *, who expected greater things from him; and an end was put, on that side, to all future endeavours of getting either books or any other intelligence from those parts. And as for the missionaries, they have been forced to draw all their accounts concerning what happened there since their expulsion, from *Cairo in Egypt*, and from such hands as can give the reader but little satisfaction; there being still a much wider difference between them; and, what is much worse, the contests are risen to such a height, and so much been written by both parties, and with such confidence and animosity, as leaves one scarcely room to guess on which side the truth or the slander lies †.

* See LUDOLPH, Proem. i. c. 90, 94. LOBO, Relat. de l'Abiss. p. 157, 196. † See before, p. 9—20. and the close of the next Section.

the liturgy of *Dioscorus*, the heretic patriarch of *Alexandria*, to be printed at *London*, anno 1661; and, before he went upon his second enterprize, he published a list of the works which he designed to have printed in the *Ethiopic* tongue, together with an account of the present state of *Egypt*, in *Italian*. These two appeared, anno 1671; and, upon his return, he published a fresh relation of his voyage into *Egypt*, annis 1672 and 1673. Soon after which followed his history of the *Alexandrian* church.

He left likewise a catalogue of all the *Abissinian* MSS. which he had either seen, purchased, or copied, during his stay there, together with an imperfect manuscript account of the then state of *Abissinia*. Lastly, there appeared a book in *English*, printed at *London* by *Jonathan Edwin*, intituled, *A short ac-*

count of the rebellions and bloodshed, occasioned by the Jesuits and other popish emissaries in the empire of *Abissinia*, collected out of a MS. history written in Latin by John Michael Wansleben, a learned papist: *De rebellione & turbis tempore patrum societatis in Habassia excitatis*. Which book was compiled from that author's writing, as Mr. Ludolph believes it to be; yet must be supposed to have been very much mutilated, and blended with a great deal of fabulous trash by the compiler. However that be, Mr. Wansleb's proceedings have too far impaired his character, not only in the opinion of the Protestants (33), but in that also of the *Romish* fathers, to be depended on (34), whatever these may say to extenuate them, in order to prop up the credit of his writings.

(33) Ludolph, ubi sup.

(34) Le Grand, ubi sup.

SECT.

S E C T. X.

The Chronology, Succession, and Series, of the Abissinian Monarchs; and their History from the time of the Portuguese coming thither, to that of their Expulsion from thence.

The Abissinian

chronology
very lame;

and our
intelli-
gence con-
cerning it
much more
so.

The usurp-
ing mon-
archs
struck out
of the list.

WE have had frequent occasion, as well in our Antient^a as this Modern history of *Abissinia*; to observe how imperfect, maimed, and uncertain, all the records and histories of that antient and potent empire are. We shall find them still more deficient in point of their chronology, in the settling of their various epochs, the numbering the years of their monarchs reigns, and other material transactions; and, lastly, we shall, even in those few scraps, as we may justly call them, which they have preserved upon their most important events, or, at least, in those which the *Portuguese* missionaries have been able to procure from thence^b, observe some material differences, which they themselves could not reconcile.— They were taken from two manuscripts, which, besides that they vary with each other in many particulars, reckon only one hundred emperors from *Menilehech*, the son of *Solomon* and *Makeda* queen of *Sheba*, down to their great friend and patron, Sultan *Jassok-Adyan-Sagged*, or *Segued*; but without mentioning either the times in which they flourished, or the length of their reigns. One of them reckons 24 of them before Christ, and from thence to the time of his writing, that is, in the time of *Faciludus*, or *Basilides*, the son and successor of *Segued* above-mentioned, about the year 1659, only 68; yet makes the sum total, if it be not an error of the press, 99; whereas 24 and 68 make in all but 92; unless we will suppose the other seven to have been of the *Zaguean* family, who usurped the *Abissinian* throne during the space of 340 years, and are, for that reason, struck out of the list of the true descendants of the *Solomonic* race. This last will appear the less improbable, if we consider that those lists take no notice even of the women of the *Solomonic* line, as were the queen of *Sheba*, queen *Candace*, and the empress *Helene*; which is rightly supposed to have been in conformity to the *Jewish* custom, which, as *St. Jerom* observes, excluded the females out of their genealogies; and if so, much more

^a Vol. xviii. p. 300, & seq. ^b De his, vide *ALMEYDA*, *TELLEZ*, lib. i. c. 27. *LUDOLPH*. lib. ii. c. 2, & seq.

would

would they such a list of usurpers. Conformably to which, we have heretofore shewn, that those *Israelitish* kings, which are omitted by St. *Matthew*, in his genealogy of *Jesus Christ*, were excluded out of it on that very account, that is, for want of a legal title; which doth perfectly account for the difference between his and that of St. *Luke*, and of the *Chronicles*. Add to this, with respect to what we are upon, that those seven *Zaguean* reigns, if we may guess at their duration from two of them, viz. those of *Latibela* and his son, each of whom are said to have reigned 40 years, they will come pretty near the 340 years of their usurpation above-mentioned; of which we shall give a further account in the sequel.

FROM those two imperfect records, the one of which was taken from that often mentioned, which is kept in the great church of *Axuma*, and the other from a book, then in the possession of the emperor *Segued*, by Father *Emanuel d'Almeyda*, the only material transactions belonging to the antient as well as modern history, which can be reduced into a chronological order, are these that follow (A).

THE queen of *Sheba* came into *Judea* in or about the year *Queen of*
before Christ 992, and of the world ——— 3012 *Sheba*.

SHE reigned 25 years after her return, and was
succeeded by her son *Menilehech*, — — —

3037
*Menile-
hech*.

MENILEHECH reigned 29 years, and was
cotemporary with his father, and 18 years more
with his son *Rheboam*, and died.

* See Ant. Hist. vol. x. p. 452, & seq. in the notes.

(A) Before we go further, it will not be improper to apprise our readers of two things, with respect to the *Abissinian* computation of time; the one, that they begin their year at the autumnal equinox, in which season they believe the world to have been created; the other, that they compute the numbers of years from the creation to the birth of *Christ* to be 5500, which is eight years short of the *Septuagint* reckoning, which the *Greek*, *Armenian*, and some other churches follow. This error is

also crept into their computation of the Christian era; so that whoever will rightly understand it, must be sure to add always those eight years to it. How this defect came to be introduced among them, is variously conjectured, and hardly worth our farther inquiry (1). In other cases, they make use of the old *Egyptian* year, consisting of twelve months, of 30 days each, with the proper intercalary ones, to reduce it to the true solar.

(1) De hoc, vide Gregor. apud Ludolph. lib. III. c. 5. §. 97, et seq.

FROM *Sadgur*, the son of *Menileheck*, proceeded, in a lineal descent, 24 princes; the length of whose reigns is not set down; but, in the eighth year of which last, whom the chronicle calls *Pheen*, was our Saviour born,

4004

FROM this æra of our Saviour's birth to the joint reigns of the two brothers *Abra* and *Abza*, or, as the commemoration made for the rest of their souls hath it, *Remember, Lord, the Ethiopian monarchs*, *Abrehe* and *Atzbahe*, reckoned 13 emperors more, whose names, and the years of whose reigns, are also omitted, elapsed 327 years; in the last of which, *Fruementius* was sent by St. *Athanasius* into *Ethiopia*, where he converted the *Abissinians* to the Christian faith^d.

Atzfa,
Atzfed,
and
Amay.

THE chronicles go on, and give a strange account of three other brothers, who agreed to reign jointly and amicably over the whole empire. Their names are *Atzfa*, *Atzfed*, and *Amay*, who, we are told, to prevent all discord and interfering between them, bethought themselves of an odd expedient; which was to divide the day into three parts, and to hold the reins alternately each his third part, or eight hours. A strange way of government this! but which, if we will believe the *Abissine* legends, succeeded to a miracle; for if, at any time, one of the brothers differed or fell out with another, the third was ready to interpose, and act as umpire between them^e.

Arado,
Aladoba,
and Alamid.

THOSE, of whose lives and reigns we have no farther account, were succeeded by *Arado*, *Aladoba*, and *Alamid*, or, as *Tellez* calls him, *Amiamid*, in whose reigns vast numbers of monks and anchorites came out of *Egypt* hither, with a view of propagating Christianity, and the monastic life. *Alamid* was succeeded by *Tacena*, and he by *Caleb*; about which time, new colonies of monks and ascetics came from *Rum*, and settled in the kingdom of *Tigre*; that is, about the time of the emperor *Justinian*, near the year of Christ 521, or 522. *Caleb*, having subdued the *Sabeen* or *Homerite* kingdom, by the defeat and death of the *Jewish* king *Dunavas* (B), is said to have sent his crown to *Jerusalem*, to be there suspended

Tacena.

Caleb,
who con-
quers the
Homer-
ites.

^d De his, vide Ant. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 326, & sup. p. 142.

^e TELLEZ, lib. iv. c. 29. LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. iv. §. 19, & seq.

(B) This *Caleb*, who was nephew to *Amiamid* above-mentioned, is the same whom some Greek and Latin writers call *Elefbaan* (2), which might probably be his *Ethiopic* Christian

(2) De hoc, vide Niceph. Callist. l. xvii. Baron. Ann. ad ann. 522. Ludolph. l. ii. c. 4. §. 23, & seq.

name,

suspended in the great church of St. *Sepulchre*, in memory of his signal success against that bitter enemy and persecutor of the Christians [†].

He was succeeded by *Gebra Mesket*, whose name imports *Gebra the servant of the cross*, a wife and peaceable prince; who, *Mesket*, we are told, made an alliance with the emperor *Justinian* above-named [‡]. His two next successors were *Constantine* and *Frezena*; and, after them, were fifteen more, all of the same *Constantine*, *Solomonic* line: the last of whom was named *Del-Noad*, who *Frezena* reigned till about the year 960, when the succession passed *deposed*. into the *Zagean* family; and the usurpation began, which lasted 340 years, and of which we are now going to give the best account we can find out of those imperfect memoirs we have of it, not so much from any authentic records, as from what the *Abissinians* call an undoubted tradition, which is as follows.

TREDDA GABEZ, a woman, who, for her impiety, *The Z-* cruelty, lewdness, and other enormous vices, was surnamed *geanufur-* *Essat*, or *fire-brand*, found means, about this time (960), to *patien be-* destroy not only *Del-Noad*, the emperor on the throne, but *gun by* the whole imperial family, in order to raise a son of hers, *Tredda* whom she had by the governor of *Bugna*, to the *Ethiopian* *Gabez*,

[†] See the *Abissins* Poet, apud LUDOLPH. lib. ii. c. 4. §. 39.

[‡] PROCEP. Bell. Pers. lib. i. c. 9.

name, or, with the *Arabic* article *el*, *El-etzbaba*; it being very common for the *Abissinian* emperors to have two or more names. Both the *Romans* and *Abissinians* have ranked him among the saints, on account of the two great victories which he gained over a *Jewish* prince, named *Danevas*, then king of the *Homerites*, and a great persecutor of the Christians.

Elefbaan was prevailed upon by the *Alexandrian* patriarch to undertake that war against him; in which he proved so successful, that he slew him in the second battle, and seized upon his whole kingdom, which put an end to that of the *Homerites*, or

Sabeans, as well as to their horrid persecutions of the Christians: in one of which, 340, with the martyr *Aretas* at their head, were burnt alive all together in one day in the city of *Nagran*, or *Najran*. This new kingdom was afterwards divided, and one part of it was given to the son of the martyr *Aretas*, together with the city of *Nagran*, which became the place of his residence. The other was made tributary to *Elefbaan*, and continued so 72 years, that is, till about anno 578, when *Said Ebn Yazan*, having made an alliance with the *Persians*, shook off the yoke, as we have shewn in our *Ancient History* (3).

(3) *Ibid. ibid.* See also *Ant. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 328, et seq.

who de-
thrones
the Solo-
monic
race.

Four of the
usurpers
good
princes.

The Solo-
monic
race re-
stored.

Icon A-
mac, and
his succef-
sors.

throne; so that not one of the unhappy family escaped, except one, who fled for shelter into the kingdom of *Shewa*, or *Xaao*, where his posterity was preserved with the utmost privacy by the *Xaao* viceroys, who were all faithfully attached to the line of *Solomon*, during the 340 years of the *Zagean* usurpation. The *Abissinians*, however, who, as we observed a little higher, never acknowledged that new race as their princes, but only as so many usurpers, have obliterated their names; so that we should perhaps have never heard of them, had not two or three of them taken care to eternize themselves by some glorious deeds, particularly the great *Lalibela*, formerly mentioned, who left many indelible monuments of his piety and magnificence, by the ten noble churches which he caused to be hewn out of the solid rock^h, and by other famous actions, for which, in spite of all their aversion to his family, they have not scrupled to number him among their saints. This is, indeed, by far the most illustrious of all; but yet we have the names of two or three more, who still bear a very great character among them, viz. *Degna Michael*, *Newaja Christos*, and *Naacu Luabo*; the last of whom they extol as a peaceable, magnanimous, and beneficent prince, and highly beloved of Godⁱ. Who, how many, and what kind of princes they were, that filled the throne during the rest of these 340 years, we are not told; nor by what means the crown returned to the descendants of *Solomon*; but only that, about the year 1300, the *Zagean* family being driven from the throne, *Icon Amlac*, or, as others call him, *Igunu Amlac*, whose predecessors had been preserved in the kingdom of *Xaao* during the whole time of the usurpation, recovered the *Abissinian* throne: from which period it hath continued in the *Solomonic* line to this time. *Icon*, or *Aikun Amlac*, whom they reckon the 66th monarch from *Menilech*, reigned 15 years; and from him to the emperor *Zaara Jaacob*, who reigned about the year 1437, they reckon fifteen more; whose names, as they are still found either in their liturgies, or some other of their writings, are as follow, according to the order they stand in the imperial list^k.

66. *IGHUNU*, or *Icon Amlac*. 67. *Jagbea Tzejm*, or *Agbascon*. 68. *Baharsarda*, or *Bahar Azgued*. 69. *Esbraad*. 70. *Cadem Saghed*. 71. *Zenzagued*. 72. *Udimrad*. 73. *Amdet-zion*. 74. *Scifaarad*. 75. *Ulmuasfan*. 76. *David*. 77. *Theodore*. 78. *Isaac*. 79. *Andrea*. 80. *Hefbinaan*. 81. *Amde Jesus*.

^h De his, vide sup. p. 104, & seq.

ⁱ LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 5. §. 13. ^k ALF. MENDEZ, TELLEZ, ALVAREZ, LUDOLPH, & al. supra citat.

whose.

whose successor was the *Zar-a Jaacob* above-mentioned, whom they reckoned their 82d emperor.

ZAR-A JAACOB began his reign, as has been observed, *Zar-a A. G.* 1437, in which the *Florentine* council sat, to which, *Jaacob*, being a prince of learning and great penetration, he sent his ambassadors with a letter to *Pope Eugenius IV.* as we shall see in the sequel. He was succeeded by,

83. *BOEDA MARIAM*, about *an.* 1465, who died after *Bœda* a ten years reign, and left the government to his widow, the *Mariam*. empress *Helena*... His successor was,

84. *ALEXANDER*, or *Escander*, who reigned fif- *Alexan-* teen years and six months; that is, from 1475 to 1491. *der.* In whose reign, *Peter Covillan* came into the empire of *Abissinia*, he being the first *Portuguese* that ever penetrated so far into it. He was succeeded by his son,

85. *AMDA IZGON*, or *Amdson*, who died six months *Amda-* after without male issue, and left the crown to his uncle, *Izgon*.

86. *NAOD*, the son of *Bœda Mariam*, who was called to *Naod*. the crown from his confinement on the rock *Gesbem*¹, to which *Alexander* had confined him. He reigned thirteen years and nine months, and died about *an.* 1507. To him succeeded,

87. *ETANA-DENGHEL*, or *Lebna-Denghel*; more *Onag-* commonly known by the names of *Onag-Segued* and *Da-* *Segued.* *vid*; which last he took upon his accession to the crown. He reigned from *an.* 1507 to *an.* 1540: and it was to this *The Por-* prince that the king of *Portugal* sent that embassy, of which *tuguese* *Francisco Alvarez* was appointed chaplain, and of which he *ambassy.* gave the public so curious a relation.

88. His son, and successor, was *Claudius Segued*, or *Claudius*, *Atznaf-Segued*; who had but a very unfortunate reign; being harassed on all sides with grievous wars against the *Gallas* and *Mohammedans*, who would quickly have swallowed up his whole empire, had not Providence sent to his assistance the brave *Don Christopher de Gama*, of whose success we shall speak more fully in the sequel. *Segued*, however, lost his life in a fight against the *Gallas*, in *March*, *an.* 1559, after a tedious reign of a little above eighteen years; and leaving no male issue behind, was succeeded by his brother's son.

89. *MENAS*, surnamed at his coronation *Adama Se-* *Adama-* *gued*, who had reigned little more than four years before *Segued*, he was murdered by his own foldiers, in a fight against *Isaac*, one of the revolted *Bahr-nagasb's*, or governors of the maritime provinces, in *April*, 1562. He was succeeded by his son,

¹ De hoc, vid. sup. p. 113.

Malak-
Segued.

90. *MALAK SEGUED*, who reigned some months above thirty-three years; and having no sons by his queen, had brought up a natural one of his, named *Jaacob*, whom he designed for his successor; but repenting of it a little before his death, left the crown to a son of his brother *Lacanaxos*, named,

Zedeng-
hel,

conspired
against,

and killed.

91. *ZEDENGHEL*, an. 1595, which proved the fatal cause of a most bloody civil war; many of the grandees taking *Jaacob's* part against him, on account of his too great propensity to the *Roman* church; though in other respects, a brave and noble prince ^m. *Peter*, the then Abuna, was the leader of that rebellion; and having absolved the *Abissinians* from their oath of allegiance, they took arms against him, whilst he, with the few forces he had left, and a small number of *Portuguese*, venturing to give them battle, was defeated and killed, *October 15, 1604*, after a short and troublesome reign of nine years. Upon his death, his competitor was again invited to the throne; but had not enjoyed it long, before he saw himself strenuously opposed by the great-grandson of *Etana Denghel*, al. *Onag Segued*, whose name was *Susneus*, or *Socinius*, a young prince, no less artful than brave. The contest lasted somewhat above two years, but was at length decided by an obstinate fight, *March 10, 1607*; in which, *Jaacob*, and the Abuna *Peter*, were killed on the spot.

Susneus
introduces
the Pope's
power.

The mis-
sionaries
expelled by
Faciladas.

SUSNEUS, the 92d monarch, having gained the day, and regained the crown, made no scruple of betraying the same inclination for the church of *Rome*, though it had cost his predecessor so dear; and gave such encouragement to the popish missionaries, that great numbers flocked thither during his reign, who would, in all likelihood, have established the Pope's authority in that empire, had not a stop been put to their progress by the unexpected death of that monarch, who died in *November, an. 1632*; and by the accession of his son *Faciladas*, or *Basilides*, to the crown, who proved as great an enemy, as his father had been a friend and patron, to them.

Thus far we have brought down the list of the ninety-two *Abissinian* monarchs, in the best chronological order we could, from the few records which the *Portuguese* writers have been able to procure, down to the time in which they wrote. But our readers will not be dissatisfied, if, to them, we add the names and reigns of those few more, which are

^m Id. ibid. vid. & Lobo, relat. pass. LE GRAND, dissert. v. p. 250. ix. p. 297, & seq.

come to our knowledge by other hands, since the total expulsion of the missionaries and Roman-catholics out of the empire, as they have been since transmitted into *Europe*, and have been collected by a late *French* author, and printed at *Paris*, an. 1728^a. They are these that follow.

93. *BASILIDES* took the name of *Adyam Segued*, and is the prince who issued out that decree against the Roman-catholics; for which he is represented as a favourer of *Mohammedism*, though an enemy to them. Several letters passed between him and the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez*, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel. He died about the year 1664, aged sixty-five, and was succeeded by his fourth son,

94. *JOHN*, who, on his accession, took the name of *John Aclaf Segued*, and died, an. 1680.

95. His son *Jawso*, or *Adyan Segued*, al. *Ayafous*, succeeded him; and is the prince to whom the physician *Poncet* was sent, by Mr. *Maillet*, the *French* consul at *Alexandria*. He was afterwards dethroned by his son,

96. *TAKLIMENOTH*, al. *Tekla Haymanoth*, an. 1706; and *Taklimanoth* was, for his perfidy, massacred by his own troops, an. 1709: and,

97. His brother *Tefilis* sat upon the throne. His reign was much of the same short duration as that of his predecessor; his prime minister, named *Oustas*, the son of a sister of *Josow Adyam Segued*, having dethroned him in the third year of his reign, and seized upon the crown: the *Abissinians*, however, did not suffer him to usurp the imperial dignity longer, than till they could raise prince *David*, another son of that monarch above-mentioned, to the throne; which was not done without a dreadful slaughter and massacre of both parties, as we are informed by some letters from *Moka*, dated *June*, 1718; from which it is concluded; that he was acknowledged emperor about the beginning of the year 1714^o.

Destroys the usurper.

FROM this maimed and imperfect scantling we have given of the *Abissinian* chronology and history, which is all that the missionary fathers have been able to collect from their books and traditionary records, our readers will easily perceive what a barren field we are got into, and how little is to be found or said upon that subject, till we come to the time of the *Portuguese* arrival in that empire. One might indeed have expected, that after the effectual abolition of

The Abissinian records maimed and imperfect.

^a See LE GRAND, dissertat. v. p. 247, & seq.
LE GRAND, dissertat. v. p. 251, & 473.

• See

since the
restaura-
tion of the
Solomon-
ic line ;

owing chiefly to the indolence of the people.

now to come to that remarkable period, which reaches from the first arrival of the *Portuguese* into those dominions, down to their final expulsion out of them. This epoch, which is fraught with the most important transactions, and transmitted by so many able pens, will, in some measure, make amends for the barrenness and obscurity of the former; especially if they be read with that caution, which we have ventured to hint, more than once, through the course of this chapter, with respect to that partiality with which they must be reasonably supposed to have been penned, in a case, wherein the credit and interest of the *Roman* church is so deeply concerned, and the writers are such professed, stanch, and indefatigable promoters of it ^p.

How this empire was at first discovered by *Peter Covillan* and *Michael Payva*, in their wild search after the famed and much sought-for one of *Prester John*, we have already seen ^{1490.}. The next attempt in quest of it was about seven years after, when *Vasco de Gama* first ventured to sail round the cape and coasts of *Africa*, and thence to the *East-Indies* ^{1497.}. Seven years after, *Alphonso d'Albuquerque*, following the same track, *Alphonso d'Albuquerque* was the first *European* that sailed through the streights of *Babel-mandel*, and spread the *Portuguese* name among the *Ethiopians*, by confirming all that *Covillan*, who was still alive, and had been detained there ever since his first arrival, had told them concerning their naval power, new discoveries and settlements in *Afric*, *India*, &c. This proved so much the more favourable a juncture for them, as the empire of *Abissinia* was at that time reduced to the lowest ebb, both by foreign wars and intestine broils, and governed by king *David*, a minor monarch, under the empress *Helena* his grandmother; who, though in all respects a person of a most excellent character, yet was now altogether incapable of holding the reins of government, under so many, and almost unsurmountable, difficulties, without some powerful assistance from abroad: so that she no sooner heard of the prowess, valour, and success of the *Portuguese*, than she resolved to apply to their king *Don Emanuel* for succour, and to enter into a treaty, strict alliance, and friendship, with that prince: and that she might succeed the better in it, she made choice of an *Armenian* merchant, named *Matthew*, a person every way qualified for such a commission, to be sent on an embassy to the court of *Portugal*. To oblige that prince

^{The empire reduced to a low ebb.}
^{The empress Helena's embassy to Portugal.}

^p See before, p. 9, & seq.

¹ See before, p. 30, & seq.

^r See before, vol. i. pass.

the more to her interest, she presented him with a piece of the holy cross, as a token of her Christian profession; which was soon after deposited in a gold box, which *Alphonso d'Albuquerque* caused to be made for that purpose. *Matthew* was likewise received by him with particular honour, and dispatched to *Lisbon*, where he likewise met with a most gracious reception from *Don Emanuel* and his whole court, who began to look on this embassy, and desired alliance, as an earnest of some singular advantage that would accrue both to him and the church of *Rome* from it; and was accordingly accepted with the utmost readiness.

Well received by king Emanuel. BUT before we enter into a farther detail of this transaction, which laid the foundation of that friendship and alliance between the *Portuguese* and *Abissinian* courts, and proved the cause of so many strange accidents and revolutions in the latter, it will not be amiss to resume the thread of it a little higher, in order to give some farther light into this part of their history. We have already hinted, that *Covillan* had been detained by the emperor *Alexander* ever since his arrival thither, according to the usual policy of those princes, not to suffer a stranger to stir again out of their dominions; but though detained a prisoner, yet he was not used in other respects like one: that prince, who is said to have been a second *Alexander* in generosity, having conceived a great value for him, as a person of valour and experience, and one who might be very serviceable to him both by his council and his courage. *Nahod*, his successor, treated him in the same manner all the thirteen years of his reign, and willingly heard him speak of the bravery, strength, and extensive commerce of his nation, and gladly consulted him on all occasions. This prince dying, left the government and tuition of his son, *Lebna Denghel*, since called *David*, then an infant, to his mother, the empress *Magueza*, and to the empress *Helena* his grandmother, who was the widow of *Breda Mariam*, and a princess justly esteemed by all for her extraordinary wisdom and piety; and who, in all likelihood, was advised by her *Portuguese* prisoner, to take the step she did, of inviting the king of *Portugal* to her assistance.

Covillan kept in Abissinia and much valued by the emperor. SHE was moreover immensely rich, and enjoyed vast fertile territories in the kingdom of *Gojam*; and having neither son nor daughter, bestowed the greatest part of her income in works of charity, and particularly in building stately churches, and endowing them with a munificence truly

truly royal (Q) : and as these were built quite in a different manner from those of *Abissinia**, it is not unlikely that the

* ALMEYDA, TELLEZ, LOBO, &c.

(Q) Our readers will not perhaps be displeased, if we give them a sketch of one of those noble structures, which that pious empress caused to be erected in the middle of the kingdom of *Gojam*, where the greatest part of her lands lay, and where she kept her usual residence. It was built on a beautiful eminence, in the territory of *Nebassa*, which is watered by the river *Nile*; and to have it completed in the most sumptuous manner, she sent for a considerable number of the best architects and workmen out of *Egypt*, at a vast expense. At the foot of the hill on which it stands, was built a large square inclosure of stone and clay, each of the sides 200 fathom long, and the wall full two yards thick, and about five in height; the whole so closely cemented together, that it could not be broke asunder without the greatest difficulty and labour (1).

In the centre of that precinct stands the church, all of square stones; the structure not of a round, as other churches of *Abissinia* are, but of a square figure, as well as the choir, or chancel, within. The walls are 104 feet in length, and the chapel about 60: the stones polished very smooth, with roses, pinks, lilies, and other flowers, curiously carved upon them, in such variety, and with such beautiful delicacy, as could hardly be outdone by

the pencil, or on wax, or any fine metal. Those flowers, we are farther told, were covered with gold and silver; the workmanship of which vastly exceeded the value of the metal (2).

The arc, or little altar (3), chalices, plates, and other sacred utensils, were no less rich and magnificent; and our author tells us, that he saw two of these altars in the time of Soltan *Segued*, all of solid gold; one of which weighed 800, and the other 500, ouqas, or ounces (4).

This fine edifice had, however, two considerable faults, in common with all those of the empire; the one, that they are much too dark; which, according to the notion of the *Abissinians*, adds something of solemn grandeur to them; especially, as all the divine service is performed in them by candle-light, whether by day or night. The other is, that they are all thatched with straw; which, considering the number of candles that are burning in them, exposes them to be frequently set on fire.

This noble structure had hardly stood twenty years, before its rich utensils inticed one *Granbe*, a *Mohammedan* general, to come and plunder it of all its wealth, and set fire to the rest, which was all (except the stones still standing) reduced to ashes.

(1) *Almeyda*, *ap. Tellez*, l. i. c. ii., *vid. sup.* p. 125.

(2) *Id. ibid.*
(4) *Almeyda*; *ut. sup.* *Ludolph*, *Lobo*, &c.

(3) *De*
same

The empire attacked within and without. same *Portuguese* gentleman was the chief architect and conductor of those noble structures, which being so much nearer to those of *Portugal*, might serve to give that princess a still greater idea of his nation. However that be, whilst she was thus employing her time and her wealth in such magnificent works, she saw the empire attacked by the *Mohammedans* without, and her government sadly disturbed by parties and factions within: so that, not knowing which way to turn herself, we need not wonder at her being so easily prevailed upon, by the politic *Covillan*, to send to *Portugal* for succour; a thing quite opposite to the common practice of all her predecessors; which, in the end, plainly shewed the remedy to have been worse than the disease. But to return to her ambassador:

Galvan sent ambassador by king Emanuel.

HE not only met with the utmost compliance from the *Portuguese* king; but as such an alliance appeared to be of the utmost consequence both to him and the church of *Rome*. He made no delay to send the empress a solemn embassy in return to hers, and nominated to it the famous *Edward Galvan*, a man of excellent capacity and great experience; who, after having served his two predecessors in the quality of secretary of state, had been afterwards sent ambassador into *Germany*, *France*, and *Rome*, and was every way qualified for such an important commission, had not his extreme old-age made him unfit for so long and dangerous a journey. He set out, however, with a suitable retinue, and a numerous fleet, commanded by *Lopez Alvarez*, and laden with magnificent presents for the young *Abissinian* emperor, and his excellent protectress and grandmother, the empress

Alvarez sent chaplain to the embassy.

Helena. *Francis Alvarez*, probably a near relation of the commander, a clergyman, justly reflected upon by *Abneyda*, *Tellez*, and by Mr. *Ludolph*, for his too great credulity, and his indiscrete relating of many monstrous absurdities, upon mere hearsay, but in other respects, a man of candor and piety, was appointed chaplain to this grand embassy, which met with a quick and easy voyage into the *Red Sea*; but was soon after disconcerted by the unexpected death of the ambassador *Galvan*, at the island of *Cumaran*, in the 71st year of his age; by which unforeseen accident, a stop of near four years was put to the designs of the *Portuguese* monarch, and the great expectations of the empress *Helena*.

Galvan dies at Cumaran.

THE matter, however, was thought of too great importance to be set aside; and the arrival of Don *Lopez de Seguiria* (who was then entering into his government of *India*) at

ALVAREZ, & al. sup. cit.

the

the island of *Mazwa*, then belonging to the *Abissinian* emperors, tho' since taken by the *Turks*, offered him a fresh encouragement to renew it. He was then bringing back the *Armenian* merchant from *Lisbon*, and was to land him at that island; where, observing with what joy and eagerness he was received by the *Bahrnagasb*, or governor, by the monks of *Bizan*, and other Christians of the country, he resolved, without further delay, to appoint another person to go on that embassy, with the said *Matthew*, to the *Abissinian* court. Unfortunately, the person he pitched upon for that commission, was *Rodriguez de Lima*, a person of a quite opposite character to his predecessor *Galvan*, a passionate humourfome young gentleman, and quite unfit for such an office. Father *Lima sent Alvarez* was ordered to accompany him as his chaplain; and a numerous retinue was ordered to attend them: their journey proved very long and troublesome, through the heat of the climate, and the badness of the roads; notwithstanding which, they all arrived safe at the *Abissinian* court on the 20th of *April*, where they met with an affectionate and pompous reception. As for *Matthew the Armenian*, he fell sick at their first setting out, and died in a village belonging to the monks of *Bizan*, and was buried in the church of that monastery.

guez de
in his stead.
1520.

His arrival at court.
Matthew dies in the way.

THE emperor *David*, now Sultan *Segued*, received the ambassador with great marks of joy and esteem, and admitted them as soon as possible, though with great ceremony and formality at the first audience, they being obliged to make frequent long halts at every stage, as they drew nearer to the imperial pavilion, according to the stately grandeur of that court. He caused them to be entertained with all possible magnificence during their tedious stay, which was six whole years; for so long did he detain them before they could obtain their dismissal; though *Rodriguez*, naturally hot and impatient at the affected delays of that monarch, pressed him to it with the utmost importunity, and much more so, after he received the news of the death of the king *Emanuel*, and of the accession of *John III.* to the throne. One thing indeed that contributed much to the retarding of their return, we are told, was the want of shipping to convey the ambassador away; for if any vessels chanced to come from *India*, it was at a time when they were at a great distance from the sea*. At length, with great difficulty, they obtained their audience of leave, and set out for the *Red Sea*, charged with a letter to the new king of *Portugal*; to whom

Their reception,

and long stay:

partly for want of shipping.

Their departure

* Id. *ibid.*

* TELLEZ, l. ii. c. 5.

and pre-
sents.

1526.

As ambas-
sador sent
with
them.

he likewise sent his crown of gold and silver * as a present. The letter may be seen at large in the history which *Alvarez* hath given of this embassy * and empire. He likewise made choice of a learned monk, named *Zagaza Ab*, to go ambassador to the king of *Portugal*; whom he charged with a letter to Pope *Clement VII.* and earnestly entreated *Francis Alvarez* to accompany him on his embassy to *Rome*, which he readily promised to do (R). At the same time, *Rodriguez* was desired to leave *John Bermudez*, his physician, behind with him, and a palster of his retinue, to which he consented; and this *Bermudez* is the very person who was made, soon after, *Latin* patriarch of *Abissinia*, and wrote a short history of that empire, of which we have given an account in a former section *v*, and out of which we shall extract most

* See before. p. 7.

* Ch. 136.

✓ See before, p. 110.

(R) These letters, which are full of fulsome flattery, both to the Pope and king of *Portugal*, and acknowledge the former to be the true and only vicar of Christ, and the head of his church on earth, in the plainest and strongest terms, were afterwards translated into *Latin* by *Paul Jovius*, and procured *Alvarez*, who was appointed to carry them to *Rome*, a most gracious reception from that pontif and his court (5), whilst his colleague *Zagaza Ab* was detained at *Lisbon* for some politic reasons, as we shall see in the next note.

The misfortune was, that both these letters, and the purport of this embassy, were afterwards absolutely disowned by his successor in the next reign, disclaimed and condemned as so many contrivances and forgeries, set on foot by the *Portuguese* missionaries, in order to introduce the Pope's authority into that empire, and

to promote some other political views of that pontif, and of the king of *Portugal*. The truth is, there is nothing in the contents, diction, style, manner, &c. of them, that can incline an unbiassed reader to believe them the genuine and real scripture of that monarch. Nor, on the other hand, can any one well conceive, if they were forged, and the embassy been only a contrivance of those politic fathers, how the one could be indited, and the other carried on, in a manner so contrary to their usual conduct and foresight, and which so plainly carries with it the marks of an artful, yet ill-concerted design. The reader may see both letters at length in Mr. *Le Grand's* relation, often quoted in this chapter (6), together with some other anecdotes relating to this, and some other transactions of the like kind, from which he may perhaps form a more satisfactory judgment of them.

(5) *Tellur. lib. ii. De Canto's decad. 4. l. i. c. 10. Job. de Barros, decad. 4. c. 4. Alvarez, Lett. & al.*

(6) *Page 437, & page 438, pass.*

of the transactions which happened during his stay in that country.

In the mean time, *Rodriguez* and his retinue arrived safe at *Goa*, and sailed from thence in the month of *January*, 1527. and the year following for *Lisbon*; where, upon their arrival, on the 25th of *July* following, they were prevented at *Lisbon*, from landing, on account of the plague raging very furiously; so that they were forced to sail up higher as far as *Sanbarin*, a sea-port, about twelve leagues north of that capital; whence they were conducted by the marquis of *Villareal* to *Coimbra*, where the court then was, and where the *Abissinian* ambassadors were presented to the king, and met with a most courteous reception. The result of this notable embassy being in some measure foreign from our history of the empire, and yet interesting enough to excite a reader's curiosity, we shall subjoin in a marginal note (S), and return now to our account

(S) The sequel of this embassy, so far as it relates to our present subject, was this:

Fr. Alvarez, who was burning with a holy zeal to go and throw himself at his holiness's feet, and to kiss his slipper, in the name of his *Abissinian* majesty, could hardly brook the delay which he met with at the court of *Portugal*. On the one hand, it was thought fit that his colleague, *Zagaza - Ab*, should tarry some time there, to be carefully examined about the faith and practice of the *Abissinian* church, and to that end was turned over to the famed historian *John de Barros*, and *Amian de Goex*, to be carefully sifted in every point, whose answers they immediately committed to writing.

On the other, the king of *Portugal*, who designed to send likewise an embassy of his own to *Rome*, hesitated a good while before he could fix upon a proper person; but at length no-

minated his own nephew *Don Martin* to it, and ordered him a suitable equipage and retinue. But *Zagaza - Ab*, not having given his two inquisitors the satisfaction they expected from him, but having been frequently caught prevaricating with them, was not deemed fit to be sent with them, but was still detained in *Lisbon*, where he wrote a treatise of the *Abissinian* faith; which was afterwards translated into *Latin* by *Amian de Goex*, and published in the *Spania Illustrata*, among the affairs that related to *Portugal*; but which hath gained but little credit among the learned, as may be seen by the account which the judicious *Codignus* hath given, both of it and its author (7).

Whilst he was thus employed at *Lisbon*, his colleague *Alvarez*, and *Don Martin*, set out thence for their embassy, and arrived at *Bolonia* in the month of *January* 1533, where *Charles*

(7) *Codign. de Reb. Abissin. p. 2, et seq. 224, et alib.*

count of the *Abissinian* affairs, after the departure of the *Portuguese* ambassador.

avid
gains some
victories
over the
Moors.

The king
of Adel
sends
Granhe
against
him.

His success
and ra-
vages.

THE emperor *David*, soon after his taking upon him the reins of government, having gained several successful battles against, and recovered some large territories from, his *Moorish* neighbours, did not a little alarm their fears, by his detaining the *Portuguese* ambassador so long in his dominions. They had their spies at his court, who soon apprised them that he had made a league offensive and defensive with the king of *Portugal*, who had engaged to assist him to drive all the *Mohammedans* out of their new conquests. The king of *Adel*, amongst the rest, whose territories were contiguous to *Abissinia*, and who was himself a *Mohammedan*, and a professed enemy to all Christians, was one of the first who took up arms against him, and sent a small body of troops into his frontiers, commanded by the valiant Moor *Achmed*, surnamed *Granhe*, or left-handed, whom *David* had lately stripped of some considerable lands: in revenge of which, he marched his troops with such swiftness and fury into his dominions, that he quickly over-ran the kingdom of *Fategar*, destroyed churches, towns, villages, and all that came in his way, and made vast numbers of prisoners, before any thing could be attempted to oppose him; insomuch that, encouraged by his vast successes, he began to form a design of making himself master of the whole *Abissinian* empire². The emperor, alarmed at these devastations, made all the speed he could

² BERMUDEZ, ch. i. TELLEZ, ub. sup. l. ii. c. . LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 16. LOBO, LE GRAND, & al.

V. was to be crowned emperor by the *Roman* pontif, in the view of a vast concourse of people, of all ranks, who flocked thither from all parts, to see that grand solemnity. And here it was that *Alvarez* appeared in the character of his *Abissinian* majesty's ambassador, paid homage to, and harangued his holiness on the occasion, and delivered into his hands the emperor's letter, whether genuine or counterfeit, and was received with all the joy and affection

imaginable by that pontif (8); whilst his *Abissinian* colleague, the learned *Zagaza-Ab*, was shamefully detained and discredited in *Portugal*, till the year 1539, for no other reason, perhaps, than because he would not concur with the accounts which the jesuits had given of the *Abissinian* faith, nor father all the errors which they had laid to his church's charge. How he was rewarded for it, we shall see in the sequel.

(8) *Alvarez*, Hist. Etbio. Tellez, l. ii. Ludolph, l. ii. c. 16. n. 11, & seq.

to stop his progress; and coming against him with a body of 3000 horse, and a numerous body of foot, easily overthrew his small army, as it consisted only of 300 horse, and an inferior number of foot, and carried off many of the latter prisoners. Two years after this, he came again at the head of a more numerous army, and gave him a second defeat; but all this did not hinder him from going on with his conquests and ravages, insomuch, that from this time, to that of that monarch's death, which happened twelve years after, he ceased not making new conquests and devastations, plundering and burning where-ever he came, till he had reduced *The empire* the greater part of the empire to the utmost extremity. What *was reduced* increased the general disaster still more, was, that many of *to great* the nobles and grandees went over to the *Moorish* general, *streights* and sided with him; the greatest part of whom, as well as of the *Abissinians*, whom he had taken prisoners, made no scruple to turn *Mohammedans*; which we need the less wonder at, if what we formerly observed out of *Alvarez* be true, that they believe that rebaptization will wash away all the stain and guilt of their apostacy, as soon as they think proper to apply to it, and return to their church and faith ^a.

THIS was the dismal state to which the empire was reduced, by the irresistible forces of the *Adelian* king, under *Bermudez* his successful *Moorish* general, who, like an impetuous torrent, carried all before him, when the unfortunate emperor *sent ambassador to Rome and Portugal* bethought himself of applying afresh to the *Portuguese* for aid. The person he made choice of to negotiate that important affair, was the *Portuguese* physician, *John Bermudez*, whom *Don Roderiguez de Lima* had left behind with him. In order therefore to procure him and himself the greater credit at the courts of *Rome* and *Lisbon*, where he was to appear in the character of his ambassador, he caused him to be installed *Consul* Abuna of *Ethiopia*; for as he was known to be a staunch *created patriarch* catholic, it could not but give an evident proof of that monarch's affection to that church, and interest those two courts in his favour, and give a success to the negotiation. And it was probably the great distress which the emperor and his dominions were in, that prevailed upon the old Abuna, who was then alive, to nominate him his successor, and consecrate him in that dignity, rather than any inclination he can be supposed to have had towards the church of *Rome*.

HOWEVER that may be, *Bermudez*, to make the greater dispatch, crossed over the *Red Sea* and went through *Palestine*, as not only the quickest, but likewise the safest, way

^a See before, p. 187.

1538.
Arrival
and success
at Rome

to get to *Rome*, which he did not however reach till after the death of Pope *Clement VII.* to whom his credentials, and the emperor's letter, were directed. But this did not hinder his being received by his successor, *Paul III.* with the honours due to his double character: and we may add, that no embassy from that empire met with greater and more speedy success than this. The Pope immediately ordered his bulls to be dispatched, by which he created him patriarch, not only of *Abissinia*, but likewise of *Alexandria*; and with these, and a letter of recommendation to the king of *Portugal*, he set sail for *Lisbon*, where he met with the same kind reception and dispatch.

and Lis-
bon.

By this time so many complaints had been made against his colleague *Zagaza Ab*, at the *Abissinian* court, that he had received orders from the emperor to arrest him and clap him in irons, for his pretended neglect and ill conduct, which was accordingly done by *Bermudez*; but at the request of the king of *Portugal*, his double irons were taken off some days after. He was however continued in his imprisonment, stripped of his ambassadorial dignity, and forced to resign himself up wholly to his custody, in order to be brought back by him into *Abissinia*, and give there an account of his ill success, or, as they were pleased to stile it, his ill conduct, during his long stay at that court. This strange transaction *Bermudez* himself hath not scrupled to give us at full length, in the very beginning of his history; though a judicious and impartial reader, will discover much more of *Romish* policy in it, than either of neglect or guilt in his unhappy prisoner.

HOWEVER that be, *John III.* glad of such an opportunity of sending so many of his subjects into *Abissinia*, ordered him to be furnished with 450 musketeers from *India*, and charged the viceroy of *Goa* to receive him with the honour due to his character, and to dispatch the forces above-mentioned into *Abissinia*, with all possible speed.

Sails for
Goa.

1539.

BERMUDEZ sailed away accordingly on the next year for *Goa*, and met with the wished-for readiness in the governor, *Don Garcia de Noronha*, to give all possible dispatch to the king's orders; but unfortunately died before he could fully complete them. He was succeeded by *Don Stephan de Gama*, who quickly finished what was still wanting, and conveyed the whole succour, together with the patriarch *Bermudez*, into *Abissinia*, with all convenient speed. And great need there was of such dispatch, for during *Bermudez's* absence,

The emper-
or's dis-
tracted
state.

• *BERMUDEZ*, & al. ub. sup.

the

the emperor's affairs had gone still from bad to worse; inso-
much, that he had been reduced by the *Moorish* general to
seek for shelter among some of the inaccessible mountains;
from which he had been again forced to retire, to the top of
that of *Damo*; where, with some few of his bravest men, he
endeavoured to defend himself for some time, hardly now able
to bear the name, much less to support the dignity, of a mo-
narch. But in this invincible fortress, he was forced to yield his
crown and life to that more infallible conqueror death, in the *Miserable*
forty-second year of his age, and thirty-third of his reign; *death,*
the first twenty of which had been as happy and prosperous,
as the thirteen last proved distracted and unfortunate. This
was the sad catastrophe of the emperor *David*, or, as he is
styled in his supposed letters above-mentioned, Soltan *Segued*,
in the flower of his age; but quite exhausted by cares, and
the most affecting distresses; abandoned, and even hated by
most of his subjects; surrounded by a victorious and im- *1540:*
placable enemy; confined on a barren and inaccessible rock, *and di-*
with a handful of men; his empire above half conquered, *strated*
depopulated, and laid waste, and in the possession of *condition.*
Mahammedans, the most inveterate enemies of Christianity; one
of his sons, named *Menas*, an unhappy prisoner amongst
them; besides many thousands of his other subjects, who,
to lighten the weight of their chains, had shamefully apostat-
ized from their religion, and undergone the scandalous and
indelible stigma of circumcision; all which dreadful disas-
ters he could not but be deeply sensible were chiefly owing to
his unhappy and indiscrete propensity to, and zeal for, the
church of *Rome*, and the Pope's supremacy, which had ali-
enated the hearts of his best subjects from him, and rendered
the whole *Abissinian* clergy his most irreconcilable enemies.
No wonder then if such a load of complicated misfortunes
crushed him thus immaturely into his grave, and before he
could receive the comfortable news of the succours that were
hastening to him from *Goa* ^d.

He was succeeded by his eldest son *Claudios*, or *Claudius*, *Succeeded*
then in the eighteenth year of his age, and under the regency *by his son*
of his mother *Cabelo Oanguel* (T). This prince, who took *Claudios*,
then

^c Id. *ibid*.

^d Id. *ibid*.

(T) Sultan *Segued* left four
sons; the eldest of whom, named
ViEor, died before him. *Cla-*
udius was next in succession, and
mounted the throne accord-

ingly. The third was called
Menas, and had been taken pri-
soner by *Granbe*, the *Moorish*
general; but by some means,
which we are not told, had re-
gained

or Clau- then the surname of *Asnaf Segued*, was a prince of singular
dius. wisdom and excellent qualities, even by the confession of the
His excel- jesuit missionaries, who were not otherwise greatly affected to
lent cha- him, as we shall soon see. His person was graceful, tall,
racter, and majestic; his disposition truly generous; his learning
and learn- greatly exceeded not only most of his predecessors, but
ing. even that of his whole clergy. He was perfectly acquainted
with the antiquities and constitutions of the *Abissinian* church;
and in his disputations, often nonplussed those learned fathers,
and with great zeal and warmth repelled the calumnies of
that church, particularly with relation to circumcision, re-
baptization, confession, holy communion *, &c. In a
word, he was a wise and excellent prince; and every way
worthy not only of the empire, but likewise of a longer and
more prosperous reign than he enjoyed.

Takes a UPON his first accession to the throne, as he could not but
different have observed how fatal his father's propensity to the church
course from of *Rome*, and ill-timed regard for the missionaries, had been
his father. to him, he wisely resolved to regain the alienated hearts of
his subjects, by a quite opposite conduct to his; and though
he was continually intangled in wars with the king of
Adel, and other neighbours, and chiefly depended upon the
succours which were sending to him from *Portugal*, without
which he might plainly see that it was impossible for him to
save his empire from being totally over-run by them; yet
did not this deter him from publicly declaring his utter dislike
to the church of *Rome*; disowning his father's letters to the
Pope and king of *Portugal*, his confession of faith, and sub-
mission to the Pope; and condemning the whole as a forgery
and politic contrivance of the missionaries, in order to bring
the *Abissinian* church and empire under a foreign yoke. And
though he did not deprive those fathers, and their converts,
from the free exercise of their religion, yet he took care so
to discountenance and discourage their zeal for making new con-
verts amongst his subjects, that many of the old ones made
no scruple to return to their mother church †.

Missiona-
ries dis-
couraged.
Raises an
army.

As he was no less valiant than prudent, his next care was
to levy a sufficient number of troops to oppose those of the

* TELLEZ, lib. c. 27.
& al. ub. sup.

† TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH,

gained his liberty, and after- named *Tascharus*, as we shall see
wards succeeded his brother. in the sequel (9).
After him came the fourth son,

(9) Tellez, lib. B. c. 27. Ludolph, l. ii. c. 6. n. 17, et seq.

king

king of *Adel* and other invading *Moors*; and signalized the beginning of his reign, by the total overthrow which he gave to the *Moor Amirozman*. He was, however, soon after, so overpowered by him, that he was forced to flee into the kingdom of *Xaaa*, with only about seventy or eighty of his men, and to spend the whole winter there in expectation of *Various* the *Portuguese* succours, which came accordingly soon after, *success*. and just time enough to save the empire from being wholly swallowed up by the *Mohammedans*, by the very next year. 1541.
 Don *Stephen de Gama*, then governor of the *Indies*, having entered the *Red Sea*, at the head of a considerable fleet, through the streights of *Babel-mandel*, had, by this time, done some great services to the emperor, by the ravages he had committed along the *Arabian* coasts, and sufficiently scattered those infidels, when he came to anchor at the island of *Mazowa*; from which he sent a reinforcement of four hundred men to the assistance of the *Abissinian* emperor, under the command of his own brother, the brave Don *Christopher Don Christopher de Gama*. These immediately took their route through those stony sandy deserts and uncouth mountains, having at their head *Gama's* the new patriarch *Bermudez*, who had been appointed chief arrival of this expedition, and, out of regard to the governor, *Stephen de Gama*, had given the command of the four hundred forces to his brother *Christopher*. The reader may easily judge, from the description we have elsewhere given of this country, what difficulties they must have met with through such mountainous passes and defiles, through which they *Difficulty* were forced to march with their unwieldy equipage, and of the especially with their artillery: for as they had no proper *roads*. carriage for that purpose, they found themselves obliged to get some timber to make them there, after the *European* manner; and for want of iron, they made use of such old battered muskets as they had with them. As they proceeded farther into the country, they were met by shoals of people, who welcomed them as their deliverers: upon which, *Bermudez* deputed some of them to give notice of their coming to the empress *Cabelo Oanguel*; who made all the dispatch she could to come to meet them. This princess had been *Met by the* forced, for some time, to take refuge, for safety, on the top *empress*. of mount *Damo*; which is of such difficult access, that there is no other way to get up to it, but by being hoisted up in baskets; but was now come down to meet them at the town of *Dewaroa*. The *Portuguese*, on their side, went about a league out of it to meet her majesty in battle array, with

* See before, p. 94. & seq.

trumpets founding, and colours flying, and attended with the artillery. At their head was the patriarch *Bermudez*, whose blessing she first asked; after which, she complimented *Don Christopher*, and the rest of the captains, and was conducted by them to the town above-mentioned ^b.

Answer to
Granhe's
messenger.

TOWARDS the end of the year they left *Dewaroa*, and marched with that princess to go and join the king her son, who was then in a distant part of the empire, and posted on another mountain as inaccessible as that of *Damo*; and in their way they were met by a messenger, who was sent by *Granhe* the *Moor*, to enquire who they were, and what their business was in those parts? *Don Christopher* answered, they were *Portuguese*; and that they were sent by their king to restore the emperor *Chaudius* to his dominions, which the king of *Adel* had unjustly seized upon. After which, he sent the messenger back, with a present of a few trinkets for his master, but with a much more considerable one to him (U). *Granhe* did not fail to resent the affront and answer; and though he was then advantageously posted on an eminence, yet was easily brought down to attack them, as he had with him 1000 horse and 5000 foot, besides fifty *Turkish* musketeers, and the same number of archers. Both sides came soon within reach of each other, whilst the empress, at the sight of the enemy, was in the utmost consternation, though the *Portuguese* had taken care to place her and her women in the centre, and well surrounded with the baggage. The *Moorish* general appeared, mounted on a stately horse, with his standard by his side; but was quickly dismounted, by a shot from a *Portuguese* gentleman, which killed his horse, and wounded him in the thigh; upon which he was carried off by his men. *Don Christopher* was likewise wounded in the leg; notwithstanding which, *Bermudez* ordered the empress's tent to be reared up in token of victory; which so disheartened

Defeats
him.

^b BERMUDEZ, ub. sup. TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, & al. ibid.

(U) The former of these presents consisted only of a small looking-glass, a silver egg wrought in the *Peguan* fashion, and a pair of hair-pincers; which was rather designed as an affront than a compliment; whilst those he gave to the messenger, were, two gold bracelets, a rich furniture trimmed with gold, a piece of *Bengal* gawse, and a *Turkish* cassock and vest; all which the empress had, by the patriarch's advice, furnished him with for that purpose (10).

(10) *Revol. Hist.* c. 2.

the

the *Moors*; that they immediately retired, with their general, to his old post. Soon after which, came a renegado, and first confin to the *Bahr-nagash*, to compliment the *Portuguese* on their happy escape, occasioned by the wound given to *Granhe*; who, but for that, would have cut them all to pieces. And as their little camp was in great want of provision, it being now the time of lent, he promised to bring *Receives a* them a sufficient supply of them in a very few days; which *fresh sup-* he accordingly did: for being, as he said, governor of that *ply*, whole territory, which of right belonged to the *Abissinian* emperor, he promised for the future to pay the tribute of it to him, instead of the king of *Adel*, who had forced him to pay it to him.

LENT was no sooner over, than Don *Christopher*, who *and a fresh* was cured of his wound, received a fresh message from *challenge* *Granhe*, with a promise that he would soon pay him a second *from* visit; which he accordingly did; but with a more numerous force; both of horse and foot, than before, which threw the empress and her ladies into a fresh consternation. Don *Christopher* was ordering his troops to the best advantage to receive him by the very next morning, when the frightened empress gave *Bermudez* such a dreadful account of the enemy, as quite disheartened him from staying to see the upshot; so that she found no difficulty to persuade him to accompany her in her flight. They were, however, recalled by Don *Christopher*, not without some severe reproaches. Immediately after which, he desired him to bestow his blessing upon him and his little army, together with a general absolution, as is the *Portuguese* custom upon such occasions; which the patriarch not only granted, but superadded a plenary indulgence to them, pursuant to the commission he had received from the Pope. On the next morning by break of day both *Gives him* armies engaged; but that of the *Moors* was so terribly *another de-* annoyed, not only by the *Portuguese* artillery, small arms, *stat.* hand-grenadoes, and other fire, but chiefly by the quantity of gunpowder with which they had strewed all that ground; and set on fire as fast as they advanced, that the *Turkish* infantry began to retire with all the speed they could, whilst the cavalry, which was posted at some distance, seeing the havock which was made of them, stood motionless, not daring to move one step forward to assist them. The whole *Moorish* army soon betook themselves to a hasty flight, leaving in their camp abundance of provision and rich plunder. Presently after which, great numbers of *Abissinians*, who had

¹ Id. ibid.

Releases a gone over to the *Moors*, came back, some on horseback, *great num-* others on foot, and joined the *Portuguese*, to the great joy *ber of cap-* of the desponding empress, who ordered them to be re- *tives.* baptized, probably on account of their apostacy (W).

Granje THE panic desertion of that *Moorish* army, obliged *Granje* *applies to* to apply to the *Turkish* bashaw, who resided in that neigh- *the Turks* bourhood, for fresh assistance, without which, he told him, *for suc-* it would be impossible for him to preserve that rich province *cour.* to the Soltan his master, in whose name he had made himself master of it, and to whom he sent, in token of his fidelity, 100,000 ougues, or ounces, of gold, 20,000 of which were to be for the bashaw. Don *Christopher*, being apprised of this negotiation, was obliged to secure himself and his army on the top of a craggy high rock, and to cut a way up to it into the rock, by the assistance of his *Abissinian* troops; which was nevertheless so streight, that they were forced to carry their cannon upon their shoulders. Not thinking himself secure enough there, he resolved to remove to a much higher rock, inhabited by *Jews*, but in the possession of the *Moors*, and guarded by a captain, and a garrison of 150 horse. He

Don Chri- soon reached the place by the help of his *Abissinian* guides, *stopher* and attacked the captain with such haste and bravery, that *gains an* he killed sixty of his men, took thirty of their horses, and, *advanta-* by the assistance of the *Jewish* inhabitants, easily put the rest *geous post.* to flight, pursued, and killed several of the fugitives, and amongst them the captain; and got a considerable plunder, and a good number of their wives; particularly that of the commander, a woman of such beauty, that Don *Christopher* became enamoured of her, and reserved her for himself, and grew so jealous of her, that he cashiered two brave captains, for no other fault, than looking, as he thought, upon her with too amorous an eye *.

* Id. ibid.

(W) We have elsewhere spoke of this ceremony of rebaptizing apostates (11); and it is very likely that these had turned *Mohammedans* whilst they were under their government: for *Granje* had seized this whole province for the Grand Signior, not only on account of its fertility, but much more likely because it belonged to the Abu-

na, independently of the emperor, and brought him a yearly revenue of 3000 ounces of gold. This rich spot, we are told (12), is called the province of *Nazareth*; and had been yielded by a former monarch, named *Thedrus*, to the patriarch, by way of reparation for some injury he had done to him (12).

(11) See before, p. 187.

(12) *Bermud. relat. ab. sup. cb. 2.*

WHILST this passed on the *Jewish* mountain, *Granhe* appeared at the head of 600 *Turks*, which the bashaw had sent him, and made their way up towards that where the empress and the rest of the *Portuguese* were posted; which obliged them to send with the utmost dispatch for *Don Christopher*; and upon his return, proposed to him, to surprize and attack the enemy in the night on both sides, as the surest way to defeat them: but our proud *Portuguese* scornfully rejected the proposal as cowardly and dishonourable, and resolved to fight them in the broad day; to which they were obliged to agree, though much against their will. Accordingly, as soon as it was light, he prepared himself to give them the attack; but one of his horses breaking loose, and running towards the *Moorish* camp, a scuffle immediately began between the two armies, which, unhappily, brought on the onset, before they could put themselves in order. The fight was obstinately sustained on both sides; a considerable number of *Moors* and *Turks* were slain; and on the *Portuguese* side, several brave cavaliers; particularly *Don Sebastian* his standard-bearer, who maintained his post till he was quite spent with weariness and wounds, and was slain by the surrounding *Moors*. *Don Christopher* likewise received a grievous wound in his arm, yet continued fighting, till abandoned by most of his men, he was forced to retire, with the few that stood with him, to a neighbouring eminence; upon which the patriarch immediately advised the empress to withdraw with him thither; whilst she, unwilling to leave the rest of her women behind, absolutely refused to go, till he forced her, and the greatest part of the rest, before him.

AMONG those that staid behind for want of horses, was the empress's nurse, a virtuous and brave woman, with two of her daughters, and some other women of her retinue; and who, to avoid falling into the hands of the merciless *Moors*, set fire to a small barrel of powder, which she found in the tent, and put an end to all their lives and fears¹. Her example was followed by about fifty or sixty soldiers, who, disabled by their wounds from providing for their safety, had recourse to the same violent remedy, and killed themselves on the spot (X). The empress, who had gained a place

¹ *BERMUD. ub. sup.*

(X) *Father Tellez*, who hath greatly embellished this whole action in favour of *Don Christopher*, and the rest of his brave *Portuguese*.

place of safety by her flight, was glad to see the patriarch make towards her with her young daughter behind him, whom she supposed to have been left behind and blown up with her nurse; but was no less anxious about Don Christopher, whom she supposed to be either slain or taken prisoner. He appeared at length with his arm in a sling, and full of pain, but less sensible of his wound, than of his rashness and shameful defeat; the loss of so many brave men, and especially of his standard, drove him into a kind of despair, which nothing could assuage. It was with great difficulty that the patriarch prevailed upon him to mount, and accompany him and the empress, with the dismal residue of their forces, to some place of safety. In their flight they were obliged to ford through two deep rivers; and when they came to a third, over which was a draw-bridge, he stiffly refused to go farther, protesting that he would shoot himself if they offered to force him to it. The patriarch was obliged to comply with him, though with great regret; and, at his request, having heard his confession, and given him

Don Christopher in great despair,

refuses to follow the empress:

Portuguese, says, that these wounded men, whom he only makes to amount to forty, were barbarously massacred by the Moors. He likewise swelled his account with several gallant exploits performed by that general and his brave officers, of which the patriarch Bermudez takes no notice at all, tho' he was an eye-witness of all that passed, and was himself a chief actor in every other part but that of fighting.

Father Lobo hath still farther illustrated the relation of his victories, last overthrow, and heroic death; with many rhetorical flowers, and new circumstances, which raise him to the highest degree of a hero, with regard to the first; and of a martyr of the first magnitude, with respect to the latter; and all this, on the bare authority of an old Abissinian, a pretended

eye-witness of the greatest part of them; particularly that of his martyrdom; when on the place where his head fell, there sprang up a miraculous fountain, whose waters cured all, even the most incurable diseases, and retained their virtue a considerable time (13).

We have, therefore, chosen to follow the plain and artless account of the good patriarch Bermudez, than whom none could be better acquainted with every transaction; nor from the unaffected simplicity of his relation, can challenge a greater credit and regard, where ever he asserts any thing from his own knowledge; though in other respects, he is justly blamed for his too great credulity, even by those, who with equal justice commend him for his honest simplicity (14).

(13) Lobo, ap. Le Grand, relat. de L'Abissin. p. 91, & seq. Bermudez, Tellez, &c.
(14) Tellez, Hist. de Eethiop. l. ii. c. 20.

some balm to dress his wounds, took a sorrowful leave of him, and the few attendants that staid with him: these were his valet de chambre, his secretary, and three inferior *Portuguese*. The empress, being told of Don *Christopher*'s strange resolution, could hardly be prevailed upon to go farther, till they heard the noise of some *Moorish* troops at a distance; which obliged her to make all the haste she could over the bridge, and to draw it up as soon as the rest were got over, in order to get out of the reach of the enemy, from whose hands they now began to fear it was impossible for Don *Christopher* to escape.

BERMUDEZ and the empress continued their flight ^{*The patri-*} through mountains, wild deserts, and dangerous passes, for ^{*arch and*} some days, and got at length over a large river, where they ^{*empress*} began to think themselves out of all danger, and where the ^{*get safe*} governor of the country supplied them with plenty of provisions, which were the more welcome to them, as they had been forced to feed upon tamarinds, and other fruits, a great part of the way. Here the patriarch reviewed his remaining forces, amounting now scarcely to 300; and as he despaired of ever seeing Don *Christopher* any more, he nominated Don *Alphonso de Caldeyra*, a prudent and warlike commander, to succeed him. Soon after this arrived *John Gonzales* and *Denis Alvarez*, whom they had left with Don *Christopher*, who gave the following account of him to the empress: ^{*away.*}

THAT a woman, pursued by some *Moors*, being entered ^{*Don Chri-*} into the cavern where he lay concealed, they had followed her ^{*stopher*} thither; and, as soon as they had spied him, asked who he ^{*taken in a*} was; to whom he made himself known with such readiness, ^{*cave.*} that they could scarcely believe him, till an eunuch, who knew him perfectly well, assured them, that he was indeed Don *Christopher de Gama*; upon which, they gladly conveyed him to *Granhe*, who was no less overjoyed to have him in his power; and, after several previous questions, assured him, that, if he would turn *Mohammedan*, and abandon the *Abissinian* emperor, he would load him with honours and favours. To this he answered, with a smile, that, being a servant of Jesus Christ, he scorned to exchange his religion for that of an impostor; which so exasperated him, that he ordered him to be buffeted, and the hair of his beard to be pulled off. ^{*Insulted by*} Being cooled again, he tried once more to persuade him, ^{*Granhe.*} by the largest promises, to order his *Portuguese* troops to leave *Abissinia*, and retire; which he immediately set about; but observing the eunuch, lately mentioned, to be set at his elbow, in order to watch every stroke of his pen, he found him-

His con-
fancy and
policy.

himself obliged to write what *Granbe* dictated to him, instead of what he himself intended to have done. However, to prevent any misapprehension of his true meaning, he took care to cross his name with two strokes, like two thorns, to intimate to his men to be very cautious in what they did. This letter, which was forthwith dispatched to them by two *Moors*, greatly alarmed the empress; who taking it in the sense it was wrote in, could not forbear breaking out into bitter complaints against the writer, in whom she had placed her whole confidence; so that she was not less delighted at his artifice, when the meaning of the cross thorns was explained to her. The new general *Alfonso de Cadeyra* having undertaken to answer the letter in the name of the rest, with the same precaution sent him word, that he might applaud himself in the favour of *Granbe*; but that, as for himself and his men, they neither wanted nor sought it; being all resolved to complete, like true Christians, the work for which the king their master had sent them thither; which was to destroy *Granbe*, and deliver the empire from his tyranny.

Outwits
the Moor-
ish gene-
ral.

THIS answer was no sooner delivered into Don *Christopher's* hands, than he carried it to *Granbe*; who, not suspecting the artifice, made him no reproaches about it, but only asked him how he came to be so soon healed of his wounds: to which he answered, that it was by means of an extraordinary composition which he had about him, which never failed of making a speedy cure. Here *Granbe* desired him to make the same use of it on his captain-general. *Lobo* adds, that he was his uncle, who had been grievously wounded in a late encounter (Y); instead of which, he dressed his

^m Relation de l'Abissin. ap. LE GRAND, p. 93.

(Y) This was, according to the same author, in defending a strong important pass, which he had intrusted him with, and from which, in spite of his valour and stout opposition, they had forced him by their continual fire. He adds, by way of embellishment, that *Granbe*, tho' his nephew, could not forbear treating him with opprobrious language at his return: to which the old general could only answer, that the *Portuguese* were not men, but devils, who spit fire out of their mouths. Upon

which account, he had, it seems, endeavoured since to dissuade his nephew from attacking them afresh; but he, flushed with his former victories, despised his advice; alleging to him, that mountains never flinch. It happened soon after, that the old general caught his nephew flying from the enemy, and asked him, "whether mountains fled?" To which he replied, "No; but neither run they into the fire; for there is a deal of that in the place whence I come." Which answer is since become a kind

his wound with such corrosives as killed him in less than three days; and, being taxed with it, answered, that he came to destroy, not to cure, the enemies of Christ. This bold answer so exasperated the *Moorish* general, that he caused him to be severely cudgelled, and even threatened him with immediate death: to whom Don *Christopher* calmly answered, *You can only kill my body, but my soul is Christ's, who will receive it into eternal life.* Upon which, he ordered him to be immediately conveyed to the place where the other wounded *Portuguese* had been massacred, and to be there beheadedⁿ. *Tellez* and *Lobo* say, that *Granbe* fell into such a rage at his answer, that he struck off his head with his own hand^o. However that be, *Bermudez* confirms the legend of the miraculous fountain, and of the great cures it performed; and adds several other particulars relating to this martyr, which we shall not trouble our readers with; except that his head was sent to the bashaw of *Kairo*, one of his quarters to the province of *Judah*, another to that of *Adel*, and one of his legs to *Zebid*, the *Turkish* bashaw, who had sent him the reinforcement we lately mentioned: all which plainly shew how much he valued himself upon the advantage he had gained over a few *Portuguese* troops. *Tellez*^p adds, that the bashaw *Zebid*, and his *Turks*, severely threatened him for having presumed to put him to death, instead of having sent him to *Constantinople*, as they designed to have done; which was the reason of his sending his head to *Kairo*, in order to be thence conveyed to the *Porte*. Four hundred of the 600 *Turks*, whom *Zebid* had sent him, were ordered back, and only 200 staid with him, to secure the tribute he had engaged to pay to the Grand Signor. These last particulars were brought to the new *Portuguese* general, we are told, by one of their men, who had been taken by the *Turks*, but had since made his escape^q. As for the remains of Don *Christopher's* body, they were left, we are told, by the patriarch on the spot where he had been executed; whence some *Abissine* monks afterwards conveyed them to their convent, where they were preserved with great veneration, and as the relicks of a saint

ⁿ *Lobo*, & al. ubi sup.^o *Ubi* sup.^p *Iid.* *ibid.*^q *Ubi* sup.

kind of proverb among the *Abissines*, who, when they want to express the difficulty and danger of an enterprize, com-

monly cry out, *The mountains do not run into the fire; and there is a deal of it in that* (15).

(15) *Lobo*, ubi sup. p. 91, & seq.

and

and martyr, on account of the supernatural fragrancy they still retained, and the many miracles that were wrought by them^r.

*But dies
for his
rashness.*

THIS was the end of the famed Don *Christopher de Gama*; and, in all appearance, the method he chose to wipe off the stain of his presumption, and ill-timed refusal, of attacking a superior enemy in the night; by which he not only lost a fair opportunity of cutting them all in pieces, and, in all likelihood, of putting an effectual stop to all future hostilities from them; the *Moors* being known to be so far from daring to fight in the night, that they dare not even stir out of their tents; but occasioned the loss of a great number of his men, and threw the rest of them, as well as the empress and her retinue, into that dreadful danger and distress in which we saw them. Neither is it likely, that both she, the patriarch, and his own commanders, in the confusion they were then in, could forbear upbraiding him with it in the strongest terms. And this was, unquestionless, the motive that induced him, against all their united efforts and persuasions to the contrary, to stay behind, and throw himself into the enemy's hands, in order to retrieve his character by a glorious and resolute martyrdom.

*The em-
press re-
inforced.*

BUT it is time now to return to his little flying army, whom we left in a place of plenty and safety, where they were soon after, to their inexpressible joy, joined by a reinforcement of 150 horse and 1000 foot, with *Asmache de Douro*, and *Asmache de Guidini*, at their head. These were, it seems, subjects of the young emperor *Claudius*, and were presently introduced to the empress, to whom they gave the same account of Don *Christopher's* death, which she had received before; adding, that they had fled from *Granhe's* camp immediately after his late victory, whilst he, they told her, flushed with his success, was advancing, by large strides, towards the lake *Dembea*, with a full design to attack the young emperor, who was then incamped with his army in the neighbourhood of it. The empress gave them a gracious

*They all
march to
the Jewish
moun-
tains.*

reception; soon after which, they all marched together towards the frontiers of the *Jewish* mountain, where their chief met them with a fresh supply of provisions and refreshments, and invited the empress to retire into that mountainous territory, where she would be in all imaginable safety; there being but one entrance into it, which could be easily defended against the enemy, if he should attempt to force it. They accepted his offer; and, as soon as they were entered into

* *BERMUD. & al. ubi sup.*

the

the mountain, he begged that he might be admitted to baptism; which was readily complied with by the patriarch, and Don Caldeyra stood his godfather^a.

WHILST they continued in this mountain, the young emperor arrived at the foot of it, attended by a few of his men, in a sorry plight. The Portuguese went down to receive him, with whom he condoled for the loss of their general with some seeming regret; but bid them not to be too much discouraged, or think themselves in a strange country, but to look upon it now as their own, where they would be speedily furnished with cloaths, tents, mules, servants, and all other necessities. In answer to which, after suitable thanks, they assured his majesty, that, since they had lost their old commander, they would now accept of no other but him; after which, they accompanied him to the tent of the patriarch. Here, again, he was not a little pleased to see the patriarch come to the door to receive him, looking upon it as a piece of great condescension, because the abuna is as much respected there as a pope is at Rome, and alighted from his horse to receive his blessing. From thence he passed into the empress's mother's tent, and, after a little stay, was conducted to his own, which had been reared in the centre of their camp. During his abode there, which was about two months, he got together most of his forces, amounting to about 500 horse and 8000 foot, deemed sufficient by the Portuguese, when joined by theirs, to attack the Maars; which they begged his majesty to do, and revenge the death of their late noble general. The young prince appeared somewhat diffident of his strength; but being told, that Granbo had but 200 of the 600 Turks, which their bashaw had sent him, he readily consented.

BUT before they came to be thus unanimous, the young emperor had been obliged to put up with a great deal of insolence from Bermudez and them, before they would consent to fight for him, or even stay longer in his dominions. This circumstance Tellez seems to have carefully avoided mentioning in his history, as reflecting some dishonour on the patriarch and Portuguese chief; though he himself hath made no scruple to give the world a full account of it, and in such terms as shew that he valued himself not a little for it, as it discovered how resolutely they were bent to take advantage of his present situation, to oblige him to establish the pope's authority in his dominions. But as it doth not so strictly re-

^a BERMUD. *ibid.* & *al. ibid.*
&c. *ubi sup.*

^a BERMUD. TELLEZ, LOBO,

late to the political as to the ecclesiastical state of the empire, though, in other respects, well worth a curious reader's notice, we shall give the substance of it in the margin (Z), that

(Z) The good patriarch, as himself informs us (16), having prepared his *Portuguese* troops, in a set speech he made to them, to assist him in the rooting all schism and heresy out of the country, by reducing both king and clergy to the pope's obedience, went and addressed himself to the young monarch in the same pathetic stile, calling him his dearest son (he was, it seems, his godfather), and telling him, that, if he designed to shew himself a worthy successor of his late father, of pious memory, he must resolve to follow his steps, and send a proper ambassador to *Rome*, to assure the sovereign bishop of all bishops of his sincere and dutiful obedience to him; and, to assure him that his father had done so before him, he shewed him his letter to that pontif, in which he made a full acknowledgement of his plenary authority over the church of Christ.

This speech was made to him in the presence of his mother, who was then in his tent; but the young *Claudius*, like a rash youth, who little minds what he says (these are the patriarch's own words), plainly told him, that he did neither own him for his father nor his patriarch; and that he was the *Abuna* of the *Franks*, and an *Arian*, who believed in four Gods. Whereupon, *Bermudez* as bluntly told him, that he lied in saying that he worshipped four Gods; but,

added he, "since you refuse to obey the holy father, I shall only look upon you as an excommunicated and accursed person, and will concern myself no more about you;" and so saying, rose off his seat to be gone; and did so, without receiving any other answer from the young prince than this, "You are the excommunicated person, and not I."

The next step the patriarch took, after having acquainted his *Portuguese* with what had passed, was to forbid them all, under pain of death and excommunication, to assist the young monarch, or, in any case, to regard his commands. To this they answered, that, as neither they nor their ancestors had ever been disloyal to the pope or their prince, so neither would they now to him. A little while after, one of the emperor's officers being sent to distribute 3000 ounces of gold among them, and to make their general some valuable present, they all unanimously excused themselves, and sent him word, that the breach he had made with their patriarch would not permit them to accept of any thing from him, or to do him any further service.

This answer obliged the young monarch immediately to hold a council, in which it was resolved that the empress should go to the patriarch, accompanied with an archbishop of his

that we may the more closely stick to the main part of our history.

Soon after matters had been accommodated between the young emperor and the patriarch, and every thing was preparing to attack the enemy, the new *Portuguese* general Don *Alfonso* being dead by a fall from his horse, one *Arias Diz*, a gentleman who had been in *Ethiopia* ever since the year 1520, and had been intrusted by the former monarchs with some considerable commissions, was nominated in his room, at the

ordaining, to beg pardon of him for her son, and to promise, in his name, that he would do every thing he should enjoin him, with respect to the pope. She came accordingly, and, in the humblest terms, delivered her message to the patriarch, who, instead of being softened by her tears and intreaties, insolently told her, that he had now nothing left to do but to retire with his troops into *Portugal* with all possible speed. This rough speech brought the afflicted princess upon her knees, and made her renew her intreaties to him with such vehemence and such floods of tears, that, being at length overcome by them, he accompanied her to her son's tent. At their arrival, the young monarch came out to receive him, and, in the humblest manner, took hold of his hand, and kissed it, and begged pardon for what had passed.

Here they all three sat down, and the young prince began the discourse with assuring him of his readiness to obey the prince of bishops; but asked the patriarch, whether the homage paid to him by his father might not be sufficient, without his being obliged to send a fresh embassy to him? "No," answer-

ed the prelate, "you must send one in your name, which is no more than what every prince in *Europe* is obliged to do as soon as he comes to the crown: and since you have not done it hitherto, you must now perform it to me, who am commissioned by his holiness to receive it from you. Besides which," continued he, "you must give me an ample testimony in writing, signed with your own hand, and sealed with your own seal, and in the name of all your kingdoms and provinces, in which you shall make public acknowledgement that God hath no more than one church, and one vicar of Jesus Christ, in all the world, from whom all the power and rights of all Christian princes and prelates immediately flow." He insisted further, that this public act should be read with an audible voice, on some eminent place, and in the hearing of all the people, by one of the chief officers of the realm. To all which the young emperor was glad to submit; and the act, concludes the author, was accordingly read with the utmost pomp and solemnity, and with the sound of the trumpet (17).

*The young
emperor
tries to
give them
the slip.*

desire of the young prince, who had put a great confidence in him. But young *Claudius* had still another view in it; for being quite dissatisfied with the patriarch's tyrannic behaviour to him, he had formed a design to give him the slip; to which end, he desired of him to permit the new general, and his *Portuguese* soldiers, to go with him on a secret expedition; that would turn to the glory of God. *Bernudez*, though he suspected his design, nevertheless consented, relying on *Diz's* fidelity. Accordingly, as soon as he had got the rest of his army ready, and had reached the mountain where *Granhe* and his forces were posted, he sent an express to *Diz*, to join him with all speed, and to bring the young emperor with him. Upon their arrival, they left the empress in a place of safety, and marched on through very craggy passes and narrow defiles, where, in their way, they met with a *Moorish* commander, at the head of 300 horse and 2000 foot, in the province of *Ogara*, and attacked them by break of day with such suddenness, and loud shoutings, as made all the mountains echo with their voices. Fifty *Portuguese* horse, who led the van, slew the commander with most of his men, and took many others prisoners, who informed them, that *Granhe* was at a place not far off, named *Darastea*, in the kingdom of *Dombeya*, near the place where the *Nile* crosses the lake of that name, and where his wife and children, who had been from him a long while, were come to join him soon after *Don Christopher's* defeat.

*Engage
Granhe
afresh.*

*The young
emperor's
strange be-
haviour.*

THIS good success was soon followed by the death of the *Abissine* general, who, having ventured too far on a skirmish, was surrounded by another party of the *Moors*, who quickly covered him with wounds, and, after their brutish manner, cut off his privities; the news of which so afflicted the young emperor, that he shed a flood of tears for him, tore his hair, and cast his crown to the ground, and shewed the most excessive tokens of grief and despair. This affliction was soon after followed by the news, that *Granhe* was in full march against him; which threw him into such a panic, that he resolved to save himself by flight; and would actually have done so, had not a *Bahr-nagash* apprised the patriarch of it, who immediately came out of the monastery, where he had retired to pray with the rest of the monks, or perhaps rather to be out of harm's way, whilst his troops were preparing to encounter with the *Moorish* army, and, with difficulty, prevailed upon the pusillanimous prince to stay, and encourage his forces by his presence against the approaching enemy.

* *Ibid. ibid.*

ALL

ALL this while, *Granbe* was advancing at the head of *Granbe* 13,000 horse and foot, and his 200 *Turkish* musqueteers. He *advances* was mounted on a stately white horse, and had a *Turk* on *against* each side. Several bloody skirmishes happened; in one of *him* which an *Abissine* general having been treacherously drawn in to a pretended parley with the enemy, was murdered by them; which so discouraged the rest of the *Abissine* forces, that the emperor, to prevent a desertion, consented they should engage next morning by break of day. Accordingly, the *Portuguese* leading the van with 200 *Ethiopian* horse, and 350 foot, set forward with great eagerness, whilst the emperor, who brought up the rear with 250 horse more, and 4500 foot, stood with them posted on an eminence, to see them begin the onset. *Granbe* made no less haste to meet his enemy, and advanced in two lines; one of which he led himself, which consisted of the 200 *Turks* above-mentioned, 600 *Moorish* horse, and 7000 foot: the other consisted of 600 horse and 6000 foot, and was commanded by another general. The onset, according to *Tellez*, and other *Portuguese* writers, was very fierce and furious for some time on both sides, except on that of the *Abissinians*, who were easily thrown into disorder by the *Turks*, and, with some difficulty, were rallied by the *Portuguese*. In the height of the engagement, *Granbe* appearing on his white horse, with his *Turks* on *L* *shot by* each side, to support his own men, and venturing too near a *Portuguese* enemy, a *Portuguese*, named *Peter Lion*, a man of low *guese* stature, but an excellent marksman, seeing him to be within *mark* gun-shot, let fly at him with such dexterity, that he quickly *man* brought him sprawling on the ground. The two *Turks* fell dead on each side of him by some other shot, before they could carry his body off; which being observed by the rest of his troops, they immediately turned their backs without striking another stroke. The other *Turkish* general did in *His army* deed maintain the fight some time longer with great bravery, *routed* and, whilst the emperor's forces were in pursuit of the flying *Moors*, made a stout defence against the *Portuguese*, till all the 200 *Turkish* musqueteers were slain, except 14, who fled to *Granbe's* wife, and acquainted her with their defeat, and her husband's death. Upon the news of which, she imme- *His wife* diately rode away with 250 horse, that were left to guard *carried* her, and all the treasure that *Granbe* had been hoarding up *off, with* during the war. All this time the *Portuguese* were busy in *his trea-* slaying all that fell in their way, and plundering the camp, *sure* in which they found, besides a considerable spoil, a prodigious quantity of provisions, and a great number of *Abissinian* captives, whom they released, to their no small joy; some meet-

The emperor's gratitude to the Portuguese.

meeting with their parents, others with their children, wives, relations, and friends; so that they could not but express the liveliest gratitude to their brave deliverers; and the young emperor failed not to give them the greatest marks of his esteem for their signal bravery, and for so effectual a victory, which paved the way to the recovery of a great part of his dominions: and, among other tokens of his thankfulness to God for it, ordered a noble monastery to be built on the field of battle, in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ * (A):

* BERMUD. ubi sup. TELLEZ, ex Almeyda, Lobo, & al.

(A) Bermudez, however, adds a singular circumstance, which reflects no small discredit on the *Abissinian* gratitude, especially with regard to the young monarch. It is as follows: One of his officers having observed *Granbe* to fall off his horse, took an opportunity to cut off his head; which, as soon as the fight was over, he came and laid at his majesty's feet, and took upon him the honour of being the person who had slain him, and of course, of being the chief instrument of that complete victory. The young emperor, glad at heart to hear that he owed so signal a service to one of his subjects, not only thanked him very affectionately for it, but made him captain-general of all his forces.

Unluckily for the *Abissinian* boaster, the general *Aries Diz*, who was thoroughly acquainted with the affair, begged of his majesty to examine how many ears were on that head; which he did, and found that one of them had been lately cut off: upon which, he took the liberty to tell him, that that ear wanting was in the possession of a person of much superior va-

lour to the braggadocio: one who had actually shot the *Moorish* king, and cut off that ear, whilst his *Abissinian* forces were viewing the engagement from a distant eminence, where they stood posted; and, for a confirmation of what he said, ordered *Peter Lion* to be brought, who immediately produced the ear; which was found to match the other so exactly as to put the matter out of all doubt.

Lion, however, desired the bragging officer to shew him the weapon with which he had given *Granbe* his death-wound: to which he giving no answer, the *Portuguese* told his majesty, that, if they examined the dead body, they would find that he had been killed by a musket-ball; a weapon, added he, which he knows not how to use. This circumstance, upon examination, being likewise verified, the young monarch was covered with confusion, and ordered his officer to be cashiered and disgraced (18): for this brave soldier had, it seems, formerly belonged to Don *Christopher de Gama*, and had done that action merely to revenge his death.

(18) Bermudez, cap. 3. Tellez, ex Almeyda.

THE king and his army descending from the high grounds *Some of* of Oynadaga, came and incamped on the banks of the *Dem- them con-* bean lake, where they tarried two whole months; in which *duct his* time, forty *Portuguese*, who had formerly fled from the *mother to* slaughter, when Don *Christopher* was defeated, and had taken *him.* the way to *Mazwa*, with a design to embark for *Portugal*, hearing of *Granbe's* overthrow and death, returned back, and, taking the empress with them, came and joined the imperial camp. All this while, the head of *Granbe*, which had *Granbe's* been shewed first to that princess, was conveyed and shewed *head car-* through all the other parts of the empire, together with the *ried about* news of his total overthrow, occasioned such universal re- *the em-* joicing among all the people, that the *Moors*, who were posted *sire.* in garisons in several kingdoms and provinces, by which means they held them in subjection, hearing of this grand defeat, thought fit to abandon all those strong-holds, and those countries were glad to return to their obedience; and even those who had been most forward in going over to them, and had changed their religion, in order to obtain better terms from them, were, upon their re-submission, all pardon- *They all* ed, and received into favour. Great rejoicings were likewise *submit,* made at the arrival of the empress, whose son went to meet *and are* her about a league off his camp, yet without acquainting *pardoned.* the patriarch with it; which shewed that he still retained his former resentment; so that that princess was not a little surprised at his not being of the company, and no less displeased when he acquainted her with the reason of it.

BUT this was not the only instance, in which the young *The Por-* prince mortified both him and the *Portuguese* that were with *tuguese* him. Among those governors of provinces, that had been *fall out* pardoned for going over to the *Mohammedans*, and shewing an *with the* irreconcilable hatred to them, there was one of them, who, by *emperor.* his defection, had occasioned Don *Christopher's* defeat; against whom, therefore, they made strong remonstrances to the emperor, but in vain; his majesty telling them, that as he had given his word to pardon him, he could not go back from it. Which behaviour so exasperated the vindictive *Portuguese*, that they at once rushed into the traitor's tent, and stabbed him to death with their daggers *.

THIS piece of insolence, which the young monarch was *The patri-* obliged to let go unpunished, on account of their great ser- *arch irri-* vices, did, however, give him to understand what tyrannic *tates him* lords he was likely to fall under, if he did not take some proper *by his* means to suppress them. On the other hand, the haughty *proud de-* *mands;*

* Ibid. *ibid.*

patriarch was daily soliciting him, in the strongest terms, to perform the engagements he had forced from him, to make a public abjuration of the *Abissinian* heresy, and submit to the pope and church of *Rome*. He proceeded so far as to threaten him with excommunication, and the withdrawing his *Portuguese* forces; the worst of it was, that he had, about this time, received a haughty message from the exasperated King of *Adel*, on account of his ill-treatment of the late vanquished *Granbe*, and causing his head to be carried through all his dominions. He threatened him, that he should soon find a second and more formidable *Granbe* in him, and be once more stripped by him of all his newly-recovered dominions.

and obliges
him to
yield.

The king
of Adel
marches
against
them.

Is defeat-
ed, and
killed.

His queen
taken pri-
soner, and
given in
marriage
to Arias
Diz.

The young emperor saw himself obliged to manage the prelate and his *Portuguese*, till he, by their assistance, had got the better of his powerful foe; and only begged time till then to perform his promises to them. He intreated him to stay behind with the empress his mother, whilst he and his forces marched with the *Portuguese* against the enemy¹. After a long and tedious march, they came to a broad but shallow river, on the other side of which the *Adelian* monarch and his forces were incamped, and which the horse crossed over with ease, and the foot were ferried over on rafters covered with hides. All this was done in the night, without being perceived by the enemy; so that they came suddenly upon them, and plied their fire-arms so successfully against them, before they could put themselves in order of battle, that they made a great slaughter among them. Several Christians were likewise killed and wounded; and, among the latter, the young emperor, but not dangerously. At length, the king of *Adel* was slain; at the sight of which, his dastardly *Moors* betook themselves to a speedy flight; but were pursued with great slaughter, and a much greater number were taken prisoners, and, amongst them, the *Adelian* queen. The young emperor failed not to express his thankfulness to the *Portuguese* for this fresh victory; and, as a token of his gratitude, presented them with all the vast and rich plunder of the enemy's camp, to be equally divided amongst them: reserving only to himself the horse and scymitar of the slain king, and the person of the queen, whom he afterwards bestowed on *Arias Diz*, their general, together with the kingdoms of *Doar* and *Belwa*, in order to raise him to an equal degree with her, as well as to prevail upon her to become a Christian and his wife².

¹ BERMUD. ubi sup. & al. sup. citat.
c. 3.

² BERMUD. in fin.

THIS

THIS was indeed a master-piece of policy in that young monarch, and such as was likely to have disconcerted all the patriarch's measures, as we shall soon see, and rendered all his haughty threatenings vain and abortive, could any princely policy be an equal match with that of a selfish prelate, intrusted with such a plenary power both from the pope and king of *Portugal* over a set of slaves and bigots to their authority. The overthrow of the *Moorish* army had no sooner restored peace and tranquillity to the empire, and the prince, with his victorious army, reached the kingdom of *Dembea*, than the flushed patriarch renewed his former instances with more boldness than ever; by which he became daily more irksome and odious both to him and his court. *Arias Diz*, the *Portuguese* general, gained and overcome by his late liberality, and raised to the royal dignity, had privately renounced the church of *Rome*, and been baptized into that of the country, and taken the name of *Mark*. The consequence of which was, that the young emperor, thinking himself sure of his interest, began to treat the patriarch with greater coldness and contempt, whenever he came into his presence. He now no more rose from his seat to receive his blessing, nor suffered him to sit any longer before him, or to remind him of his old promises. This strange behaviour soon raised in *Bermudez* all his pride and resentment, inso-
 much that he scrupled not to tell him one day, that he was not only a shameful ingrate to the king of *Portugal*, by whose favours and victorious arms he was restored to his lost empire, but, which was still worse, a rebel to *Jesus Christ*, in violating that respect which was due to him as his representative; adding, that he would be accursed, rejected, and excommunicated, if ever he relapsed into the errors of the *Alexandrian* church, which God had suffered to fall under the tyranny of the *Turks* for its defection from the apostolic see of *Rome*. This speech, which rather exasperated than frightened the young monarch, were only answered with re-
 criminations against the *Romish* church; after which, he bluntly told him, that if it was not out of consideration of his being his godfather, he would not scruple to have him drawn and quartered: upon which, he immediately withdrew to his own tent.

NOT long after, he received express prohibition to send any further orders to the *Portuguese* forces, who were now under the command of *Marco*, his captain-general, and should no longer obey any but him. To which he answered, that they, being subjects of the king of *Portugal*, were now no longer under any obligation to obey one who had proved

The Portuguese
fortify
themselves
against
him

Repel the
emperor's
forces.

Marco
betrays
them by his
counsel.

a traitor to his king and religion ; and that since his majesty still persisted in his refusal of submitting to the pope, contrary to his former promise, he was resolved to withdraw his forces and himself out of his empire : but was soon given to understand, that he was absolute master in his dominions, and expected them to pay obedience to his general, and to none else ; the upshot of which was, that all, as one man, resolved to die sword in hand, in opposition to such ungrateful tyranny ; and went about immediately to fortify their camp against him *.

THE emperor, who interpreted this last step as bidding him open defiance, ordered them to be attacked with all speed ; but with such ill success, that his cuirassiers, who were the foremost in the van, were either burnt to death, or forced to fly half-burnt, by the fire which they set to a quantity of gunpowder scattered about in an ambush, into which they had drawn them by a feigned flight. This threw the king into a new fit of despair ; upon which, the apostate *Arias*, now *Marco*, told him, that, since the Portuguese could not be vanquished by open force, he ought to try to do it by treachery. Pursuant to which advice, they were sent for by *Claudius*, who appeared extremely sorrowful for his too frequent breach of promise, and desirous again to make all possible satisfaction both to the patriarch and to them (B) ; but, in fact, meaning the very reverse : for *Marco* the traitor, whose counsel the young monarch followed in every thing, soon put him in a way to elude all their demands, by a double piece of fresh perfidy, viz. first, by forbidding all his subjects furnishing them with any kind of sustenance, and the other, by stopping their mouths with a timely donative of a considerable quantity of gold and fresh provisions, and a very valuable present to the patriarch, whilst the most proper means were taking for dispersing and confining their chiefs in

* BERMUD. *ibid.* c. 4.

(B) That is, as we are told, to the former, to give him leave, on the ensuing *Christmas*, to make a public ordination, over and above his making a public acknowledgment of his submission to the pope and church of *Rome* ; and to the others, to

bestow on them one third-part of the territories they had recovered for him. For these two additional conditions these incroachers had, it seems, extorted from him, since the former, in the time of his great distress (20).

(20) *Bermuden*, c. 4. *Tollez*, lib. ii. c. 3. *Lobo*, *Le Grand*, p. 295, & *al.*

several

several distant provinces of the empire; beyond the possibility of their ever re-uniting again.

THE *Portuguese*, however, were soon apprised of this treachery, as well as of his having obtained a new Abuna from the patriarch of *Alexandria*, who was coming to him with all the speed he could. Bermudez was forced to come afresh to expostulate with him; but, instead of fair promises, as formerly, had the mortification to hear it all owned and excused with his own mouth. The reason which he gave for the one was, that he chose thus to separate them to prevent their raising new troubles during his absence, he being just on the point of marching against the *Gallas*: "and as to you, my father," added he, "you must be content to stay in the territory of the *Gaffates*, where you will have nothing to do but to pray for me, till my return. There you will be respected, and have that canton allotted to you for your maintenance. I found it sufficient for myself and my few troops, during my late stay in it, and doubt not but it will be so for you and yours." Marco coming in just then to desire the emperor to send to *Alexandria* for the new patriarch, was answered, "God blefs my dear Marco! My dear friend, the thing is already done ^b."

BERMUDEZ was accordingly obliged to depart with his retinue, and some field-pieces, for the mountainous territory above-mentioned, under a strong guard, and arrived there after eight days difficult march; and, at his arrival, the captain ordered the heads of the people to pay him the revenue which they did to the emperor; which was done accordingly. About seven months after, hearing that the monarch was returned from his unsuccessful war against the *Gallas*, he resolved to return to him; and, to prevent the captain's opposing him, caused him, on some pretence, to be tied hands and feet, and severely cudgelled, and some of his field-pieces to be fired at random among his men, two of whom were killed by the shot; which threw the rest into such consternation, that they were glad to let him to go unmolested, and even to intreat him to do so: which, he the more readily did, as he was since told that the traitor *Mark* was dead; and had been buried with the utmost pomp by the emperor, and with as real grief as if he had been a brother, or some dear relation. Bermudez met, in his way to court, one of his *Portuguese*, who was taking possession of some lands which that monarch had assigned him, and who told him,

^b BERMUD. ubi sup. TELLEZ, ubi sup. LOBO, ib. LE GRAND, P. 93.

that he had divided his *Portuguese* troops into two squadrons, and given the command of one of them to *Lopez de Almanza*, and that of the other to *Gaspar de Souza*, with a design that they should be always near his person; but that the *Portuguese* had rejected the first, as being a stranger, and one of the late *Marco's* partisans: so that the whole command of them was given to the latter. This news was the more welcome to the patriarch, as *Soza* was his nephew, and much attached to him.

He was accordingly joyfully received by those of his nation, and, in outward appearance, by the emperor, who sent him his compliments on his safe arrival, with a present of 500 ounces of gold; but was obliged to keep him at a distance, on account of his being then expecting that of the new Abuna from *Alexandria*. During his stay in the camp, he was given to understand, by an officer of distinction, under the most solemn promises of secrecy, that the emperor so highly repented his behaviour to him, especially his obliging him to acknowledge the *Romish* pontif, that he ran the greatest risk, if he did not quickly and privately withdraw himself. But as he still insisted on seeing and speaking to his majesty, he ordered two of his officers to seize and convey him to one of their *ambas*, or craggy high rocks, already described, to prevent his ever getting out of his dominions. He was, however, soon rescued out of their hands by his brave nephew; who, when blamed for it by the emperor, made no scruple to tell him, that he had done nothing unworthy of his character, in rescuing their patriarch out of the hands of a tyrant, who knew only to return evil for good; and that he must not expect that he, or his *Portuguese*, should ever suffer a prelate of theirs, who had done him such signal services, to be cowardly given up to his resentment. *Claudius*, finding them so resolute in his defence, vouchsafed to invite him again to his presence, loaded him with fulsome caresses, and appointed him an income of 20,000 crowns *per annum*, as patriarch to them; whilst *Joseph*, now arrived in his dominions, was declared Abuna of the *Abissines*. To prevent their making any resistance to this establishment, he bethought himself of sending them into some distant province, on the frontiers of the *Gallas*, and of the kingdom of *Adel*, where he was sensible they should meet with but a cold welcome from the inhabitants, and be continually harassed by their neighbours (C).

ACCORD-

* See before, p. 94, & seq.

(C) He made choice of the two small kingdoms of *Dewaro* and *Bale*, which he had lately bestowed on his favourite *Marco*, upon

ACCORDINGLY they were scarcely settled there, before the governor of that territory began to lay his treacherous designs for cutting them all off; and would effectually have done it, had they not been constantly upon their guard, and had recourse at length to a stratagem, which they had often tried with success, and which would, at one lucky stroke, rid them of a foe so much superior to them in number^d: for, in other respects, they were such pusillanimous dastards, that they refused to attack them, as soon as they found themselves observed by the enemy, till *Calido* himself appeared, and obliged them to move forward; little dreaming of the imminent danger he was in: for as he was easily known by his dress, he was no sooner come within reach of their musket-shot, than seven of their best marksmen, who had been posted in the front, let fly at him at once, even before the onset had begun; so that the rest, seeing their commander dead before them, immediately laid down their arms, and readily promised to submit, and pay their tribute to them; which they accordingly did. This lucky hit procured them four months respite; and the emperor, who always looked upon *Calido* with a jealous eye, was no less agreeably surpris'd at the news of his death, and sent a messenger to congratulate them upon their success.

The governor of Dowaso slain by them.

The rest submit to them.

AT the end of the four months, they received a fresh message from him, to acquaint them, that the *Gallas* would soon pour in their numerous forces upon their little camp; as they accordingly did, and made several attempts upon the eminence on which they were then advantageously posted, during the space of ten or twelve days. The *Portuguese*, who dared not come out of their camp, killed great numbers of them with their fire-arms, as long as their powder lasted: but that being now wanting, and they being in expectation of

1555.

A new irruption of the Gallas against them.

^d See the last note.

upon his marriage with the widow of the king of *Adel*, as has been already hinted; and, after that traitor's death, had given the government of it to one *Calido*, whom he knew to hate the *Portuguese*, and would be still a more inveterate enemy to them, as they were to be maintained out of the revenue of

these provinces, and thereby greatly diminish his own. To crush them more effectually, the king immediately raised 7000 horse, 6000 foot, and 600 archers, against their little squadron, which, our author tells us, hardly consisted now of 150 men (21).

(21) *Bermud. ubi sup.*

Q 4

the

*Their
brave de-
fence.*

*The empe-
ror's ex-
cessive
grief on
his arri-
val.*

*Takes a
progress
with them
through
some of his
provinces.*

*The patri-
arch closely
watched.*

the emperor's arrival, they set themselves about making it, the country abounding with saltpetre and wood, till he brought them a fresh supply. Upon his arrival, and seeing so great a part of these two kingdoms almost depopulated by those barbarians, he not only swooned away, and continued senseless a considerable time, but was in danger of losing his reason, through excess of grief. They took that opportunity to induce him to be again reconciled to the church of *Rome*, and to her patriarch, and to give him hopes, that if he did, Providence would not fail of proving more favourable to him. He lent a deaf ear to them, and ordered them to follow him; which they did through several of his provinces, some of which had refused their tribute, and others were ready to follow their example; and, by their help, reduced the one to their duty, and over-awed the rest.

THIS expedition being ended*, about winter they desired to return to the province of *Beth Miriam*, where he had allotted them lands to live on. *Bermudez* followed them thither; but *Don Gaspar de Souza*, who was their commander, had strict orders to prevent his making his escape; whilst others of his *Abissines* were enjoined to have a watchful eye over him, and even to kill him, if he attempted it. To prevent, therefore, his design being discovered (for he was resolved at all hazards to try to give that untractable monarch the slip), he pretended to be laid up with the gout, and to want a change of air; and, during his nephew's absence, told the principals of the province, that he was going, for the recovery of his health, to the monastery of *Debarowa*; and hoped that the prayers of the good monks there would contribute to it. By this artifice, he found means to cross the kingdom of *Tigre* with only eight faithful servants; and, after many windings and stratagems, had the good fortune to reach it, without being stopped or suspected. Here he met with an affectionate reception from the monks, and other *Portuguese*; but was forced to keep himself concealed†, or rather confined, near two whole years (D), before he could find an opportunity to get

* BERMUD. ubi sup. TELLEZ, & LOBO, pass. † TELLEZ.

(D) That this last was his case, appears from some further particulars which he himself gives of his stay there, and deserve to be here subjoined. Soon after his arrival, the *Bahr-nagath* of that country, a well-wisher to him, came with no small joy to welcome him, and earnestly to intreat him not to offer to run away, but to return to the emperor; which last he absolutely refused; but, to conceal his design from him, told him, that he only desired to spend the rest of his days in a neighbour-

get to the island of *Mazowa*, on the *Red Sea*, where he was *Makes his* to embark for *Goa*, in a ship which was likewise to take in an *escape to* *Abissinian* ambassador, whom the emperor was sending thither *Mazwa*. to the viceroy. He arrived safe at that island, after a variety of difficulties and dangers, in the year 1556; and was likely to 1556. meet with a fresh obstruction from the ambassador, who, surprised to find him there, whom he thought to have been closely confined within some strong *amba* of the empire, refused to go on board, if the patriarch was suffered to go with him. The captain of the galleys, whose name was *Don Antonio Peixoto*, however, paid so much regard to the prelate, that he readily took him on board his own vessel; upon which, the envoy went back as soon as he saw him on board, rightly judging that he should meet but with an indifferent welcome from the viceroy of *Goa*, if *Bermudez* failed thither with him, and perhaps a much worse from the emperor at his return.

As to what happened to the patriarch after his arrival at *Sails for Goa*, it being beside our present subject, we shall only add, *Goa and* that, after several fresh dangers and disasters, he happily ar- *Lisbon*. rived at *Lisbon*, where he met with a gracious reception from

neighbouring hermitage, dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*. The *Bahr-nagash* then begged of him, that he would repeal the dreadful sentence of excommunication, which he had fulminated against the emperor and his subjects; promising, on that condition, to obtain his majesty's permission for his retiring to the hermitage; and accordingly sent an express to him about it. The messenger being returned in a few days, brought word, that his majesty was irreconcilable to him, for having branded him with the names of *heretic* and *excommunicate*; that, if it had not been out of regard to the *Portuguese*, he would have long ago put him to death. He added, that he was a traitor, a forsworn wretch, who had violated the oath he had taken to him, not to stir out of his do-

minions without his leave; and concluded with an express charge to that officer to have him narrowly watched, and to take particular care of him.

Not long after, whilst the *Bahr-nagash* was gone to court, *Bermudez* received the news of *Don Antonio Peixoto's* arrival with his two galleys at the island of *Mazowa*; a few days after which, the church of *Our Lady* at *Debarawa* being by some accident burnt down to the ground, he made that a pretence for going over to that island, in order to beg some money of those *Portuguese* towards the rebuilding of it; and, by that artifice, over-reached the *Bahr-nagash* and the *Abissines*, who had the charge of him, and embarked in one of the galleys for *Goa* (22).

(22) *Bermudez*, 26. sup. ad fin. cap.

king *Stephen*, who had by that time succeeded *John III.* and obtained a handsome maintenance from him during the rest of his life.

*His plain
account
worthy of
credit.*

THUS ended the patriarch-commission, after a residence, or rather troublesome confinement, of above thirty years in the *Abissinian* dominions. Upon which account, his plain relation to us appears the more authentic, as he had an opportunity of seeing many places in it, to which the Jesuits, ever suspected in those parts, were denied access, and consequently of being thoroughly acquainted with a much greater number of transactions than they, who were kept at a great distance from the court, and other scenes of action. Those that have written any thing concerning that empire, since their expulsion out of it, plainly appear to have affected, from motives of resentment, to extenuate the power and grandeur of its monarchs; and *Tellez* himself hath not scrupled to represent that, which is in the frontispiece of his book, as a negro half-naked, quite contrary to the description which *Bermudez*, *Poncet*, and *Gregory* the *Abissinian* abbot, have given us of them. We shall conclude his relation with some observations with which he closes his own, to the prince to whom he dedicates it; and which, in his plain, yet zealous, way of expressing, gives us a much clearer insight into the ends and views of the pope and king of *Portugal*, in sending the *Abissinian* emperors such a seasonable aid, than we could ever get from the writings of all his other cautious brethren. They are to this effect:

*The conclusion of
it very re-
markable.*

“ WE have been looked upon, and given over, in this
“ country, as altogether lost beyond recovery; and it is
“ wholly owing to the little care that hath been taken of
“ us, that our expedition hath proved of so small advantage;
“ and your highness will permit me to assure you, that our
“ affairs were brought to such a state, that, if we had been
“ duly supplied with fresh recruits, we should have proved
“ so strong, and gained such authority over the emperor, that
“ he must, whether he would or no, have submitted to the
“ church; and the people, by our preaching and commerce
“ with them, must have abjured the errors of the *Alexan-*
“ *drian* church. The conversion of the *Abissinians* would
“ have proved so much the easier, as they have no proud and
“ and arrogant men amongst them, but are pious, humble,
“ and sincerely zealous for the service of God, and readily
“ yield themselves up to conviction &c.

• Ibid. ad fin.

AND

“ AND as to the temporal advantage, it might have proved
 “ such as neither *Peru*, with all its gold, nor the *Indies*, with
 “ their vast commerce, would have been able to outweigh.
 “ There is a much greater quantity of gold to be found in
 “ the kingdom of *Damot*, and some others that border upon
 “ it, than in the whole continent of *Peru*, and much more
 “ easy to be come at, without that vast expence, and those
 “ continual wars, which attend the procuring it from the
 “ latter (E).”

CLAU-

(E) We have elsewhere taken notice of the great quantity of that metal which is brought into the empire from the kingdom of *Narea* (23), which is contiguous to that of *Damot*. This author elsewhere mentions another province in that neighbourhood, inhabited by Gentiles, whose lord is tributary to the *Abissinian* monarchs (24). This province the emperor *Claudius* took in his way; in the last progress he made with the *Portuguese* through the remote parts of his empire, because the lord of it had revolted, and was then at war with the kingdom of *Damot*, and sent *Bermudez* to him to reduce him by fair persuasion; which he accordingly did, and waited on his majesty with a vast quantity of gold. The reception he met with proved to be obliging to him, that, as an acknowledgement of it, he invited him and his *Portuguese* to come into his territories, where he would shew him what prodigious quantities of gold they produced. The way to it is across a large river, without either bridge or ferry-boat; and those who are permitted to go over it to fetch that metal, make use of buffaloes brought

up to it, who draw them across by their tails, and pay a certain duty to the lord. The land on the other side appears of a reddish brown hue, and the dust that is brought from thence yields two parts of gold to one of earth (25).

The emperor having fully satisfied himself of the truth of this by the men he sent over that river, and the essay which was made of the ore, advised the lord or owner of it to become a Christian; which he readily complied with, and was baptized by an *Abissinian* prelate of *Debra Libanos*. He then complained to that monarch of some very bad neighbours he had about him, who committed cruel ravages in his dominions, and begged the assistance of the *Portuguese* against them; who, with his permission went, and put whole provinces of them to fire and sword, and returned laden with the richest spoil, particularly gold and precious stones, besides a good number of slaves.

Thus it appears very plain what this mission and succours from *Portugal* aimed at; and what indeed must have been the fate of the *Abissine* monarchs,

(23) See before, p. 38.
Vide & Tellus &c al. sup. citat.

(24) *Bermud. ubi sup.*

(25) *Il. ibid.*

and

Clau-
dius's
kindness to
the other
Portu-
guese.

CLAUDIUS, though vexed at the escape of the patriarch, who, without all question, would now use his utmost efforts at the courts of *Rome* and *Lisbon* for fresh supplies both of troops and missionaries, to carry on their politic views against his church and empire, took all possible care, during the short remainder of his reign, to prevent their entrance into his dominions, and, at the same time, shewed himself very generous, in all respects, to those that remained, by giving them fertile lands to live on, and to enjoy their rich plunder in peace; not doubting but that they would become now more tractable and submissive to him, their zealous patriarch being got so far from them. He had not, however, enjoyed long this pleasing prospect, before he saw it unexpectedly troubled by the arrival of a new patriarch from *Goa*, who quickly revived the old claim of his predecessor with as great assiduity and vehemence: for those two courts were so far from dreaming of the ill-success of the old one, that they thought of nothing less than to see themselves, in a short time, masters of the whole empire; and the famous *Ignatius Loyola* was taking all proper measures to introduce and settle some of his newly-founded fraternity in it, and would willingly have gone thither himself, if the pope had not declared against it^h.

*Ignatius
Loyola
promotes a
new mis-
sion.*

*A new pa-
triarch
and am-
bassy sent
into Ethi-
opia.*

FOR the greater magnificence of this new mission, it was agreed that the king of *Portugal* should send *Don Ferdinand de Sousa* as his ambassador to the *Abissinian* court, along with *Don Nunez de Barreto*, the new patriarch. These, accompanied by *Don Andreas de Oviedo*, with the title of bishop of *Nicaea*, and father *Gonzalo de Sylveira*, with that of bishop of *Hierapolis*, and some others, embarked for *Goa* on the 15th of *March*, and arrived there on the 13th of *September* following, anno 1556. Here they were quickly apprised of the different state of that empire from what they expected, and therefore resolved not to expose either the patriarch or ambassador to the resentment of the emperor, but to send thither first *Don Andreas de Oviedo*, with some of his compa-

TELLEZ, CODIGN, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. ubi sup.

and their vast dominions, if those few *Portuguese* had been constantly supplied with fresh recruits, arms, and ammunition, from *Europe*. Nothing less than a double slavery must have been the consequence of that expedi-

tion, a spiritual one to the pope and church of *Rome*, and a temporal one to the *Portuguese* monarchs; either of which was too heavy for them to bear, and much more so when joined and closely linked together.

panions ;

nions; who accordingly sailed thence in four small vessels, and arrived at *Arkico* about the end of *March*, the ensuing year, and thence travelled by land to the monastery of *Debarowá*, where the *Bahr-nagash Isaac* resided. This was the same who had formerly introduced *Don Christopher de Gama* into *Abissinia*; and as he had some private views in favouring the *Portuguese*, and was not without great hopes, by their means, of making himself master of the kingdom of *Tigre*, one of the largest and richest in the whole empire, received them with great pomp and courtesousness. This happened to be at a time when the *Mohammedan Moors* had made some considerable conquests on that side, and were marching still nearer to *Debarowá*; so that not thinking it safe to continue long there, he dispatched a messenger with a letter to acquaint the emperor of his arrival, and the occasion of it, and to beg to be admitted to an audience as soon as possible. The emperor readily consented to it, and the bishop and his company, who made a most gallant shew in their march, met with a very gracious reception from him. *Oviedo* being introduced into his presence by the *Bahr-nagash* with great solemnity, immediately acquainted him with his commission; and that the pope and king of *Portugal* expected no less from him than an effectual and speedy performance of his former engagements to them.

Oviedo
well re-
ceived by
the politic
Bahr-
nagash.

His audi-
ence at
court.

He delivered it in such a manner, that the emperor could not prevent his dislike and resentment from appearing in his looks. At length recollecting himself, he represented to him the difficulty there would be to persuade his subjects, who had always acknowledged the *Alexandrian* patriarch as head of their church, to consent now to such a change; however, he promised that he would advise with his council, and his learned men, about it; and accordingly consented that the matter should be fairly debated between him and them. *Oviedo* justly looked upon all this as a pretence to gain time, especially as the emperor, who often assisted at their meetings, made use of such strong arguments as they could hardly withstand; and therefore chose to write against all their errors; and when he thought that he had mastered and sufficiently confuted them all, he delivered them to his majesty; who, on his side did not fail to answer him in the same way, and in such a manner, as if it did not convince him, yet gave him sufficient cause to think that he would never be prevailed upon to submit to the pope or *Roman* church (F).

This

(F) What is somewhat surprising in that generous monarch's behaviour towards this prelate, is that he neither offered to

Excommu- This intercourse lasted till the latter end of December 1558, nicatory when the bishop thought fit to withdraw himself from court, *letter, and* which he did in February following, and only left a circular, *retire-* as *Tellez* calls it, but was rather an insolent, letter behind him, ment. addressed to his *Portuguese*, and their converts, and cautioning them against conversing with schismatics; concluding with an earnest exhortation to the *Abissines* to forsake their errors, and submit to the *Roman* church.

ALL this while the emperor was making great preparations to go and oppose the progress of the forces of the king of *Adel*, who had invaded his eastern dominions with a powerful army, commanded by an experienced general, called *Noor*,

to detain him prisoner, as he had done the patriarch *Bermudez*, nor suffered any of the *Abissines* to shew him any disrespect; on the contrary, he even seemed touched with a sense of his danger, in withdrawing himself at a time when his way to the *Red Sea* was beset with *Mohammedan Moors*, who would shew him no mercy, if he had the misfortune to fall into their hands: insomuch that his fear and concern for him is said (26) to have made him cry out, *Alas! what will become of the poor bishop, if I should chance to be killed!*

It was, however, far otherwise with the empress, his mother, who, tho' once so great a friend to the patriarch and his *Portuguese*, and had taken such pains to reconcile her son to them and to the church of *Rome*, was now become one of their most inveterate enemies, and the most strenuous opposer of the re-union of the *Abissinian* church with that of *Rome*. But it is not unlikely, that their insolent and tyrannic behaviour,

of which we have given many pregnant instances, were the occasion of this change (27). Neither will the good bishop *Oviedo's* circulatory, or, to speak more properly, excommunicatory letter give them, or us, a more favourable proof of his pastoral charity. It was to this purport: "We do, by this our sentence, decree and declare all the people of *Ethiopia*, who refuse to submit to the holy *Roman* church, the mother of all churches, excommunicate, &c. For which reason, we charge all our spiritual children to separate themselves wholly from them. And as to the *Ethiopians*, we turn them over to the sentence of the church, to be punished by it either in their persons or goods, either publicly or privately, and to be treated with mercy or severity, according as their amendment doth more or less deserve. Given at our church of *Dalomo*, February 2d, 1559. Signed *Andreas*, bishop of *Hierapolis* (28).

(26) *Eman. Fernandez's Letter to F. Jac. Laynez*, 1562. *Tellez*, ubi sup. lib. ii. c. 27. & al. sup. citat. (27) *Tellez*, & al. ubi sup. *La Croix*, *Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie*. 1697. (28) *Id. ibid.* p. 296, & seq. Vide & *Quesd's Church Hist. of Ethiopia*, lib. iii.

or *Noor*, a man who then burned with impatience to revenge *Noor*, a his father's death, who had been killed, with the *Moor Granbe*, Moorish at the battle of *Ogara*, lately mentioned; and had watched *general*, all opportunities to make himself thoroughly acquainted with *invades* the strength and state of the empire. Being at length in *Ethiopia* formed that *Claudius's* forces were neither very numerous, nor well-disciplined enough to make head against his own, which had been long inured to the invading trade, he entered his dominions with a great army of foot, and 1700 horse, putting all to fire and sword where-ever he came, till his progress was stopped by the *Abissine* forces, which came to meet him, with all the speed they could, with their monarch at their head ^b.

THEY met accordingly in a spacious plain, fit for the pur-^{The Abif-}pose, and the two armies engaged with the greatest eagerness ^{lines put} on both sides; but the *Abissines*, who were quite undiscip-^{to fight.}lined, no sooner felt the fury of the first onset, than they threw down their arms, and fled with their usual speed, and left their sovereign in the greatest danger and extremity. The *Portuguese*, who had been called on this occasion, but were now dwindled to less than 150, behaved with their usual bravery, as long as they were able; whilst he, like a wise and ^{The empe-}intrepid warrior, still struck terror among the infidels, and ^{ror's}flew many of them with his own hand. At length being ^{brave}himself quite overpowered by numbers, forsaken by his da-^{defence,}rdly troops, and, with only eighteen *Portuguese*, left to ^{and death.}defend himself, he rushed with them, with more fury than prudence, upon the enemy, by whom he was soon pierced with wounds, and ended his life and reign by an honourable death, in the month of *March* 1558, or, according to others, 1559. The *Moors*, now become victors, and masters of the field of battle, pursued their advantage with their usual greediness, slew great numbers of the fugitives, took a greater number of them prisoners, and plundered the *Abissine* camp of an immense wealth. *Noor*, the *Adelian* general, *Noor's* having gained so complete a victory, immediately returned to ^{singular}*Adel*, laden with spoils and laurels, and was every-where re-^{humility.}ceived with acclamations of joy, but more especially in his master's capital, into which he chose to make his entry, mounted on an ass; alleging, that as God alone, for whom he fought, had given him the victory, so all the glory of it was due to him only. A wonderful instance of moderation in an infidel, says our author, and fit to confound the Chri-

^b TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, &c.

stians,

stians, who are generally puffed up with vanity upon every small success¹.

The emperor's memory unjustly blasted.

THIS was the unfortunate end of the wife and brave emperor *Claudius*, or *Asnaf Segued* (which last name he took at his accession to the crown) in the flower of his age, and in the eighteenth, or, according to *Ludolph*, nineteenth of his reign; during all which, even in his minority, he still strenuously opposed the incroachments of the patriarch *Bernmudez*, his godfather, and of his missionaries, in consequence of the great concessions which his father had made to them: so that he never gave them any hopes of his submitting to the church of *Rome*, but when he was on the brink of losing his empire; but the danger over, he found means to evade the execution of his most solemn promises. And it is to this his frequent breach of his word, and stiff refusal to comply with their demands, that those good fathers ascribe all his ill success and untimely end, as well as all the disasters that happened in the empire after his death: as if it was indeed a more heinous crime in him to elude the performance of such promises, which had been extorted from him in his extreme danger, and contrary to his conscience, and the declaration and learned defence he had caused to be published of his faith, than it was for them to extort and insist on those promises, knowing them to be such: for how much soever they have thought fit to blacken and tarnish his memory, on that account, yet he always acted towards them with an open frankness, and open profession of his faith, not only in those disputes which he allowed them to have with his clergy, and wherein he often assisted, and repelled their arguments with such strength and reason, as surprised them all; but much more in that public confession of his faith above-mentioned; the sum and substance of which the reader may see in the margin (G): for what was this but an open and sincere appeal

His confession of faith.

¹ TELLEZ, l. ii. c. 27. LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al.

(G) The confession of faith of *Claudius* king of *Ethiopia*.

my flock, which is within the inclosure of my kingdom.

In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one only God.

We believe in one God, and in his only Son *JESUS CHRIST*, who is his Word, Power, Wisdom, and counsel; who was with him before the world was created: and in the latter days came down unto us, though he left

This is my faith, and the faith of my ancestors, kings of the *Israelites*; and the faith of

peal to God and the world, against their tyrannic compelling him to apostatise from a church he could so well defend ;
and

left not the throne of his Divine Majesty, and was made man by the power of the Holy Ghost, and born of the holy Virgin *Mary*. He was baptized in the river *Jordan* in the 30th year of his age, and was hanged on the tree of the cross in the days of *Pontius Pilate* ; suffered, died, and was buried, and rose again on the third day. And after forty days he gloriously ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right-hand of his Father ; and shall thence again come down to judge the quick and dead ; whose kingdom shall have no end.

And we believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father.

And we believe one baptism for the remission of sins ; we hope for a resurrection of the dead, and a future eternal life.
Amen.

We do, in this, walk in the plain and true highway, neither turning to the right or left-hand, from the doctrine of the fathers, the twelve apostles ; of *Paul*, the fountain of wisdom, of the seventy-two disciples, of the three hundred and eighteen orthodox fathers of the council of *Nice*, the hundred and fifty of that of *Constantinople*, and the two hundred of that of *Ephesus*. And thus I believe and teach ; even I, *Claudius*, king of *Ethiopia*, and according to the name of my kingdom, *Asnaf Segued*, the son of *Vanag Segued*, the son of *Naod*.

As to our observation of the Sabbath, or seventh day, we do
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not do it like the *Jews*, who crucified our Lord, and cried out, *His blood be upon us and upon our children* ; and who neither draw water, nor kindle fire, nor dress victuals, nor bake bread, nor stir out from house to house : but we celebrate it by receiving the holy communion, and assisting at our *Agape*, or feasts of charity, as they were enjoined by the apostles in their Constitutions. We do not celebrate it as we do the first day, which is a new day, of which *David* speaks ; *this is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it* : because on that day our Lord *Jesus Christ* arose, and the Holy Ghost descended on the apostles, in the house, or parlour, (*Cenaculum*) of *Zion* ; and on the same day *Christ* was incarnate in the womb of his ever immaculate virgin mother ; and shall come again, to reward the just, and punish the wicked.

As to our rite of circumcision, we do not receive it as the *Jews* do, well remembering the words of *St. Paul*, the fountain of wisdom, that *neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ*. The same apostle saying likewise to the *Corinthians*, *Is any man circumcised, let him not become uncircumcised*. The same doctrine he teaches in all his epistles. But circumcision is deemed among us as a typical custom, like the scar in the face in *Nubia*, and the boring the ears among
R

and from no worthier inducement, than that of a reluctant promise forced from him by them in his greatest extremity.

Is succeeded by Minas. HE died without children, and was succeeded by his brother *Minas*; who, as we formerly hinted, had been detained a prisoner of war among the *Mohammedan Moors*; and, if we may believe the *Portuguese* writers, had there acquired such cruel savageness in his temper; that his reign proved a very tyrannical one, during the short time it lasted, and especially against the jesuits, missionaries, and all the favourers of the church of *Rome*. This those good fathers ascribe in a greater measure to the height of libertinism and immorality, which had by this time spread itself among the *Portuguese*, than to his education among the *Turks*. But

A cruel prince, and an enemy to the missionaries.

* FERWARD. letter to F. Laynez. TELLEZ, ub. sup. p. 178. LOBO, ap. Le Grand, p. 294, & seq. LUDOLPH, & al,

among the *Indians*; and therefore is used by us, not out of regard to the *Mosaic* law, but, as a custom merely human.

The same we say with regard to our abstaining from eating swine's flesh; we neither do condemn those that eat it, nor command or forbid the eating of it, but follow the apostle's prescription to the *Romans*, *Let not him that eateth not, despise him that eateth, &c. For the kingdom of God consisteth not in meats and drink. To the clean all things are clean, but he sinneth who by his eating gives offence to his brother.* The same is also said in *St. Matthew's* gospel, *Not that which enters into a man, but that which cometh out of him, defileth him*; which utterly overturns the *Jewish* doctrine which was given to them by *Moses*.

My religion therefore, and the religion of my priests and doctors, who teach by my authority, and within the circuit of my empire, is not to deviate, or recede in the least, from the rules of the gospel, or the doc-

trine of our holy father *St. Paul*, either to the right-hand or the left. We read in the book called *Zarich*, that the emperor *Constantine* ordered all the *Jews* that were baptized into the Christian church to eat swine's flesh on the day of our Lord's resurrection: but with us, every man may either eat or abstain from it, as seems best to him: some like fish, others fowl, and some abstain from mutton; every one according as he likes best. But as to the eating of the flesh of any living creatures, we find neither law nor canon against it in the *New Testament*. *To the pure all things are clean. And he who believeth,* (saith *St. Paul*, *Rom. xiv. 2.*) *may eat any thing.*

This is what I intended to write to you, in order to inform you what my religion is.

Given in the kingdom of Damot, on the 23d of the month of June, in the year of our Lord's nativity 1555 (29).

(29) De hoc, vid. Ludolph. comment.

though

though we do not deny but their loose morals might draw such a severe judgment upon them; yet it is plainly enough to be seen, even by the writings of those fathers, that much more of that ill treatment which they met with from that emperor, was owing to their treachery to him, and their constant caballing with the old Bahr-naghash *Isaac*; who, as hath been lately hinted, had hatched some treasonable designs in the kingdom of *Tigre*, and was no farther a friend to them, than he found them so to his private views. *Who give into the views of the Bahr-naghash.*

MINAS, upon his accession to the crown, took upon him the surname of *Adamas Segued*; and, whether apprised of their intrigues with that ambitious governor, or on some other account, he began very soon to disclose his hatred against all the *Portuguese*. Father *Emanuel Fernandez*, chief of the mission, being then in great expectation of a fresh reinforcement from *Goa*, which had been promised to him on his departure from thence for this kingdom, wrote very pressingly for it, though to no purpose, which threw him into the greatest difficulties; because, on the one hand, the Bahr-naghash had put his chief hopes in that succour; and on the other, the emperor had not only deprived the few *Portuguese* that were left of the first expedition, of all the lands which his brother *Claudius* had given them, but likewise denied them the free exercise of their religion, and punished some of their converts, and others of their faith, with great severity. Their only refuge therefore was in the Bahr-naghash; but as no succour came from *Goa*, as that father had made him expect, they could hardly hope that he would undertake any thing in their favour, especially as they could give him so little assistance in their present distress. 1560.

THE emperor, however, had so far disoblinded his own Tazcaro subjects by his tyranny and cruelties, that the greatest men in the empire rebelled against him, and set up a bastard son of an elder brother deceased, upon the throne. This young prince, whose name was *Habitacum Tazcaro*¹, was soon joined by the prime officers of *Ethiopia*, and by the captain of the *Portuguese*, with about thirty of his men, the rest being then at too great a distance. Whether the Bahr-naghash *Isaac* was in the conspiracy or no, we are not sure; only thus much we know, that he was the first against whom the emperor *Minas* bent all his force. *Isaac* was then busy on the sea coast, and executing some orders he had received from *Tazcaro*, and being a martial man, marched out against

¹ De hoc, vid. LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 6. §. 27, & seq. TELLEZ, & al.
R 2 him,

Isaac de-
feated by
Minas.

1561.

him, and repulsed him at the first encounter, but was defeated and forced to fly. This victory gave that monarch an opportunity to march against his competitor *Tazcaro*, whom he reached about the beginning of *July* of the next year, and after a sharp engagement, overthrew him and took him prisoner^m.

1562.

The Abis-
sinians put
to flight.
Some jesu-
its taken
prisoners.

IN the interim, the Bahr-naghast, who had with some difficulty escaped to the sea-side, was there waiting still in expectation of receiving the long wished-for supplies from *Goa*; but his hopes being at length quite frustrated, and being no less afraid of a surprize from the emperor, found no other way to provide for his safety, than by concluding a league with the neighbouring *Mohammedans*; by whose assistance he set up another bastard brother in the room of *Tazcaro*, whom *Minas* had put to death. *Minas* lost no time, but marched against him and his *Moorish* allies at the head of a numerous army. Both sides engaged at first with equal bravery and eagerness, on the 20th of *April* of the year following; but the fire which the *Turkish* artillery made against the emperor's forces, threw them into such panic and confusion, that they immediately betook themselves to flight without striking a blow, and left the enemy masters of their camp. They likewise made a great number of prisoners; among whom was *Emanuel Fernandez*, and some others of his fraternity, whom the emperor had caused to be detained in his camp as hostages, and to be closely watched, as well as severely treated. They might have fared still much worse now in the hands of the *Turks*, their most bitter enemies, had not the Bahr-naghast taken pity of them, and procured them their liberty, together with some chalices, and other church utensils, which they had been stripped of. The reader may guess at their distressed condition, by the conclusion of one of their letters to their general, which we have subjoined in the margin (H). As for the Bahr-naghast and

^m *LYDOLPH, ub. sup. & auct. sup. citat.*

(H) We were, says the writer of the letter, made prisoners by the *Turks* and *Abissinians* that fought against the emperor; and God saved our lives by means of the *Portuguese* that were there. We had been robbed four times before, and were now reduced to the last

extremity; only the Bahr-naghast gave us our chalice, and some small things; the rest we ransomed as well as we could. You may, reverend father, judge of the miserable condition we now are in, being forty in family, and forced to relieve, when we are able, the

and his *Portuguese*, who had consented to his having recourse to the *Mohammedans* against the emperor, their name became so odious to all the *Abissinians*, especially to their monarchs, that they would never suffer any of them to be in their army from that time. What became of the king is variously reported; some saying, that seeing his country ruined by the *Turks*, and his chief sea-ports in their hands, he once more tried his fortune against them, and was defeated and killed; others, that he was forced to flee into some high mountains, where he led a wandering miserable life, till death put an end to it the year after his defeat ^{Minas' death.}

By this time, however, the viceroy of *Goa*, *Constantine de Braganza*, at the earnest and repeated instances of patriarch *Nunez Barreto*, had made some attempts, in vain, to get intelligence from *Abissinia*, the *Turks* having locked up all entrance into it, and guarding the sea-coast with their ships, to prevent any being brought to the *Portuguese* that were in it; infomuch, that of the three vessels that were sent thither by that governor, in *February*, an. 1560, one of them was taken, whilst the other escaped with great difficulty. In the first of them, father *Fulgentius* being taken prisoner, and very much wounded, continued a slave at *Kairo* some years, till he was redeemed by order of Pope *Paul IV.* and sent back to *Portugal*. Those jesuits that were still in the empire, and were no less desirous to transmit an account to *Goa* of their dismal situation, had no better luck in their attempt to send some of their society thither. The person they pitched upon was father *Gualdares*, and another *Portuguese*; who being come to *Mazwa*, understood that there was a ship there ready to sail for the *Indies*; upon which, they bribed a *Moor* with a considerable reward, to go privately

The Portuguese ill success on the Red Sea. Fulgentius taken prisoner.

^a Conf. TELLEZ, LOBO, & al. ub. sup. & LE GRAND, p. 295.

the *Portuguese* widows and orphans, and nobody to ask an alms of; for the *Portuguese* have more occasion to beg than give, and the natives more inclined to steal than to impart any thing. For our table, we have scarcely a bellyful of parched barley. The bishop (*Oviedo*) is not fit to be seen. We beg

your blessing, and the prayers of our society; and having no other way left to write to your reverence, may take this, if it comes to your hands, for the last. *Ethiopia*, July 29, 1562.
Emanuel Fernandez,
Francis Lopez,
Antony Fernandez,
Gonzalez Cardozo (30).

(30) Tellez, ub. sup. l. ii. c. 5.

R 3

and

Gualde- and desire the captain to take them in : but the treacherous
rez be- Moor went immediately and betrayed them to the bashaw
trayed and of that island ; who caused the jesuit to be seized that very
put to night, and to be cut in pieces °.

1563. THIS was the sad situation of the missionaries in *Ethiopia*
when *Adamas Segued* died, and his son *Forza Dangbil* suc-
ceeded him, who then took the surname of *Malac*, or *Melchi*
Segued, and was crowned with the usual solemnity at the
church of *Axuma*. He was a wise and valiant prince, and
crowned was blessed with a long, and, for the most part, successful
emperor. reign, though hardly ever free from wars, either against
some of his revolted subjects, or against his now powerful
and inveterate enemies the *Gallas* and *Mohammedan Moors* ;
so that he had no time, nor perhaps any inclination, to
revive the persecution which his father had raised against the
missionaries and their converts, but let them go on in their
usual way without any molestation, or betraying the least
favour or friendship towards them.

John Nu- In the mean time, the Pope's patriarch, *John Nunez Bar-*
nez dies at reto, died at *Goa*, in the sixth year after his arrival there,
Goa. that is, an 1562, without having ever been able to come
into his patriarchate ; so that according to the tenor of the
Succeeded Pope's bull, he was to be succeeded in it by *Andrew d'Oviedo*,
by Ovi- who, as we hinted in the last note, was now reduced to
edo. such a miserable condition, that his new dignity was of very
His little service to him, being in a manner abandoned by his
wretched people, having scarce food enough to keep life and soul
condition. together, or clothes to cover his nakedness ; being now
with a very few friends and profelytes retired into the mo-
nastery of *Fremona*, a small town not far from the *Red Sea*,
and without any forces to support his authority or the credit
of his missionaries ; for well doth father *Tellez* observe,
from his own experience, that this *Ethiopian* mission never
could thrive longer than the preachers were supported by a
sufficient number of forces^p, of which they were now almost
wholly destitute ; and which was still worse, had not the
least hopes of ever receiving any more, either from *Portugal*
or *Goa*.

FOR by this time it was sufficiently known in both those
countries, how dreadfully retrograde their affairs had gone
during the two last reigns, and how small dependence could
be had on the most flattering promises of the jesuits, of what
they might do if they could but receive a new rein,

° TELLEZ, CODIGN. LOBO. LUDOLPH, & al.
sup. p. 184.

^p Ub,

forcement,

forcement from either¹. Among the rest, prince *Henry*, *The jesuits* who now governed *Portugal*, during the minority of king *Sebastian*, saw so far through the artifice, that he made no *become suspected* difficulty to write to *Pope Pius V.* to desire him to recall his patriarch and all his missionaries out of *Ethiopia*, and to send them to preach in *China*, *Japan*, or any other country, and set aside all further thoughts of gaining any ground in the *Abissinian* dominions, at least till time offered some better prospect of success. The pontif, who was no less apprised of the misfortunes that had attended the mission, readily agreed to his request, and ordered a bull to be expedited for the recall of *Oviedo* and the rest of the jesuits; which was accordingly sent to him in the year 1566, *Oviedo*, who *and his missionaries* received it the year following, answered his holiness, that he was very willing to obey his orders, and to go and preach in *India*, or any other country where he should please to send him; but at the same time humbly represented to him, the difficulty and danger of getting out of *Ethiopia*, as well as his inexpressible regret for abandoning a country where so *His plausible reasons for* great and glorious a harvest of souls might be still reasonably hoped for, if the missionaries could but be supported by five or six hundred *Portuguese*; alledging the good disposition he had observed in many of the *Abissinians* to embrace the catholic faith, and their being only deterred from it through the fear of the punishment. He added, that there were moreover great multitudes of heathens, which might be easily brought over to the pale of the church; that many of them, he was credibly informed, had begged that favour of the late emperors, who had, for worldly interest, denied their request (I).

THE

¹ TELLEZ, CODIGN. & al. ub. sup.

(I) Among these were the inhabitants of the large kingdom of *Damot*, and of the rich canton called *Sinaxi*, which produces great quantities of gold. Against these last, a kinsman of the late emperor had been making war; upon which they offered to become tributary, and to embrace Christianity, if he would desist; which he absolutely refused, Of those Gentiles, especially of *Damot*, the *Moorish* merchants, which are very numerous in this empire (31), buy vast multitudes, whom they drive to the *Red Sea*, and sell them to the *Turks* and *Moors* at a great price, who afterwards force them to turn *Mohammedans*, and breed them up for soldiers;

(31). *De bis, ubi. sup. p. 69, & seq.*

Begs for
fresh
troops.

THE question indeed was, how such a considerable reinforcement, had the king of *Portugal* been inclined to send it, could have found admittance into any part of the empire, now all the sea-ports and sea-coasts were in the hands of the *Turks*? And if they had, whether the known insolence of those troops would not rather have obstructed, than promoted, the conversion, either of the *Abissinians* or Heathens; or at best have been justly looked upon as a kind of dragoon-ing, rather than an evangelical mission. But the good patriarch was so zealously bent upon subjecting the *Abissinian* church to that of *Rome*, and the temporality of the empire to the king of *Portugal*, that he had not time to consider how far he over-acted the part of an apostle of the meek and gentle *JESUS*, whom he pretended to represent; and therefore left no stone unturned, nor motive unurg'd, to obtain the so much wished-for succour; and, among other things, represented the present emperor as a weak and indolent prince, quite unfit to hold the reins of such an empire, which would soon be swallowed up by the *Turks*, and utterly lost to *Europe*, and to the *Roman* see, unless an effectual stop was put to their progress, by the timely arrival of the *Portuguese* forces'. The Pope, however, and the king of *Portugal*, lent a deaf ear to all his specious pleas; so that he was left to die there in the extremest poverty and misery, in the year 1577, after he had resided near twenty years in that country. His death was soon followed by that of the few jesuits that were left with him. *Antony Fernandez*, whom he had appointed chief of this first mission, expired soon after in the same miserable condition; *Gonzalez Cardoso* was assassinated in a wood by some banditti; *Andrew Gualdarez* was massacred by the *Turks*, as we lately hinted; *Emanuel Fernandez*, the oldest of all the four, died next; *Francis Lobo*, the last of them, was the only one who sur-

Dies miserably.

His other missionaries die soon after.

' TELLEZ, ubi sup. p. 194, & seq. CODIGN. l. iii. c. 13, & seq. LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. ubi sup.

so that they become in time very hurtful to the Christians (32).

It might, therefore, be justly questioned, whether these worldly ends, as the good patriarch styles them, were not rather very impolitic, and whether the tribute which those mer-

chants paid the *Abissinian* monarchs for every slave they carried out of those countries, could counterbalance the great harm those very slaves, when brought up under a military discipline, might do afterwards to their dominions.

(32) Tellez, ubi sup. Lobo, Ludolph, & al.

vived

vived them, till the year 1596. This was the sad catastrophe of that first mission, after it had lasted forty years; and of the that is, from 1557 to 1597, when father Lobo, or Lopez, died; and which might probably have succeeded much better, had not the Portuguese insolently insisted upon one third part of the empire, as a reward for their timely assistance, and the Pope's patriarch as strenuously exacted a total submission of the emperor, and all his subjects, to the church of Rome (K) ¹.

ALL these multiplied disasters, which made the princes of Europe look upon this enterprize as wholly set aside and impracticable, did only whet the zeal of the jesuitical society to pursue their solicitations at the courts of Rome and Madrid, for reviving of it with greater vigour; to which they were encouraged by the great number of Portuguese, which were still left in Abissinia, as well as by the hopes they had conceived of Philip II. who, as shall be shewn in the sequel, had now got possession of the kingdom of Portugal; and, as they rightly imagined, would gladly embrace any opportunity of renewing a correspondence and commerce with that empire, especially as Malac Segued, who was still involved in wars, both against his rebellious subjects, and his Mohammedan neighbours, might, on that account, be glad enough to accept of some assistance from him. He had in-

¹ Ibid. *ibid.*

(K) This last is reported to have foretold, as he was dying, to his distressed flock, that they should have the comfort, before a year was expired, to see some new missionaries arrive; which was verified by the coming of father Belchior de Sylva, by birth an Indian, and a Brachman, whom Don Alexis de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, who had converted him to Christianity, sent thither for that end (33). Sylva accordingly arrived before the year was out, and continued his mission in those parts till the year 1602, though with no great success

that we can learn, through the difficulty of those times, says our author (34); but we may add, through the irreconcilable hatred which the Abissinians had justly conceived against all the Portuguese, whether missionaries or otherwise.

We are told likewise, by the jesuit Guerriero (35), that the patriarch Oviedo foretold that the monastery of Fremona, the residence of the Roman patriarch and his fraternity, should subsist as long as the world; but the event shews that he was no true prophet, as we shall see in the sequel.

(33) *Vide Codign. de Rel. Abiss. l. iii. c. ult. ad fin. Relat. d'Abissin. p. 297.*

(34) *Le Grand, Relations Annuel. des années 1607, & seq. fol. vers. 42. La Croix, ibi seq. l. iii. p. 224, & seq.*

Conquers
Eurasia.

Philip II.
of Spain
sends a
letter to
him.

deed been very successful against them, and gained several considerable victories over both of them; and over and above that, had subdued the rich kingdom of *Ecaras*¹, and caused the inhabitants to be converted to the *Abissinian* faith. But whilst he was employed with his army in one part of the empire, he was still plagued with some invasion or insurrection in another; and this encouraged king *Philip* to send him an obliging letter and message, in order to renew the alliance between the two crowns, and, if possible, to introduce some of his forces once more into that empire. The person he chose for that purpose was one *Lewis de Mendoza*, who was then settled at *Diu*, and well acquainted with the commerce of the *Red Sea*.

The emperor's
answer to it.

He was to be accompanied by an *Italian* bishop, named *John Baptista*, to give an air of grandeur to the message; but he died in the way thither, and *Mendoza* found means to penetrate into *Ethiopia*, and delivered the letter to the emperor, who expressed a great satisfaction at it, as appears by the answer which he caused to be sent back by the same messenger. It was written in *Ethiopic*, in an elegant style, and full of expressions of friendship and good wishes, mentions the *Italian* bishop's death, and some epistolary correspondence that had passed between the viceroy of *Goa* and himself, wherein he had desired him to send him some able workmen, to cast cannon and other fire-arms, make gunpowder, swords, and other military weapons, and renews the same request to the king his master; but says not one word about sending him any auxiliary forces. The letter is dated *February 9*, 1589, according to the *Roman* style, and is kept among the archives of the *escorial*; a copy of which was sent from thence to Mr. *Ludolph*, by a *Swedish* gentleman, named *Sparwerfeld*, a person of note and learning; and afterwards translated into *Latin* by Mr. *Ludolph*, and published among many others of the *Abissinian* monarchs in his commentary², with his remarks upon it (L).

MEN.

¹ De hoc, vide sup. p. 38.

² P. 483, & seq.

(L) This transaction is omitted by Father *Teller*, though he makes mention of *Mendoza* upon another account, as we shall see in the sequel. What induced him to pass it over, we know not; unless it be that king *Philip*'s making choice of an *Italian* bishop, instead of one of

his own fraternity, might be looked upon as a slight upon his order, of whom there were enough that would gladly have accepted of that commission; however, both the message and letters, and the sending of that prelate, are facts too well known to admit of a doubt; and are accordingly

MENDOZA having so well succeeded in his first expedition, was easily persuaded by the jesuits to undertake a second, and to introduce thither with him two of that fraternity that had been pitched upon by Don Emanuel de Souza Continho, the new governor of Goa, from a good number of others whom their provincial presented to him: these were, Antonio de Montferrato, a Catalonian, and Peter Pays a Spaniard, whom he was to embark in some of the Indian vessels, commonly called Banians, which frequently trade to Mazwa. They had accordingly sailed from Goa in February, an. 1588, for Diu, the place where Mendoza resided; but had been driven by a storm into the gulph of Babao, whence he fetched them privately in the night, and conveyed them into Diu, in the habit of Armenians, to prevent their being discovered. They staid a considerable time there before any of those ships would venture to take them in, because their discovery would have been followed by a confiscation of the whole cargo, that being the penalty of carrying white-men on board without proper passes; so that it was not till December following that they went on board one of those Banians, which designed to land them at Zeyla; but being shattered by a storm, was forced to put into one of the islands called Curia Maria, where they were discovered, and stripped, and made slaves of, and were not redeemed till almost seven years after, and at a very high price. This slavery, however, proved of singular benefit to father Pays, who became by that time a perfect master of the Arabic tongue, which was afterwards of great service to him upon his coming into Ethiopia.

Montferrato and Pays attempt to get into Abissinia.

Taken prisoner.

WHEN the news of their captivity had reached Goa, it was immediately resolved, that two others of the same fraternity should be sent thither in their stead, there being now none of them left alive there but father Lobo, mentioned a little higher, and he extremely aged and worn-out. One of the persons they chose was father Abraham de Georgius, by nation a Maronite, and by profession a jesuit; a man of great

Abraham, a Maronite

accordingly taken notice of in the relation of Alexis de Mendoca's expedition (36). And as to the emperor's letter, it bears all the marks of a genuine one to a much greater degree than some others from the same monarchs, which neither their editors, nor any of the Portuguese missionaries, ever looked upon otherwise than authentic (37).

(36) Lib. i. c. 4. p. 23. La Croix, Christian. Abissin. p. 286.

bis, vide Ludolpb. Comment. p. 285, & seq. Le Grand, Relat. p. 451, & seq. 465, & seq. 470, & seq. & alibi passim.

*Jesuit,
sent into
Ethiopia.*

learning and courage, and a thorough master of all the eastern languages, and was then professor of the Syriac at Malabar, where he probably introduced the pronunciation of the western Syrians, which was afterwards followed in the pretended inscription of *Si-ngan-su* *; of which an account hath been given in a former volume †. This great man set out accordingly from Malabar, and arrived at Diu, and thence at Mazwa, in a Banican vessel, anno 1595. But here being asked by the bashaw, whether he was a Mohammedan or a Christian, and he having made an open confession of his faith, and absolutely refusing to save his life by apostasy, was ordered by him to be beheaded. The next that was sent from Goa was Father *Sylva*, or, as some call him, *Sylvius*, whom we have mentioned in a former note ‡; and who, having em-

*Discovered,
and
beheaded.*

*Sylva gets
into Ethi-
opia.*

barked at Goa, arrived at Mazwa in the habit of a seaman, and passed thence to Fremona, where he succeeded Father Lobo, who died there the year before §.

*Malac
Segued
beset by
the Turks
and the
Gallas.*

WE return now to the affairs of *Abissinia*, which continued still in a bad plight. The *Turks*, having got footing into the empire ever since the year 1572, were still possessing themselves of some new territories, whilst the *Gallas* were ravaging whole provinces in some distant parts, prevented the emperor's driving them out, as he had often attempted to do. He was no less unfortunate in his marriage, his empress bringing him none but daughters, whilst he had several sons by his concubines; but, upon that account, excluded from succeeding him; so that he had, for some time, cast his eye upon a brother's son, named *Za-Denghil*, to be his successor: but, a little before his death, having set his affections upon one of his bastard sons, named *Jaacob*, then a minor, he bequeathed the crown to him, with the consent and approbation of all his nobles, though from no better motive than the hopes of governing that young prince, instead of being governed by his nephew, who was of age, and every way qualified to hold the reins of the empire, in such a perilous

*Appoints
his suc-
cessor, but
alters his
mind.*

*His speech
in favour
of his bro-
ther's
eldest son.*

crisis. He was, however, no sooner returned from his wars against the *Gallas* of *Bachilo*, but finding his health decay, and repeating of his former choice, he assembled his nobles and chief officers, and declared to them, that though he had, from a fondness to his own offspring, thought fit to appoint his young son *Jaacob* for his successor, yet now finding himself drawing so near to his end, his love, care, and concern,

* See LA CROZE, *Christianisme des Indes*.
vol. viii. p. 78. † See before, note (K),
LOBO, CODIGN, LUDOLPH, & al.

‡ See before,
‡ TELLEZ,

for

for his country obliged him to alter his mind, and to ratify the preference he had formerly given to his nephew *Za-Denghil*, as a person, at this juncture, much fitter to mount the throne, both on account of his age, his bravery, and other princely qualities, which rendered him altogether worthy of it. He expired very soon after, about the middle of *August*^a; but his rapacious courtiers, instead of complying with his choice, or consulting the laudable inducements which led him to it, stiffly and unanimously adhered to his former declaration in favour of *Jaacob*, and refused to acknowledge any other monarch but him.

IN consequence of this resolution, they sent two bodies of armed men, the one to seize on *Za-Denghil*, and the other *Za-on-Sufneus*, or, as the *Portuguese* writers, call him, *Socinius*, *Denghil* another grandson of the emperor *David*, before either of them were apprised of the emperor's death, or of the person he had made choice of for his successor. *Za-Denghil* was accordingly seized, and carried away to the lake of *Dembea*, where he was kept close prisoner in one of the islands of it, formerly described^b, and from thence sent some time afterwards upon one of their strong mountains: but *Sufneus*, having got intelligence of their design, had the good fortune to make a timely escape to the frontiers of the empire, where, with a small army, he kept himself safe, till he was raised to the throne. This did not prevent the nobles proclaiming the young *Jaacob*, then about seven years of age, and engrossing the government into their hands, in conjunction with the empress *Mariam-Sma*, who readily sided with them; and had two of her sons-in-law for her associates, the one called *Rus Athaneus*, and the other *Cassuade*, then viceroy of *Tigre*; so that young *Jaacob* had only the bare name of emperor, during his minority: but when he had attained to his 14th year, and began to shew a desire of sharing the government with them, the alarmed empress, and her two sons-in-law, conscious of their tyrannical conduct, immediately altered their behaviour towards him; and, under pretence of remorse for having deprived *Za-Denghil* of his right, ordered him to be fetched out of his confinement, and proclaimed him emperor even in the very camp where *Jaacob* and *Jaacob* still was; who thereupon made his escape with all the haste he could, and with only eight of his servants, towards the high mountains of *Semen*, where he might have been safe enough, had he not been betrayed by one of his own reti-

^a TELLERZ, l. iii. c. 14. LOBO, LUDOLPH. l. ii. c. 6. §. 49, & seq. LE GRAND, & al.

^b See before, p. 37.

nue. This traitor took an opportunity, whilst the young prince was taking a little rest, to go and alarm a neighbouring town, with the news of *Za-Denghil* being proclaimed emperor, and that *Jaacob* was fled thither for refuge; threatening them, at the same time, with the new emperor's displeasure, if they did not apprehend and carry him prisoner to the imperial camp. He was accordingly seized, and conveyed thither; and, when brought before *Za-Denghil*, his nobles proposed that his nose and ears should be cut off, in order to disqualify him for the government; but the more generous emperor contented himself with sending him close prisoner to the distant kingdom of *Enarea*, where he was strictly watched by the governor of it, till he found an opportunity of remounting the throne.

Father

Pays's invitation and arrival at court.

DURING these transactions, the famed Jesuit *Father Pays* had found means to penetrate into the borders of *Abissinia*, and had met with a joyful reception at the convent of *Fremona*, where he had spent some time in composing and distributing a catechism among their profelytes, whilst he was waiting for an answer to a letter he had sent to the young emperor *Jaacob*, then on the throne. *Za-Denghil*, upon his accession to it, was soon apprised of his being at *Fremona*, and of his character as a learned man, a great traveller, politician, and zealous catechist; and, being naturally curious and affable, sent him a pressing invitation to come to his court, by an obliging letter, which, for its singularity, we thought worthy of being inserted in the margin (M). The

• TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al.

(M) The letter of the emperor *Za-Denghil*, alias *Aznaf Segued*, to *Father Pays*.

“ May the letter of the emperor *Aznaf Segued* come to the hands of the worthy father, who is master of the *Portuguese*. How is your health? Hear what follows, and the good things which our Lord God hath done for us. We were seven years in prison, and endured innumerable hardships: but our Lord God, taking compassion on our misery, brought us out of

“ it, and hath given us the empire, and hath made us head of all; even as *David* says, *The stone which the builders rejected is become the head corner-stone*. Now may the same Lord end that well which he hath begun. Hear farther, that we are very desirous that you should come speedily to us, and that you bring the books of justice of the kings of *Portugal*, if you have them; for we shall be glad to see them (38).”

(38) *Apud Tellez, ubi sup. l. iij.*

father

father gladly accepted the favour; but the viceroy of *Tigre*, who was to conduct him to court, was obliged to delay his departure, on account of an irruption which the *Gallas* had lately made into three different parts of the empire; against the most considerable of which, the emperor was obliged to march in person, whilst his viceroys had orders to stop the progress of the other two. The first of these was made into the kingdom of *Gojam*; the viceroy of which had orders from him not to attack the numerous barbarians, till he had joined him; but he, willing to put a stop to their cruel ravages, and venturing to fall upon them contrary to his instructions, was totally defeated; which obliged the emperor to double his speed to go and attack them. By that time he was come within their reach, his forces were so fatigued with their march, as well as discouraged by the late defeat, that they would willingly have deferred fighting; but seeing themselves attacked by the enemy in three different bodies, with their usual fury, the right and left wing were quickly put to the route, and betook themselves to flight; which as soon as the main body perceived, the chief officers came to persuade the emperor to retire, before he was surrounded by the enemy; but were not a little surprised, when they beheld that undaunted young prince, instead of clapping spurs to his horse, alight from him, and, taking his shield in one hand, and his sword in the other, tell them, with an intrepid look, *Here I am resolved to die; you may indeed escape the enemy's sword, but never can the infamy of abandoning the seat the emperor you have so lately proclaimed.* These words had such a sudden effect upon his troops, that one would have thought he had at once transformed them from sheep into lions: they gathered themselves up with the utmost speed, and fell with such desperate fury upon the enemy, that they forced them to turn their backs, and run with all the legs they had, whilst the other two wings, observing their flight, pursued them with such fresh vigour, that they did not give over killing till night obliged them to desist^d.

On the next morning, the emperor leaving the field of battle all over strewed with their dead bodies, marched immediately over craggy and high mountains to find out their second army; whom his troops, now flushed with victory, charged with such success, that they defeated them with a fresh slaughter of the greater part. The news of which so alarmed the third body, that they all betook themselves to a hasty flight, excepting 400, who were posted on a high

^d TELLEZ, ubi sup. LUDOLPH, LOBO, &c.

mountain to guard some of their booty. These likewise the emperor caused to be attacked by some of his best climbers, which was executed with the same valour and success; the *Gallas*, after a stout defence, being for the most part cut in pieces. After which, the emperor led his victorious army to his usual residence; being no less beloved by his subjects, than dreaded by his enemies, for his singular valour and extraordinary success.

Father Pays is brought to court.

IT was not long, however, before he quite forfeited the affections of the former, by the arrival of Father *Pays* in the imperial camp, and the surprising ascendant which that politic and intriguing Jesuit gained over him: for no sooner had the *Tigrean* viceroy received the news of his victorious return, than he accompanied him, as he was ordered, to *Ondegere*, near the *Dembean* lake, where the court was, and where he was quickly admitted into the royal presence with great solemnity; and, after having had the honour to kiss his majesty's hand, was immediately ordered to sit down on the highest step on which his couch or throne stood, where they both conversed a considerable time, without any regard to the rest of the company; after which, the emperor ordered him to be handsomely entertained, and gave him leave to withdraw * (N).

His grand reception there.

Holds a conference about religion.

WHAT the subject of their conference was, *Tellez* leaves us to guess; which is no hard matter to do, since he sent for him again on the next day, to hold a public dispute with the *Abissinian* monks, and other persons of note; and among them, the viceroy of *Tigre*, who begged of the emperor, that, having heard the matter, he would also his scholars, who were brought thither for that purpose; and, with whose answers to their catechism, the prince was so highly pleased, that he begged a copy of it; which was immediately presented to him. On the next *Sunday*, he sent for the father

* *Tellez*, ubi sup. c. 18, & seq. *Lobo*, *LUDOLPH*.

(N) The reader may not perhaps be displeased with the description of this prince, which father *Pays* hath been pleased to give us of him. He seemed to be about 26 years of age, tall, manly, and well-shaped; his eyes large and beautiful, his nose sharp, and his lips thin;

his complexion was somewhat tawny, and, were it not that that colour is reckoned in *Europe* less becoming, he would not have been inferior to the finest men among us: in a word, adds that father, his person was worthy of the empire he held, and the majesty he represented (39).

(39) *Apud Tellez*, ubi sup. l. iii. c. 18, et seq.

to say mass, and preach before him; and profited so well under his new instructor, that he forthwith issued out a proclamation against observing the sabbath, and went on so fast in other respects, that the good father was forced to advise him to go more gently on. It is indeed very likely that all this pretended warmth was rather owing to the expectation he was in of receiving some considerable reinforcement from Goa, which that father made him hope for, than to any conviction in favour of the Roman church. This made him write two letters, the one to pope Clement VIII. and the other to Philip II. of Spain, filled with the greatest expressions of zeal for their church and persons. That, in particular, to the pontif contained the strongest promises and engagements of universal obedience to his see, and the deepest sentiments of gratitude to his holiness, whose zeal, he was given to understand by Father Pays, for the salvation of souls was such, that he was labouring at it even to the effusion of his blood: He therefore desires him, as the true vicar of Christ, and the successor of St. Peter and St. Paul, to promote the alliance and friendship he was then negotiating with the king of Spain; and to prevail on him to dispatch a sufficient number of forces into Abissinia, to assist him in suppressing the barbarous Gallas, and, at the same time, to send him some fathers to instruct his subjects in the true faith. He concludes with these words, *Let those fathers you send us be virtuous and learned, that they may teach us what is requisite for the good of our souls.* Few words to the wise.

THESE letters Mr. Ludolph very much suspects of being forged, and the reader may see his reasons for his thinking them such: however that be, Father Pays sent them into Europe, as delivered to him by the emperor's own hand, who calls himself in them *Aznaf Segued*, the name he had taken at his coronation. He adds, that he ordered him at the same time to write more explicitly to the pope, and to acquaint him, that the succours which he asked for were to secure him against such of his subjects as should oppose his establishing the Roman faith in Ethiopia; and that he only mentioned them as designed against the Gallas, in order to amuse his secretary, as he himself dared not write it with his own hand, lest, if it should be intercepted, his own subjects should rise up and murder him. The letter is dated June 26, 1604, and may be seen intire in Tellez. The other, which was written to the king of Spain, was much in the same strain; and, besides

^f Ibid. ibid.

^g Lib. iii. c. 10.

^h Ubi sup. See also

the above-mentioned supply of forces, desired him to send one of his daughters to give in marriage to his son. Father *Pays* was moreover presented with 300 ounces of gold, which he absolutely refused, begging only of him the liberty of building a church; which being readily granted, he went in quest of some proper person to send his letters by.

A rebellion raised against him:

THESE open proceedings soon alarmed the great officers of the empire; the Abuna *Peter* himself declared against them, and absolved all the people from their allegiance to the emperor. At the same time, a turbulent fellow, named *Za Salasse*, whom that prince had recalled from his banishment in the kingdom of *Enarea*, during the reign of young *Jaacob*, put himself at the head of the revolted; who, perceiving the danger of their church, were now rising up in arms in defence of it, and had resolved to restore the crown to young

Abandon'd by his forces;

Jaacob, then close prisoner in *Enarea*. He was joined in this design by some of the greatest officers in *Abissinia*, and particularly by *Ras Athenus*, one of the empress's sons-in-law; so that the conspiracy was soon brought to too great a head, under those great commanders, to be suppressed by *Za-Denghil*, especially as the Abuna's interdict had caused such a defection among his troops, that he had hardly any left to support him, or that he could confide in, except his *Portuguese*, about 200 in number, with their brave commander *John Gabriel* at their head. To these, and to Father *Pays*, he addressed himself in words to this effect: "This revolt is raised against me, because I was desirous to bring my subjects into the true faith, and to deliver them from the oppression of tyrants;" meaning those who held the reins during *Jaacob's* minority. To which they replied, that he would do well to delay engaging the rebel army, which was so superior in number, till he could so far increase his own as to be able to make head against them; which advice was so much the more reasonable, as he had, in his march, augmented his own forces to about 10,000 men, and new ones came daily still to him.

and interdicted by the Abuna.

THEY came at length to the large plain of *Varcha*, almost in the very heart of the kingdom of *Dembea*, where they were soon alarmed with the noise of the enemy's trumpets and kettle-drums, who lay incamped at a small distance from them. The traitor *Za-Salasse* no sooner heard of their arrival, than he was for attacking them immediately, before any of his men had time to go over to the emperor: and, for the same reason, the *Portuguese* general was for declining the battle for a while; but *Za-Denghil*, who could not bear to be braved by the rebels, confiding perhaps too much in the justice of his

his cause, ordered his army to be ranged in battle array. He placed his 200 *Portuguese*, with some of his own men, on the right, whilst he commanded the left himself. The *Portuguese* fell immediately on the rebels with their usual fury, and soon put them to flight, whilst *Za-Denghil*, on his side, fought with no less eagerness and intrepidity; but being by degrees abandoned by the greatest part of his pusillanimous troops, and supported only by a small number of his faithful and bravest friends, one *Humardin*, a *Moor*, who served under the rebels, observing the confusion they were in, made up directly towards the emperor, and with his lance gave him such a desperate wound on the neck, that he brought him to the ground. He quickly started up, and with his sword defended himself for some time, till the traitor *Za-Salasse* came riding full-speed, with his lance couched against him, and wounded him in the face; upon which, the rest soon put an end to his life with their swords.

Attacks the rebels too soon.
Defeated, and killed.

Thus fell that noble emperor a sacrifice to his untimely zeal, who might, in all probability, have reigned long and happily over his subjects, if he had not exasperated them by his too open affection for a church, against which they professed an irreconcilable dislike. The battle was fought on the 13th of *October* of the year succeeding that of his coronation, after the short reign of fifteen months. His death put an end to the rebellion, which had been chiefly raised in opposition to his too violent measures in favour of the church of *Rome*; whilst the disorders that followed soon after gave *Susneus*, the next competitor for the crown, a fair opportunity of making a successful attempt upon it¹.

1604.

WE have already taken notice how this prince, whom the *Portuguese* writers commonly call *Socinius*, made his escape into the distant frontier kingdom of *Amhara*, to escape the snares of the ministers and partisans of young *Jaacob*; and here, it seems, he maintained himself, though in great distress, yet with a resolution and bravery worthy the son of the great *Basilides*, or *Faciladas*, who lost his life in fighting against the *Gallas*, and the grandson of the noble emperor *David*. As soon, therefore, as he understood that the throne was become vacant by the death of his cousin *Za-Denghil*, and that the deposed bastard *Jaacob* was detained close prisoner in the furthestmost parts of the empire, he sent immediately one of his faithful friends, named *Bella Christos*, to *Ras Athenaus* and *Za-Salasse*, the two chief leading men in the empire, to assist him in his rightful pretensions to the

revives his pretensions.

¹ TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, LE GRAND, &c.

Proclaim-
ed by
Athe-
neus,

and Za-
Salasse.

Za-Sa-
lasse's
message to
the empe-
ror.

They prove
treache-
rous to
him.

crown : to which the former consented, after some hesitation, and soon after joined him with his forces ; at the head of whom he was proclaimed emperor, by the title of Soltan *Sé-gued*. The same messenger came next to *Za-Salasse*, who answered, that though he thought the crown belonged to *Jaacob*, as he had been already crowned, yet if he did not come by *June* next, he would acknowledge *Susneus*. This answer not satisfying him, he sent another nobleman, and a monk, with a letter, importing, " that, as he was now pro- claimed emperor, he would never resign his title to *Jaacob*, nor even to his own father, if he was to rise from the " dead." Upon which, *Za-Salasse*, having secured the mes- senger, he marched with his whole army against him, re- solving to deliver his own answer to him with sword in hand ; which obliged him to retire again to *Ambara*, he be- ing then sick : but when he perceived that the summer was almost spent, and *Jaacob* not yet come out of *Enarea*, he was easily persuaded to make his submission to the new emperor, before he forced him to it. Upon which, *Susneus* sent a monk to administer the oath of allegiance to them, and they proclaimed him emperor. Immediately after which, *Za-Salasse* sent ten of his chief officers to compliment and pay homage to him in his name, with an additional protestation, that he would stand by him against all opposers, and even *Jaacob* by name, should he now come from *Enarea* ^k.

THESE were no sooner come to the kingdom of *Bagemder*, or *Begameder*, where *Susneus* was already arrived, and where he was receiving them with feasting and other tokens of joy, than news was brought to *Za-Salasse*, that *Jaacob* was got near *Dembea*, and sent orders to come and join him : upon which, without the least hesitation at the oath he had taken to *Susneus*, he immediately complied, and led his army to him ; sending, at the same time, a private message to the ten officers he had sent to *Susneus*, to hasten away and come to him. This obliged the emperor to withdraw once more to *Ambara*, as he was not in a condition to make head against them, whilst *Jaacob* was received with all demonstrations of joy ; who immediately created the traitor general of all his forces. *Ras Athenaus* came next with all his troops, to pay his homage to him, and met with a no less gracious recep- tion : but their treachery proved a serious warning to him against putting too great a confidence in them ; so that, un- willing to depend on the instability of fortune, he chose ra- ther to come to a composition with his rival, and sent him

^k Ibid, *ibid*.

accordingly

accordingly an offer of the kingdoms of *Ambara*, *Olear*, and *Xaqa*, with all the rich lands his father had in the kingdom of *Gojam*, provided he quitted his title to the empire to him. To this *Susneus* answered, that he had a just claim to the *Jaacob's* throne, and would have all or none: upon which, *Jaacob*, offers re-finding himself strong enough, marched directly against him, *joined by* and incamped so near, that he was forced again to withdraw, *Susneus*, and wait for a more favourable opportunity¹.

FORTUNE soon offered him an advantageous one; for, *Za-Sa*-whilst *Jaacob* marched in pursuit of him, *Za-Salasse*, instead *lasse sur-* of following him, took a quite different road with his own *prised, and* army, without giving any reason for his so doing; the news *defeated*. of which being brought to *Susneus* by his spies, he went and posted himself in an ambush, at a pass called *Montor Daffar*, where he suddenly fell upon and totally routed him. The traitor, with some difficulty, escaped to *Jaacob*, and left his army, camp, and treasure, at the mercy of the conqueror; so that he met with but a very cold reception from *Jaacob* at his arrival. This slight exasperated him the more against him, and made him abandon his party to go over to *Susneus*. *Jaacob*, not less vexed at his treachery, marched directly against his competitor; fully resolved to give him battle. He removed his camp from place to place, whilst the more po- *Susneus* litic *Susneus*, like another *Fabius Cunctator*, kept himself on *amuses* the more elevated grounds, watching for a proper time to fall *Jaacob* on him. At length, as he was decamping on *Saturday* the *and his* 10th of *March*, the enemy, who were thirty to one, believe- *army*. ing that he fled, pursued him with loud shoutings; so that he was, against his inclination, obliged to engage them; and, *Engages* having animated his handful of men with great promises of *and de-* reward, he led them down the hill with such impetuous *seats them* bravery, that, to use the words of the *Ethiopic* historian *with* *Tino*, the enemy fell down before him like autumn leaves be- *great* fore the wind. *Jaacob* himself was borne down in the hurly- *slaughter*.-burly, yet no man could boast that he had killed him. The *Abuna Peter*, who was of the same side, was slain likewise; which *Susneus* no sooner heard, than he put a stop to the pursuit, in order to spare the rest; but they were all seized with such a panic, that there was no possibility of stopping them; insomuch that, night overtaking them in their flight, a much greater number perished by their falling down the rocks and precipices, than by the sword. Next morning they found above 600 horses dashed in pieces at the foot of a rock an hundred yards high, and the ground covered with the dead

¹ *Iid. ibid.*

bodies of their riders. *Ras Athenaeus*, who had likewise gone over to *Jaacob's* side, escaped, and took refuge in the monastery of *Duna*, and was afterwards pardoned by *Zela Christos*, *Susneus's* brother. Thus ended *Jaacob's* life and reign, after having been twice raised to the throne, from thence sent the first time into banishment, and the second into another world ^m,

*Clemency
to them.*

SUSNEUS, or Soltan *Segued*, by this unexpected victory, secured himself of the crown, and freely forgave all the revolters that had escaped, excepting only the *Moorish* officer *Mahardin*, or, as some call him, *Humardin*, who had formerly given the first wound to *Za-Denghil*, and whose head he caused to be struck off: so that he gained as great reputation by his clemency as he had for his valour (O), upon this occa-

*Generosity
to his own
men.*

sion. He spent three whole days in distributing the spoil of the enemy among his soldiers, and, with a singular generosity, rewarded those who were most deserving: after which, he marched with them to *Coga*, a place situated between *Dembea* and *Bagameder*, where the late *Jaacob* usually kept his court. As for the traitor *Za-Salasse*, he soon drew up-

*Za-Sa-
lasse's
folly, and
final pu-
nishment.*

on himself, by his indiscretion, the punishment which he had deserved so often by his treachery: for being one day heard to brag, that some wise men had foretold him that he would be the death of three monarchs, and that he had destroyed two of them already, the words were immediately carried to *Susneus*, who caused him to be sent to the strong mountain of *Guzman*, in the kingdom of *Gojam*, of which he had been lately made viceroy by *Jaacob*. He thence made his escape, after a year's confinement, and put himself at

^m TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, & al. ubi sup.

(O) *Susneus* was about thirty-three years of age when he gained this noble victory. He is described to us as a well-shaped genteel person, his visage long, but well proportioned, his head of hair well-spread, his eyes of a fine hazel-colour, very sparkling and amiable, seemingly obliging all men by his looks: his nose was sharp, his lips thin, his beard black, but broad, his stature above the

middle size, well-set, and brawny, and, in all respects, much like an *European*, except the brownness of his complexion.

He was moreover an excellent horseman, bold, brave, and resolute, and well-read in the *Ethiopian* books. He was discrete, courteous, bountiful, and warlike, inured to martial hardship, as having been ten years successively in arms, without one day's intermission (40).

(40) *Peyr*, *apud Tellez*, ubi sup. lib. iii. c. 30.

the

the head of a gang of banditti, in the province of *Oleca*, where the inhabitants, having caught him in an ambush, cut off his head, and sent it stuck upon a spear to the emperor, who caused it to be set up before his own palace. *Athe-Athenaus*, or *Atthanatus*, fared not much better; for that naus's prince caused him to be stripped of his ill-gotten lands, and soon after, his wife, according to the custom of the *Abissinian* princesses, formerly taken notice of ^a, abandoned him: so that he was reduced to the meanest condition, after having been formerly the first man in the empire, next to the emperor. *Susneus* likewise caused the grants of lands formerly settled upon the Jesuits to be confirmed to them for ever ^o; the publication of which was performed by proper officers, with the usual ceremony, which the reader will find described in the margin (P). So fond was that monarch of the company of those fathers, that finding upon his arrival at *Coga*, that they were retired to their monastery at *Fremona*, he sent immediately for them; and, as it was then in the winter-season, ordered them to come by the way of the *Dembean* lake; which they readily complied with, notwithstanding the risk they ran from the lightness of their tancons, or small rush-boats, and the sea-horses which infest that lake; being no less ready to answer the summons of so kind a friend than he was to have them near him, to consult them on every exigence, and especially about getting, if not some fresh forces, at least, a supply of workmen, to cast him some new guns, bombs, &c. make gunpowder, and other necessary utensils of war.

Jesuits called to court.

^a See before, p. 77, & seq.

^o TELLEZ, & al. ubi sup.

(P) This ceremony is usually performed by an *azagge*, or lord, or a *haumar*, who is a kind of magistrate or judge, and takes a circuit round the border of the lands contained in the grant. He is generally accompanied by the emperor's musicians, with their trumpets, kettle-drums, &c. which summon all the people of the neighbourhood to come and see the land-mark: placed and fixed. They likewise sometimes

kill here and there a goat, and bury the head of it, to serve for another kind of land-mark; and the removing of any of either sort is punished with great severity.

The lands thus granted enjoy considerable immunities, and are as perpetual as any thing of that kind can be in a country where the government is liable to such frequent changes and revolutions (41).

(41) *Tellen, ubi sup. Ludolph. & al.*

1608.

An impostor sets
up for the
emperor
Jaacob.

BUT whilst they were thus hatching their new projects, a strange report was spread about, which failed not to surprise and alarm them all: it was, that the late emperor *Jaacob*, whom they had supposed to have been slain in the late fight, was still alive, and had gained a considerable number of partisans in the kingdom of *Tigre*. There had been, in fact, a bold youth, whether the real *Jaacob*, or an upstart impostor, who assumed the title, appeared in and about the monastery of *Bizan*¹, a proper place for his purpose, on account of its vicinity to the port of *Mazwa*, especially as those monks, who were of the order of *St. Eustacius*², were very numerous, and dispersed through great part of that kingdom, where they served as curates, and bore a great sway among the populace, who came flocking about him accordingly, as to their emperor, whom God had miraculously preserved, and sent to them. The better to disguise the unlikeness there was between the countenance of that prince and his own, he wore a scarf over his head, which, in the coming down below his chin, covered the greater part of his face; pretending that he had received a stroke of a spear in the late battle, which had broke out his teeth, and sadly disfigured him; all which was believed without any further examination: insomuch that all, either out of pity to his misfortune, or in hopes of being amply rewarded, accommodated him with horses, mules, arms, and what other things they could spare to him. Many more, who lived by robbing, came over to him, in hopes of plunder; and he saw himself, in a short time, at the head of a powerful army, with whom he descended into the low lands, and committed the most cruel outrages and robberies. Having plundered a caravan of some gold, he caused it to be flatted, and made into the shape of the *Abissinian* crown, elsewhere described³.

Followed
by the
monks and
people.

Ravages
the low
lands.

He was at length grown so powerful and formidable, that the emperor was obliged to send his brother *Sella Christos* with an army against him, composed of what forces he had, though much inferior in number, whilst *Ala Christos* was ordered to march with another body into *Bagameder*. However, the imperial forces, being better disciplined, easily routed those of the sham *Jaacob*, and forced him to fly back to the mountains beyond *Debaroa* more than once. But whilst the emperor thought of putting a stop to one evil, he brought a much greater one upon himself; for the restless *Gallas*, whom *Sella Christos*'s presence deterred from committing any hostility in his government, no sooner heard of

¹ De hoc, vide sup. p. 216. ² Ibid. p. 361. ³ P. 164, sub not.

his

his being marched far enough off, than they entered the province with such a numerous train, that *Sufneus* was obliged to collect what forces he had, and to march against them; and, being vastly inferior in number, was twice defeated by them. The news of this disaster rendering the counterfeit *Jaacob* more daring and insolent, and *Sella Christos* less able to make head against him, an express was sent to the emperor by the latter, desiring him to march with all possible speed with his whole army to *Axuma*, in order to be crowned there, as usual; to which he the more readily consented, as he had now taken his revenge of the *Gallas*, and gained a complete victory over them.

WHILST he was upon his march, the impostor, who had heard only of his two defeats, but not of his victory, was the more encouraged to come down from his high mountains, as a report had been perhaps designedly spread among his men, that *Sella Christos* was fled, and had left all his tents behind. He was, however, soon undeceived, when the viceroy came suddenly upon him, and, after an obstinate fight on both sides, routed him with great slaughter, and drove him afresh to his old shelter among the rocks, but without being able either to kill or take him; the king still continuing his march over the high mountains of *Lamatmon*, formerly described, and arrived safe at the head of his army in the neighbourhood of *Axuma*; and was soon after crowned with the usual solemnity in that metropolis, by the emperor's brother *Sella Christos*, on Sunday the 23d of March; his brother *Sella Christos* and Father *Pays* assisting at the ceremony.

As soon as the coronation was over, the king marched directly in search of the impostor among the mountains of *Debarawa*; of which he having notice, dismissed his men, and with only four servants and a few goats, hid himself so closely, that the emperor could not get scent of him all the time he staid in that neighbourhood. In the mean time, as one revolt is no sooner quelled in one province than a new one is raised in another: a slave of the late emperor *Malac Segued*, named *Melchizedech*, came from the mountains of *Amhara*, and joined himself to one *Arfoo*, said to have been a brother of the late *Za-Denghil*, and marched with him into the kingdom of *Dembea*. Against these he sent his brother with a good force, who came time enough to stop their progress. The head rebels thinking themselves strong enough to engage him, the slave was slain in the fight, and *Arfoo* taken prisoner, and sent to the emperor, who ordered him

to be beheaded. *Sufneus*, before his departure from these parts, was pleased to visit the monastery of *Fremona*, and made a present to the Jesuits of 300 pieces of eight, leaving the *abuna Simeon* there to be instructed by them in the *Romish* faith; after which he began his march homeward, accompanied by the viceroy *Sella Christos*, and left *Ampfala Christos*, a brave and prudent nobleman, governor of the kingdom of *Tigre*†.

Jaacob appears again.

ALL this time *Jaacob* had continued in his cave, he and his four servants being only supported with the milk of a few goats; but, being now informed of the emperor's departure, he ventured himself out again, whilst the governor *Ampfala*, whom that monarch had left with a strict charge to ferret him out, had tried all the ways he could think of, though all in vain, and now lay sick at *Getopel* near *Fremona*, with only a handful of men. This encouraged a couple of banditti to join themselves with *Jaacob*, in hopes to surprise and murder the sick governor. They had 1500 men with them, and would infallibly have succeeded in their attempt, had not one of them, by taking a shorter cut, brought him timely notice of it. The viceroy, sick as he was, would have gone to meet them; but a *Portuguese* advised him to conceal a few of his musketeers in some convenient pass, who should fire upon them as soon as they approached. The plot succeeded to their wish, and the villains, at the first firing, fell flat upon their faces; then starting up, betook themselves to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter; seventeen of them being taken prisoners. *Jaacob* escaped once more; but was at length taken by two *Abissine* officers, who beheaded him, and sent his head to the emperor (Q). This was the end of

A plot to murder the viceroy defeated.

Jaacob beheaded.

tha:

† TELLEZ, LOBO, & al. ubi sup.

(Q.) These were called *Ambara Georgis* and *Zarab Jauncx*, two relations of the late emperor *Jaacob*, who, believing this impostor to be the same person, had engaged to stand by him with their lives and fortunes: but coming to him to be satisfied about it, they being well acquainted with the true one, the cheat was soon found out, tho' he shewed them but a small part of his face; and they resolved to secure him. He was,

however, aware of their design, and timely gave them the slip, with his 600 men; which put them to the trouble of searching afresh among those high and rocky places where he usually skulked.

They caught him at last, and, upon pulling his muffler off, found that he had not the least scar upon his face; upon which, they took care to have him publicly exposed, to take off all suspicion of his being the

real

that impostor, who had caused so much mischief and bloodshed in the empire; and yet there wanted not partisans, who, either out of dislike to the emperor and his Jesuits, or for some other views, gave out that he was escaped, and fled into *India*; inasmuch that it was afterwards strongly reported, that there was a man in the kingdom of *Decan* so very like him, that he was believed to be the very same person^a.

HITHERTO we have only dwelt on matters of state; and *Sultan* it is probable enough that the disasters we have been speaking *Segued's* of, hindered *Soltan Segued's* applying himself so closely to favour to those of religion, as he was otherwise inclined to do; at the same time that they took off the eyes of the people from *the mis-* sionaries. ing the progress which the *Roman* missionaries made in several parts of the empire. One may say, their affairs had never been in so hopeful a condition as now; and the pope and king of *Spain*, though they seemed quite forgetful of the emperor's request, with respect to either forces or workmen, yet took care to send them fresh supplies of preachers, who were sure to meet with a gracious reception from him, especially as they came fraught with fresh promises with regard to the other two articles; though, in all likelihood, no such thing was designed.

THE following year, the court being removed from the old station to *Deghana*, a place on the north-side of the *Dembéan* lake, and in the neighbourhood of *Gorgora*, where the fathers resided, gave them frequent opportunities of conversing and disputing with *Sella Christos*, the emperor's bro-

1610.

^a TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, & al. ubi sup. Vide et LE GRAND, Dissert. ix. p. 300, & seq.

real *Jaacob*; after which, they caused his head to be struck off, and sent to the emperor, who ordered it to be carried about through the whole kingdom of *Tigre*, that they might be satisfied of their having been deluded. This soon allayed the confusion he had thrown the kingdom into, and all readily submitted to the emperor, who punished only some few of the ringleaders, but spared the rest. *Ambara Georgis* and *Zara Jaw-*

nez threw themselves on the mercy of that monarch, and pleaded their having seized and dispatched the impostor as soon as they had discovered him to be such, as a motive for their siding with the true *Jaacob*; which was the more readily granted, as their request was backed by Father *Pays*, who was sent with them to court by the viceroys to be their intercessor (42).

(42) Tellez, ubi sup. Ludolph. l. ii. c. 7. n. 48, & seq. Le Grand, Relat. Abissin. ix. p. 300, & seq.

*Sella
Christos
embraces
the Ro-
man
faith.*

ther, during that and the following year. He is represented as a wise, learned, and affable prince; and whether really convinced in his mind, as they affirm, or out of a servile complaisance to his brother, we will not take upon us to say; but it appears from their account, that, about the same time that he made public profession of his conversion to the church of *Rome*, which was the very next year, the emperor removed his imperial camp from thence into the kingdom of

1612.

Gojam, and created him viceroy of it; which was almost equivalent to the making him king of it, as he gave him the whole revenue of that country, and as he was to be obeyed in it like the emperor himself. From that time *Sella Christos* became not only a zealous profelyte, and main support to the *Roman* church, both during the life and after the death of that monarch, but drew great numbers of the grandees and nobles of the empire, by his example and interest, into the same creed. He next caused a church and monastery to be built for the use and residence of the Jesuits, which was the first they ever had in the kingdom of *Gojam*, and the third they now possessed in *Abissinia*; the first being at *Fremona*, in the kingdom of *Tigre*, and the second that of *Gorgora*, near the lake of *Dembea* *. But this new one was moreover en-

*Builds a
church
and mon-
astery for
the Je-
suits.*

dowed with large revenues, and extensive territories, by that viceroy, for the maintenance not only of the Jesuits, but for the *Portuguese* widows and orphans, which were dispersed through the empire, and in great want of such a charitable

*An am-
bassy sent
by the em-
peror.*

provision. The emperor, on his part, who had not yet sent an answer to the obliging letter which Father *Pays* had brought him about five years before from *Philip II.* of *Spain*, was now more at leisure to do it with more grandeur; and, to that end, made choice of one of his court, named *Takor*, or *Tagur Egzye*, a person of great prudence and experience, and a very great zealot for the *Romish* church, to go thither on an embassy from him, accompanied by Father *Anthony Fernandez*; who, instead of going, as usual, to *Mazwa*,

*Takes the
route thro'
Enarea.*

were, for their greater safety, to make the best of their way through the kingdom of *Enarea* to the coast of *Melinda*. This road, which was contrived by *Sella Christos*, in order to avoid the *Turks*, proved no less difficult and dangerous from another quarter, which he had not foreseen. They set out of *Dembea* about the beginning of *March*, the following year, attended by ten *Portuguese*, four of whom engaged to attend them to *India*, the other six only to the frontiers of *Enarea*; and, when they came to the kingdom of *Gojam*,

1613.

* *Ibid. ibid.*

the viceroy furnished them with an escorte of *Gallas* and *Xates*, whom he had hired to conduct them, because the way lay through both their territories. They set out again from *Ombrana*, where the viceroy's camp was, for the kingdom of *Enarea*, on the 15th of *April*, attended by forty men, armed with darts and targets. It would be too tedious here to tell our readers the many difficulties they met with in their crossing the *Nile*, and vast ridges of mountains, and through some of the territories of the barbarous *Gallas*, *Caffres*, &c. before they reached the kingdom of *Enarea*, the last territory belonging to the *Abissinian* empire*. It will be sufficient to say, that even the *Abissines* themselves were so dissatisfied with this expedition, which they looked upon, tho' disguised under various false colours, as calculated to introduce the *Portuguese*, in order to bring their nation under their power, and their church under that of the pope, did all they could to render their journey more difficult and dangerous. This was more plainly perceived by the cold reception which the ambassador met with from the suspicious viceroy of *Enarea*, and from the various stratagems he used to find out the design of the embassy, which they were, on their part, as careful to conceal from him. He discovered enough, however, to convince him; and the great men of his court, whom he consulted upon it, that it was by no means expedient to let them continue the route that had been chalked out to them; seeing that was indeed the most safe and expeditious into *India*, and with which, if the *Portuguese* were once acquainted, it would be easy for them to pour in their forces upon them, and subdue them both to their king and religion: wherefore they resolved to send them a great and difficult way about, through the kingdom of *Balii*; to which the fathers, after much contesting, were obliged to submit. Upon which, having presented them with thirty ounces of gold, to defray their charges, and ordered proper officers to conduct them on their way through the kingdom of *Gingiro*, along with an ambassador from that kingdom, who was then at his court, to whose care he committed the fathers, he gave them leave to depart.

We shall follow them no farther, but observe, upon the Manker-whole, that an *Abissinian*, named *Markar*, who was dispatched, as may be justly supposed, by some of those grandees of *Susneus's* court, who were averse to this embassy, to put a stop to its going further, betrayed their whole design to the governor of *Amelmal*, in the kingdom of *Camale*, and, at the

* De hoc, vide supra, p. 38.

same time, incensed all the people against them ; upon which, the governor caused them to be arrested, till he had sent to the *Abissinian* court for further instructions. Three months elapsed before an answer returned, with one *Bahare*, a man well known in these parts, with express orders to that governor, accompanied with some rich presents, both for him and for the *Moorish* prince *Alico*, to help them forward on their journey, and to furnish them with all they wanted. It

1614.

Imprisoned
by the
Moor
Alico.

was in the month of *June* next year before these orders came ; so that they had spent already fourteen months from their first setting out. The governor complied with the emperor's orders ; but *Alico*, being instigated by *Manker*, caused them to be stopped afresh, and imprisoned, when they came into his territories. A strict search was made into all their cloaths and baggage, in order to find out the emperor's letters, which the father had providentially tied about the brawny part of his arm ; so that they escaped a discovery. The father, who was confined apart from the rest, apprehending the danger of a second search might prove more fatal, resolved at any rate to prevent it ; and calling for some fire, and a pipe of tobacco, found means to burn the letters undiscovered ; which put an effectual end to all their fears and danger. *Alico*, having detained them for ten days in that confinement, released them without farther harm, though *Manker* was very pressing to have them put to death ; only, at his instigation, he kept three of his four *Portuguese* prisoners, and, to prevent the governor of *Amehmal*'s assisting the ambassador to proceed on his journey by some other way, ordered him to return to the *Abissine* court by another route ; where, after many fatigues and dangers, he at last safely arrived, with Father *Fernandez*, though not without great regret for their disappointment, and the loss of their three companions that were left behind.

Forced to
go back.

Arrive at
court.

Conference
between
the Por-
tuguese
and Abis-
sines.

THE emperor was no less vexed at their return, and the account they gave of their journey ; from all which he could not but clearly perceive how odious all his measures were become to most of his subjects, and what a difficult task he was like to have to bring about his designs. To remove one of the main obstacles to it, he bethought himself of ordering sundry conferences and disputations to be held between the *Portuguese* and the *Abissines* on the controverted points between them² : the result of which was, that, becoming impatient at the obstinacy of the latter, he issued out a proclamation, forbidding, under the severest penalties, any of

¹ TELLEZ, LUD. & al. ubi sup.

² Ubi sup. p. 142, & seq.
his

his subjects maintaining, that there was but one nature in *A proclamation* Christ. This, and some others which followed in favour of *the church of Rome*, failed not of putting the whole empire, *against the Abissinian faith.* and especially the clergy, into a grievous ferment. The abuna *Simon*, who was then absent, immediately came to court, and threatened to excommunicate all that adhered to the *Romish doctrine*; and being supported by *Emana Christos*, another of *Susneus's* uterine brothers, ventured so far as to do so, and to have his excommunication affixed on the gates of one of the churches of the imperial camp. In revenge of it, the emperor immediately caused another proclamation to come out, giving leave to all his subjects to embrace the faith which the *Portuguese* fathers preached, and had so learnedly defended in their late disputations against the *Abissinian doctors.* *Abuna's excommunication of the Roman.* This was soon followed by a fresh anathema from the abuna, who, taking advantage of the emperor's being absent, and forced to winter in the kingdom, to suppress the revolted *Agau's*, wrote circular letters to all his clergy, in defence of the old *Abissinian* faith, and condemning all that opposed it.

THIS last augmenting the general discontent against the *Ælius Roman* missionaries, a young nobleman, named *Julius*, or *takes up Ælius*, or, as the *Abissinians* pronounce it, *Eulos*, son-in-law *arms* to the emperor, at that time viceroy of the kingdom of *against Tigre*, and a great enemy of *Sella Christos*, ventured to take up arms in defence of the old religion, and to persecute the *Romish* fathers at *Fremana*, and all their converts throughout his government, women as well as men. The emperor was soon apprised of it, who forthwith sent orders to the abuna, and father *Pays*, to repair to the imperial camp, that the scruples of the one might be removed by the arguments of the other (R). They both readily obeyed; but the former came

• De his, vide sup. p. 70.

(R) It may not here be amiss to observe, that Father *Pays*, and others of his society, had been very busy in translating and publishing several polemic treatises of their own church into the *Ethiopic* tongue, for the use of their converts, and more particularly such as they thought entered most into the controversy between the *Abissines* and them. Among these were *Mal-donat's* Comment on the Four Gospels, *Toledo* on the Epistle

to the *Romans*, *Reibera* on that to the *Hebrews*, and some others of the like stamp. All which were liked by some, but more generally disliked by the rest, on account of the many *Amba-ric* words and idioms that were intermixed with the *Ethiopic*, and were looked upon as so many ungrammatical barbarisms.

What still more confounded them was, that in these books, they had written the Lord's prayer,

came attended with such a multitude of monks and nuns, that they outnumbered the army; and all of them protested, that they would sooner die than forsake the antient faith, and, on their knees, begged of him that he would not persist in his innovations. The manner in which that monarch rejected their request was such as put them out of all hopes of prevailing; whilst *Ælius* his son-in-law, *Emana Christos* his brother, and one *Casto*, who was his high steward, being grown out of all patience at his unnatural inflexibility, began to hatch a conspiracy both against him and his brother *Ras Sella Christos*, into which old *Simeon* the abuna was easily drawn.

Conspires
against
him and
his brother.

THE better to pave the way to it, they agreed that the latter should thunder out a fresh excommunication against all who maintained the two natures of Christ; at which the emperor was so provoked, that he forthwith ordered him to take it off, or else he would order his head to be struck off. The pusillanimous prelate was obliged to obey; and the other three, finding no other way to compass their end, marched directly to the new palace built by Father *Pays*, where the emperor then was, and, leaving their men at the door, went up-stairs directly to him, with a full resolution to dispatch him. *Susneus*, who was just before apprised of their design by a kinswoman of his, named *Ileamata*, saw them enter the chamber with their swords in the scabbard in their hands, as is the custom at that court, without betraying either fear or mistrust; but rising from his seat, as it were to walk, laid his hand, in a familiar manner, on *Ælius's* sword, and went with them to the stair-case that led to the top of the house. The others followed him, thinking that a more proper place to execute their design; but, as we formerly observed, the door being purposely contrived by that Jesuit to shut with a spring-lock^b, the king pulling it after him, left them on

Disappointed in
his design.

^b See before, p. 106.

prayer, and *Ave Maria*, in the *Ethiopic* character, but had left them untranslated from the *Latin* tongue; so that they look upon them with horror, and as on some pieces of conjuration (43). In the same absurd manner the congregation *de propaganda fide*, at *Rome*, caused the *Pater Noster*, and *Ave Maria*,

to be printed in the vulgar *Latin*, but in the *Ethiopic* character (44); which plainly shewed, that they did not design to allow them to perform the divine service in their own tongue, and could not but add to the other prejudices they had justly conceived against their church.

(43) *Telles*, lib. iv. c. 14. *Ludolph.* l. iii. c. 10. n. 56, & seq. in indic. capit. p. 17.

(44) *Id.*

the

the outside, and disappointed their treacherous intent, without noise or disturbance; which reminded him of what *Pays* had formerly told him, that that door might prove of singular service to him.

ÆLIUS was, however, so far from being discouraged by this disappointment, or from pursuing his former views, that he issued out an edict, enjoining all the *Portuguese*, and their adherents, to depart out of the kingdom of *Tigre*, and all those that wished well to the *Alexandrian* church to follow him. At the same time, the abuna published another, in which he excommunicated all the opposers of the *Abissine* church, and poured out showers of blessings on the defenders of it, and more especially on *Ælius*, who had taken up arms in its defence. This last it was, in all probability, which so highly encouraged that young and rash nobleman to attack the emperor, who was returning to *Dembea* at the head of a powerful army, and, in spite of all the earnest prayers and tears of his wife, to run the risk of a battle rather than be reconciled to him.

He was indeed strongly prepossessed by those of his party, that, if he bent his whole force against his father-in-law, he could hardly fail of gaining the victory, because part of his commanders, who disliked all his measures, would be easily induced to abandon him. Flushed with those hopes, and impatient to put an end to the war, he rode up directly towards the emperor, accompanied with only six or seven volunteers, and, marching sternly thro' the ranks, asked aloud, *Where is the emperor?* In this manner did he pass through them unmolested quite to the emperor's tent, near which stood posted a battalion of troops, who knew nothing of his design; between whom and him a scuffle arose, in which he was knocked on the head with a stone; soon after which, another soldier came and run him through, and, having cut off his head, carried it to the emperor. His few followers were immediately cut in pieces; at the sight of which, his army betook themselves to flight, but were pursued with great slaughter, till the emperor commanded a retreat. The old abuna, who had beheld these transactions from an eminence, stood like one thunder-struck, and either had not power to fly, or hoped that his character would have proved a safeguard to him. It did so accordingly for some time, and the imperialists passed by him without any notice or insult, till at length *hum valente catholico*, a valiant catholic, as one

* *PAYS*, apud *TELLEZ*, lib. iv. c. 14. *LUDOLPH*, lib. iii. c. 10.

The abuna murdered. of their authors styles him, laid him prostrate on the ground with a stroke of his lance; after which, he was soon dispatched by his followers, his head cut off, and brought to the emperor. Some others of the revolted underwent the same fate, particularly the eunuch *Caslo*, whose head, with those of *Ælius* and the abuna, were exposed to public view; which put an effectual end to the rebellion, and gave *Susneus* a breathing-time to resume his religious projects in favour of the church of *Rome* ^c.

The Agaus converted. THEY were at this time in great expectation of the patriarch from *Rome*, whom that monarch had desired the pope to send to him, to assist him to complete the good work, which he looked upon now as more likely than ever to succeed to both their wishes. He had by this time suppressed the *Agaus*, and reconciled them so far to Christianity, that they had agreed that Father *Pays*, who had done them some signal services, and obtained for them some better terms from the emperor than they could otherwise have hoped for, should come among and instruct them: but as that father was more usefully employed at court, they accepted of Father *Fr. Antony de Angelis* in his stead. The emperor had likewise taken care to secure an easy entrance to the Jesuits that should come from *Europe*, and more particularly for the promised patriarch, by obliging the bashaw of *Swakem*, with dint of presents, to let them go to and from *Fremona* unmolested. Accordingly there arrived two of them from *Goa*, who came, as it were, as forerunners of the patriarch *Mendez*; but, by reason of the badness of the roads and great rains, were obliged to winter at the monastery of *Fremona*. Their names were *James de Mattos*, a *Portuguese*, and *Antony Bruno*, a *Sicilian*; the former of whom met with a gracious reception at court the summer following, and the other staid there to supply the place of Father *Laurence*, who died about that time. The emperor growing still more zealous against the *Abissinian* rites, issued out a proclamation against the observation of the sabbath, or seventh day, which caused a fresh ferment, and some severe expostulations to be conveyed to him by an anonymous hand. Notwithstanding which, he ordered it to be followed by a second; by which he obliged his subjects to work on *Saturdays*; under the small forfeiture of a piece of cloth, worth a crown, for the first, and confiscation of all for the second offence; and this last occasioned a new revolt, which was like to have had fatal consequences, and to have unhinged all his projects ^d.

The Turk-arch. *ishbashaw bribed.* *Two Jesuits arrive.* *A proclamation against the Abissinians.*

^c TELLEZ, & al. ubi sup.

^d TELLEZ, lib. iv. c. 20. LUDOLPH, lib. iii. c. 10. n. 65, & seq.

It was raised by *Jonael*, viceroy of *Bagameder*, and one *Jonael* of the greatest men in the empire, and who had published *raises a* that proclamation, not so much out of obedience to the emperor, as with a view of stirring up the people to a general rebellion: so that, by the latter end of the same year, he found himself at the head of a considerable body, who followed him to some of the high mountains on the frontiers, where he was to be joined by the *Gallas*, whom he had engaged to come to his assistance. The emperor, perplexed and exasperated at the many obstacles laid in his way, and to find so many traitors, as he called them, about him, resolved to have recourse to severe means, and caused some to be beheaded, others hanged, and others banished; which, however, rather heightened than allayed the general discontent; insomuch that many noble persons of both sexes, some of them his near relations, besought him with tears, "that he would not expose his empire to the danger of a general revolt, but rather take pity of those multitudes of his subjects, who offended more through ignorance than willfulness, than to drive them by his rigour into despair." He grew so much the warmer at their intreaties, as he found so great a number of them in the same mind. To give them, therefore, such an answer as should, he thought, at once confirm the unsteady, and deter the obstinate, he convened the chiefs of his council and army, and such other learned priests and monks as followed the court, and, in a set and determinate speech, upbraided them with *having deprived the late Za-Denghil of his life and crown, for having forsaken the Alexandrian faith, and embraced that of the Portuguese: notwithstanding which, when he himself came to the crown, after the defeat of the late Jaacob, instead of using any severity against them, he had forgiven them all; in return for which lenity he had met with nothing but seditions and revolts, under pretence of his introducing innovations into the Abissinian church, when, in fact, he was only reforming it; seeing he affirmed no more than they all did, that CHRIST OUR LORD WAS PERFECT GOD AND PERFECT MAN; which he could not be, unless he was invested with the human as well as with the divine nature; which two natures being distinct from each other, it necessarily followed, that they both must be hypostatically united in him; which, he said, was not a forsaking, but professing, the true religion. And as to his forbidding the observance of the seventh day, he had done it, because he judged it unbecoming a Christian to observe the Jewish sabbath: that these he firmly believed, not out of regard to the Portuguese, but because they were the genuine decrees of*

The emperor's severity complained against.

His speech to his nobles.

the *Chalcedonian* council, and were confirmed by the practice of all Christian churches from the time of the apostles ; for which, he added, he was ready to lay down his life, if there was occasion ; but hoped that would rather prove the fate of his opposers.

HE had scarce done speaking, when a letter was brought to him from the revolted *Jonael* ; in which, we are told, that viceroy insisted upon very high terms, and particularly on the total expulsion of the Jesuits *. The emperor was not long debating about it ; but, resolving to answer him sword in hand, marched at the head of his choicest troops directly towards him ; but finding the mountains, on which he was posted, too difficult of access, he encamped about the foot of them, not doubting but some of the revolters would come quickly down to him, as they actually did, and in such numbers, that *Jonael*, finding himself in a great measure abandoned, fled to the *Gallas*, his confederates, where, instead of a refuge, he met with his death ; they having been bribed by the emperor to dispatch him.

*Gets him
murdered
by the
Gallas.*

*Another
revolt
quelled in
Gojam.*

IN the same year, another such revolt was quelled in the frontiers of the kingdom of *Gojam*, which had been raised on the same account at the instigation of the monks and *Batavis*, a kind of hermits, of the kingdom of *Damot*. These *Ras Sella Christos* at first endeavoured to reduce by fair means ; but, upon their answering him, that they would not submit, unless he delivered to them the books translated by the *Latin* fathers, to be committed to the flames, and the writers to be hanged, he attacked them with such fury that above 3000 of them were cut in pieces, and, amongst them, 188 out of 400 of those monks, after a most desperate defence. All this while, Father *Pays* had been employed in building a sumptuous church of square stone, after the *European* manner, near the lake of *Dembea*. This structure had a very stately arch over the high altar, supported by curious columns, whilst six others of the *Ionic* order supported the frontispiece ; over which was a high steeple for the bells. A winding stair-case led to the top, which was flat, and fenced by a parapet ; whence one had a delightful prospect over the lake and adjacent plains. The building being now finished, the emperor went two days journey to view it, and entered it bare-footed ; and, at his departure, left a very considerable present to it †.

*A stately
church
built by
Father
Pays.*

* TELLEZ, lib. iv. c. 22. LUDOLPH, ubi sup. p. 71, & seq.
† TELLEZ, ubi sup.

HAVING by this time quelled the most considerable revolts, though not the ferment that still reigned in the hearts of his subjects, he thought fit, the following year, to make a most public profession of his religion; an act which he had still delayed, partly on account of those frequent seditions, and partly through the reluctance he found to cast off all his wives and concubines, except his empress; a great number of whom he had taken, and had children by; and without which the fathers refused to admit him into their church. He was at length prevailed upon to comply; which done, he publicly abjured the *Alexandrine* church, made a general confession of his sins, in the *Romish* form, at the feet of Father *Pays*, and afterwards made a public profession of his faith in terms to this effect: "That he renounced all obedience and communion with the *Alexandrian* see, and acknowledged that of *Rome* alone; the pope of which was the only true successor of *St. Peter*, the chief of the apostles; to whose authority he intirely submitted, being fully persuaded that he is incapable of erring in any points, either of faith or practice." This confession and submission was afterwards published at full length through most parts of the empire, and concluded with an exhortation to his good subjects to follow his example, and with some severe censures against the errors of the *Alexandrian* church and patriarchs; as may be seen at full length in the authors quoted in the margin [†], as well as their annual letters of 1624: We shall only add, that he doth not spare in it the abunas, especially the later ones, whose vices and ill conduct are by him painted in the vilest colours, and with such a zealous warmth, as he imagined would not fail of recommending him to the patriarch *Mendez*, who was daily expected, as well as to his two principals at *Rome* and *Madrid*. And this was the prevailing motive which hastened this his recantation, and induced him, tho' much against his will, to discard all his wives and concubines, together with their children; not doubting but that his example would excite many of his nobles and courtiers to follow it, whom nothing but that strong tie of nature deterred from so doing.

BUT though some of them did actually do so, yet they were but few in comparison of those who dared still shew a public dislike against all his measures. Accordingly a new insurrection was raised much about the same time by the son

[†] TELLEZ, *ibid.* c. 27, & seq. LUDOLPH, *ubi sup.* & Comment. p. 509, & seq. ALVAREZ, c. 59. LOBO, *Relat.* i. p. 14, & seq. LE GRAND, *ibid.* p. 309, 498, & alib.

Quelled by his brother Sella Christos. of *Gabrael*; which was, however, soon quelled by the artful *Sella Christos*, who immediately marched against him, and forced him to retire into some of the most inaccessible mountains of the kingdom of *Sheva*, or *Xaosa*; where, unable to follow him, he quickly bribed some of the *Gallas*, under pretence of siding with him, to apprehend and send him either alive or dead to him. They chose the latter, and dispatched him with such zeal and fury with their clubs, that they could only send his jaw-bone and beard, which was all that remained of him unbroken. *Ras Sella Christos*, however, ventured over the mountains with some of his expert climbers, and there found the treasure which had belonged to the revolt-ers, which he distributed amongst his troops, reserving to himself only some rich utensils, of which they had plundered a church, with a design to restore them to it. The misfortune was, that some of his enemies had by this time so far misrepresented him to the emperor, that, when the news of this defeat was brought to him, instead of rewarding or commending him for it, he stripped him of his viceroyship of *Gojam*; and though he quickly after restored him to it, yet his jealousy of him still increased, and proved the occasion of farther disasters, as the sequel will soon shew^h.

The emperor grows jealous of him.

Father Pays dies.

IN this year, *Father Pays*, who had the greatest hand in bringing the emperor over to the *Roman* church, ended his days in the monastery of *Gorgorra*, after having spent nineteen years in that mission, besides his seven years captivity in *Arabia*, lately mentionedⁱ. He was soon after followed by another of his society, named *Antony de Angelis*, who had been sent in his stead to convert the *Agaus*, as was likewise hinted above, and was famous for his skill in the *Amharan* or court-language. We mention them both more particularly, as they had lived so long, and travelled through so great a part of the empire; and as it is from the relations they have left behind of the *Abissinian* affairs, that *Father Tellez* hath taken the greatest part of the transactions of this epocha.

Succeeded by four other Jesuits.

1623.

THESE were soon after succeeded by four others, among whom was *Father Emanuel d'Almeyda*, often quoted through this history, who was the chief of them. The other three were called *Emanuel Barradas*, *Lewis Cardeyra*, and *Francis Carvalho*; all of whom had embarked at *Goa* in an *Indian* vessel, and in the month of *November* the same year, after many difficulties and hazards, arrived at *Suagem* on the 4th

^h TELLEZ, ubi sup. c. 31. LUDOLPH, & al; ubi sup. before, p. 267, & seq.

ⁱ See

of *December* the year following, where their rich presents procured them a kind reception from the *Turkish* bashaw. From thence they departed for *Fremona*, and arrived there about the beginning of next *February*, accompanied by some others of that society, who had joined them in the way. There they staid till they received orders from the emperor to proceed to *Dembea*, where the court then was; to which they were soon after conveyed by a very good escorte, and where they met with a most gracious reception from that monarch.

IN the mean while, the news of the emperor's abjuration, Alfonso's profession, and extraordinary zeal, had long ere now reached Mendez the courts of *Rome* and *Madrid*, and encouraged them to send the patriarch which he had so earnestly requested of them in his former letters, though the two first, *Bermudez* and *Oviedo*, had been so severely treated by his predecessors. The person pitched upon was *Alphonso Mendez*, a Jesuit, and doctor of divinity, and a person every way qualified for such an expedition: to supply whose place, in case of death (a thing so common in those long and dangerous voyages) as well as for the greater grandeur and pomp, they appointed him two successors; the first of whom was Father *James Seco*, with the title of bishop of *Nice*, and the other Father *John de Rocha*, with that of bishop of *Hierapolis*. All three having been consecrated for that purpose, the foregoing year, in the cathedral of *Lisbon*, set sail immediately for *Goa*, with seventeen others of the same society. We shall not enter into a detail of their voyage thither, and from thence to *Fremona*, but only observe, that they lost the bishop of *Nice*, who died on the way, whilst the patriarch and his retinue continued their route thither through the kingdom of *Dancali*, joining to the frontiers of that of *Angot*, and, after a tedious and fatiguing journey, arrived safely, with his company, at the monastery of *Fremona*, on the 21st of *June* of the current year 1724¹.

WE have already observed, that the winter, in that country, begins on that day of this month, and ends on the same day in *September*^m; so that he was obliged to stay there till *October* following, on account of the dangerous travelling through *Tigre* and *Dembea* at that season, occasioned by the corruption of the air, and noxious vapours, which are frequently fatal to the inhabitants, and much more so to stran-

¹ TELLEZ, ubi sup. c. 35, & seq. LUDOLPH, ubi sup. c. 11. LOBO, Relat. i. p. 27, & seq. LE GRAND, & al. ^m See before, p. 51, & seq.

Mendez gers. He set out in *October* for the new monastery at *Gor-*
ordains gorra, on the lake of *Dembea*, and, during his short stay
 20 new there, ordained conditionally about twenty monkish converts,
converts. who had been so before by the abuna, and allowed such of
 them as had wives to keep them still, to prevent the want of
 curates.

His grand WHEN he went to wait upon the emperor for the first
reception time, which he did in his pontifical habit, he was met about
at court. half a league from the imperial camp by the grandees and
 nobles of the court, at the head of 15 or 16,000 armed men,
 of horse and foot, officers and soldiers, in their best attire,
 the horses richly caparisoned, and the whole procession mak-
 ing a magnificent show. The horsemen first coming up to
 the patriarch, made him a low bow; then, opening to the
 right and left, received him in their centre, with sound of
 trumpets, kettle-drums; and other warlike instruments, and
 with loud shouts and acclamations. A stately pavilion having
 been reared for him to go and put on his cope, mitre, and
 pontifical ornaments, at his coming out he was mounted on a
 stately pyed horse, richly covered and trapped, which had
 been sent to him from the emperor; a sumptuous canopy was
 held up over him by six viceroys; *Ras Sella Christos* leading
 his horse by the bridle, and variety of vocal and instrumental
 music marching before him. At his entrance into the church,
 he was saluted by the discharge of some cannon, and all the
 small arms of the horse and foot. The emperor was seated
 on his throne in the chancel, magnificently cloathed, with the
 crown on his head: a hymn, called the *Benedictus*, or song of
Zachary, was sung by the best voices; the patriarch was con-
 ducted to the emperor, who tenderly embraced him; after
 which, he went up to the altar, and made a short speech,
 with which his majesty was highly pleased; and then they
 all withdrew in the same grand manner ^a.

First au-
dience.

AT his first audience with the emperor, in which he was
 seated on a chair equal with the throne, they appointed the
 day on which that monarch and all his nobles, clergy, and
 laity, were to make their public submission, and take the so-
 lemn oaths of obedience to the church and see of *Rome*,
 which was to be on the eleventh of *February* the following
 year. The day being come, the palace magnificently ad-
 orned, and the emperor, his eldest son *Basilides*, his brother's
 relations, viceroys, governors, and officers, cloathed in the
 richest apparel, the patriarch in his pontificals entered the

^a TELLEZ, ubi sup. lib. v. c. 2, & seq. LUDOLPH, lib. iii. c.
 11. n. 17, & seq.

grand hall, and being seated, as at his first audience, on his chair at the emperor's left hand, began the ceremony with an elaborate discourse on the supremacy of the church and pontif of *Rome*, intermixed with severe reflections on the past ages, in which the *Abissinian* monarchs had revolted from their allegiance to him : but now the time was come, he said, in which they were again to be reduced and re-united to their great and only pastor and fold, and make amends for the defection of their ancestors. This speech was, by the emperor's orders, answered by *Melcha Christos*, his cousin and lord high steward, with great encomiums on the *Portuguese*, and with a declaration that it was his present majesty's sincere intention to perform all his promises and obligations to the pope of *Rome*. The king now-and-then prompting him what to say next, and observing, among other things, *that this was not the first time that he had promised obedience to the pope, seeing he had done it once before in the presence of one of the fathers of the society of Jesus*. To this the patriarch having given a short reply, by way of assent, ordered the holy gospel to be delivered to him ; upon which, falling upon his knees, he took the oath of supremacy to the pope, in words ^{Emperor swears} to this effect : " We, Soltan *Segued*, emperor of *Ethiopia*, ^{Submission to the pope.} acknowledge and confess, that St. *Peter*, the chief of the apostles, hath been appointed by our Lord Jesus Christ ^{The purport of the oath.} head of the whole Christian church ; and that he gave him plenary power and authority over the whole world, when he said to him, THOU ART PETER, AND UPON THIS ROCK WILL I BUILD MY CHURCH, AND I WILL GIVE THEE THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN, &c. ; and when, on another occasion, he commanded him TO FEED HIS SHEEP. And we likewise believe that the pope of *Rome*, duly elected, is the true successor of St. *Peter*, and is invested with the same dignity and power over the whole Christian church. Wherefore we do here promise and swear to our lord and holy father *Urban VIII.* and to his successors, a true and sincere obedience, most humbly laying our person and empire at his feet. So help us God and his holy Gospels P."

His example was followed by prince *Basilides*, his eldest son, and by all the other princes of the blood, as well as all the other viceroys and grandees, and the whole clergy and laity of the empire ; at the end of which, the ceremony was closed with a speech by *Ras Sella Christos*, which he pronounced, with his drawn sword in his hand, to this effect :

° *Ibid.* P TELLEZ, l. v. c. 3, & seq. LUP. ubi sup.

What

What is past, is past; as for those who shall be deficient in their duty, let this (sword) be their punishment. Which words were thought to have been meant to intimidate those who had joined *Gabrael's* son in the last revolt. After this, they all took the oaths to prince *Basilides*, as the immediate heir to the crown; upon which occasion, the same *Ras Sella Christos*, like a true son of the *Roman* church, to use Father *Tellez's* own words, tacked to his oath a condition worthy of his noble heart and zeal for Christianity, in words to this *Christos's* effect: *I swear and promise to acknowledge him (the prince Basilides) as the lawful heir and successor of his present majesty, and to obey him like a faithful subject as long as he shall protect, favour, and maintain, the true catholic faith; otherwise to become his first and most irreconcilable enemy* ⁹.

Ras Sella
Christos's
effect.
ration.

THIS bold declaration, which neither the emperor nor his presumptive heir thought proper to take notice of at present, was so far from inspiring that monarch with a more favourable opinion of him, that it rather inflamed his jealousy, and much more that of young *Basilides*; so that, instead of proving of any advantage to the *Roman* church and her missionaries, it rather accelerated their ruin and subversion, as the sequel will soon shew.

A procla-
mation for
re-ordina-
tion;

THIS grand ceremony was immediately followed by a proclamation, expressly forbidding any of the *Abissine* clergy, monks, and priests, to perform any priestly functions till they were previously examined and approved by the patriarch: there being some reason to doubt whether they had been lawfully examined (S). What was still more insupportable, was an-

⁹ TELLEZ, & al. ubi sup.

^r Ibid. ibid.

(S) If *Tellez* and his brethren may be believed, there was more occasion for such an examination than a reader would at first imagine; witness what we have had occasion to observe on that subject in a foregoing section (44): for, besides that they did not confer any of the lesser orders, the ordination of deacons consisted, it seems, only in anointing their heads, and shaving some parts thereof; and that of the priests, in taking a loaf of bread off the

church-window with their own hand: inasmuch that, on a certain time, almost 3000 resorting to the abuna of *Alexandria*, to be ordained, he not being at leisure to perform the ceremony, bid them all go and take what orders they would, and go about their business (45). But there is something so improbable in this account, that one would wish for a more impartial authority than those writers, before he can give credit to it (46).

(44) See before, p. 347, & seq. (45) Alvarez, Tellez, ubi sup. (46) Vide Le Grand, Dissert. de Ordinatio. p. 342, & seq.

other

other edict, which was issued out quickly after, expressly *to oblige* enjoining all the subjects of the empire to embrace the *Roman* faith under pain of death, and to conform in all the *papists* injunctions of that church, with respect to, the keeping of Lent, Easter, &c. By this last, all the ladies of the court were likewise obliged to go and take the same oaths of supremacy above-mentioned; which they actually complied with: so that there seemed now to be nothing wanting to complete the wishes of the prince and his missionaries, and bring the whole realm under the obedience of the Pope. They found however a greater obstacle to it than they imagined from the clergy and laity, and especially the monks, whom neither threats nor punishments could deter, nor fair promises and caresses induce into a compliance with the edict, but rather drove them away into the mountainous parts for refuge; where they were, nevertheless, punished with the utmost severity when caught.

WHILST the patriarch and his agents were carrying on these forced conversions with a high hand, the emperor *peror settles great* was no less solicitous to settle them at their ease. He built him a good house, and gave him large lands for his maintenance, on the borders of *Dombea* and *Begameder*, and added to it a seminary for sixty *Abissinian* and *Portuguese* youths, to be instructed in both languages, and in the *Roman* faith. Besides these, he caused other houses to be built in several parts of the empire, for the residence of the missionaries, and another edifice near the camp of *Dancas*, where he resided usually in the winter, that the patriarch might be always nigh his person, and preach to him every *Sunday* on such subjects as were most likely to reconcile his subjects to the *Romish* church. Yet all these pains and precautions brought as few sincere proselytes into it as their other *The people dislike the papish* severities. Still the people found something to dislike and complain against in their worship; such as kneeling at church, *worship* fixed altars, crucifixes, auricular confessions, and many other such; particularly the structure of their churches, one of which was built at *Gorgoras*, of lime and stone, with a stately roof, and a great deal of carving in it and in the choir and vestry, all which appeared strange and irregular to them. It was, however, dedicated this year, with great solemnity, after the *Romish* manner, which pleased them no better than the building. About the same time two missionaries, who had made a great number of converts in the province of *Kill two* *Cegued*, in the extreme parts of the kingdom of *Tigre*, were *of their* massacred by that people: soon after which, that kingdom *priests* was visited with a plague of locusts, (such as we have elsewhere

The locusts where observed, is very common in this empire *) which did ravages in such damage to it, that above 5000 families were obliged to Tigre. seek for sustenance in other provinces. This judgment was, according to their natural superstition, attributed by the Portuguese to the murder of the two missionaries above-mentioned ; and by the *Abissinians*, to the persecutions raised against them by the *Romanists*.

1627. ON the following year, that of *Gojam* was over-run with the neighbouring *Gallas*, where, among other cruelties and ravages, they surpris'd the viceroy *Buco*, and murdered him. They would probably have done more mischief, had not *Ras Sella Christos* come upon them suddenly, and obliged them to re-cross the *Nile* in the dead of the night, and return to their own mountains. The next year, in which five more Jesuits, with some difficulty, arrived at *Fremona*, a new sedition was hatched by one of the emperor's sons-in-law, named *Tekla Guergis*, or *Georgios*, then viceroy of *Tigre*, in which he was joined by two famous nobles, *Gebra Marjam*, and *John Acayo*. These immediately declared for the *Alexandrian* church, in opposition to that of *Rome* ; and, to shew they were in earnest, he ordered some crucifixes, rosaries, beads, and other popish trinkets, to be thrown into the fire ; and one of the new ordained priests, whom the Jesuits had recommended to be his chaplain, to be stripped of his priestly dress, and strangled. Against him the emperor sent *Kebaxos*, al. *Keba Christos*, who had lately been viceroy of that kingdom, at the head of 500 targeteers, 100 horse, and 1000 men, whom he drew out of that of *Gojam*, and with whom he marched against the revolvers with such swiftness, that though they were above a hundred leagues from them, he overtook and defeated them, and put an end to the rebellion in less than a month. *Tekla Guergis*, the ringleader of it, being taken, and sent prisoner to the imperial court, was condemned by the emperor, (though he was doubly his son-in-law, as having married two of his daughters, one after the other) not only to lose his life, but to be hanged like a common malefactor at the head of his camp. What must appear still more rigorous, he ordered a sister of his to undergo the same shameful death, for having, as he pretended, favoured that revolt under-hand : and this, in spite of all the prayers and entreaties of his court, of both sexes, in her behalf ; it being, till then, an unheard-of thing in *Ethiopia* to condemn a woman, much more a lady of rank, to such a death. No wonder if the whole court was seized

1628.

Tekla Guergis raises a revolt ;

is taken and hanged,

with his own sister.

* See before, p. 65, & seq.

with dread and horror at such an unusual instance of inflexibility^t.

By this time the *Romisb* religion seemed to have reached the highest pitch of success that it ever had in this country. They had, besides nineteen Jesuits, many natives who had been ordained by the patriarch, and a prodigious number of converts. They were now laying the foundation for a new cathedral; other churches were beautified and ornamented *A new cathedral built by the patriarch.* in the *Romisb* way. The proud patriarch had got such an ascendant over the monarch, that he was above paying any regard to the laws and customs of the country, assuming to himself an authority vastly superior to what any of their abunas had ever pretended, or dared to have aimed at: he thundered out the most dreadful excommunications, for the least offences, against even some of the chief officers of the court, and could hardly be prevailed upon by the sovereign to recall them. An Iegee, or chief of the monks, a man of great sanctity, dying in the *Abissinian* faith, had been buried at the foot of the altar of their church: of which *Mendez* being apprised, he ordered his body to be taken up and thrown on a dunghill; which was accordingly done; in-somuch that the *Abissinians* could not forbear complaining aloud, that the *Portuguese* exercised their cruelties and resentment, not only against the living, but against the dead^u.

BUT whilst every thing seemed to go on according to their wishes, the seeds of all the disasters that befel them soon after, had been for some time sowing underhand by *Melcha Christos*, a rank schismatic, as *Tellez* styles him; but, in good truth, an enemy to all *Roman* innovations, and their authors and favourers: and one who plainly foresaw how impossible it would be to stop their surprising progress, as long as two such powerful friends as the emperor and his brother *Ras Sella Christos*, went so unanimously hand in hand to support them: so that there could be no other means found to stop the career of the former, but by sowing the seeds of jealousy between the latter (T). We have already taken

^t Ibid. ub. sup,
LUDOLPH, & al.

^u TELLEZ, ub. sup. c. 14, & seq.

(T) This was done, it seems, by inspiring the emperor with a strong suspicion that there was a private understanding between the *Portuguese* and *Ras Sella Christos*; and, that notwithstanding the specious pretences of gratitude and zeal for him and his successor, they had united their interests with no other view than

taken notice of the one being deprived of his viceroyship of *Gojam*, the best and richest in the whole empire, by the other; and this it was that laid the foundation for all the disturbances and revolts which we are now going to relate.

1629.
The A-
gaus re-
volt,
defeated.

A new
revolt
quelled.

Keba
Christos
slain.

Zegur
Egzi slain.

The Ro-
mish reli-

ONE of the first of these seditions was raised in the next year among the *Agaus* of *Begameder*, whose dwelling is amongst some of the highest mountains in the empire; against whom the emperor marched at the head of 25,000 foot and 2000 horse; but attacking them too indiscretely among their high rocks, was repulsed with great loss. He next ordered his brother *Ras Sella Christos* to lead another army against them; who, though lately stripped of his government and rich territories, readily obeyed; and, falling upon such of them as had ventured down from the mountains, and prevented the rest from doing any more mischief. He was soon after obliged to march into the kingdom of *Amhara*, where another revolt had been raised by one *Lacu Mariam*, when he came so suddenly upon them, that the greatest part were either slain, or perished in their flight, by their fall into those deep precipices. This was no sooner quelled than another began on the mountains of *Lasta*; against whom the emperor dispatched *Keba Christos*, viceroy of *Tigre*; who, venturing too far with his small force, was slain by those mountaineers, and his men put to the route. About the same time the *Gallas* made a fresh irruption into the kingdom of *Gojam*, whom *Zegur Egzi*, lieutenant to *Ras Sella Christos*, venturing to oppose with too small a force, was himself slain, and his troops utterly defeated. By the death of these two last commanders, the *Romish* religion lost two of its most principal props, next to the emperor and his brother: and these two last coming at length to an open rup-

than to deprive him and *Basilides* of the crown; and, by their assistance, to seize upon the empire. To this end, they assured his majesty, that the patriarch and his missionaries had sent pressing instances into *Europe*, for a fresh supply of forces and artillery from thence, and that they only waited for their arrival before they ventured to declare for that false brother of his; who, on his

part, had engaged to make them such large concessions, as he well knew could not fail of engaging that haughty and ambitious nation to his interest (47). This was a double piece of *Machiavilian* policy, and raised an equal jealousy in that monarch against *Ras Sella Christos*, and the whole *Portuguese* tribe. We shall soon see how well it succeeded.

(47) *Teller, Ludolph, & al. sup. citat.*

ture, soon occasioned an extraordinary change; and those ^{gion loses} who disapproved of that monarch's measures in favour of it, ^{two} ceased not filling his mind with fears and jealousies, both ^{friends in} against him and the *Portuguese*; so that matters quickly put ^{them.} on a different face; and those who had, for fear of punishment, complied with his edict, and embraced his new religion, only conceived the greater dislike to it, and missed no opportunity of shewing it^{*}, whilst the patriarch was still giving them fresh occasions for it.

FOR besides his excommunications, and other violent pro- ^{Mendez}ceedings, already mentioned, he had lately taken it into his ^{tries a wo-}head to have a woman arrested and punished for a witch; ^{man for a} which he soon found gave universal disgust to the people, ^{witch.} who abhor the supposition of any such contract between men and devils, as implying, in their opinion, two Gods, or first causes; one of good, the other of evil. In this they seem much more judicious than the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, who greedily swallow every absurd story of witchcrafts, possessions, and diabolical works: and when these have urged the Scriptures against them in favour of wizards, witches, &c. their answer was, if there ever were any in other countries, they never had any in *Ethiopia*. But it is not un- ^{That no-}likely that the patriarch intended to introduce the inquisition, ^{tion not} with other innovations, among them; witches and wizards ^{known in} commonly affording a plentiful, as was as gainful, exercise, *Ethiopia*. to the greedy inquisitors; as one may judge by their ^{attos de fe}: and it is the more probable that this woman was pitched upon to lead the dance, as *Tellez* himself says, that she had been convicted of, and had herself confessed, the crime. However that be, the patriarch was obliged to let her go unpunished.

HE behaved, indeed, much more becoming his character ^{A lewd} with regard to one of the emperor's daughters, a light prin- ^{princess op-}cess; (as most of that rank are said to be^{*}) who had two ^{poses the} husbands living, yet cohabited with a third in open adultery, ^{papists.} and was desirous to be married to him. She solicited the patriarch for some time in the most pressing manner, to consent to, and to grant her a dispensation for it; which he as strenuously refusing, exasperated her to that degree, that to be revenged of him, she set all the men over whom she had any influence, against him. Thus, by one means or other, both he and his church became daily more odious to the people; and the emperor, who in this last case acted so much

^{*} TELLEZ, *ibid.* c. 15, & seq. LUDOLPH, & al. *ub. sup.*

^{*} See before, p. 77.

below

below the character of a pious prince, as he would be thought, with respect to his lewd daughter, lost daily more the love and esteem of his subjects, and gave them new occasion and encouragement for fresh revolts.

1630. ACCORDINGLY, on the next year, the revolvers in the kingdom of *Ambara* took up their arms again, and having made choice of a new chief, to whom they gave the title of viceroy, sent him, at the head of a powerful force, to possess himself of the kingdom of *Tigre*. Unfortunately for him, he kept himself so little upon his guard, that he was surprised by the viceroy of that province, as he was carousing on a *Saturday*, which they still observed as the sabbath, that he was entirely defeated, with the loss of 4000 men and 32 pair of kettle-drums. About the same time another party of the *Agas* was totally cut off on the mountains by *Ras Sella Christos*; yet did not this, nor his other late services, diminish in the least the suspicion which the emperor entertained against him. Towards the latter end of the year arrived a new bishop of *Nice* from *Gna*, and last from *Snabem*, in the room of *James Seco*, who, as was hinted a little higher, died at sea in his way hither. This new prelate was called *Don Apollinaris d'Almeyda*; and arriving at *Fremena* about the middle of *August*, (their winter) could not come to court till that season was over: but upon his reaching the imperial camp on the 16th of *December*, met with a most gracious reception there; and after a fortnight's stay, retired to the patriarch's palace at *Debsan*, four leagues distant from *Dencaz*⁷.

On the next year, the emperor having sent the new viceroy of *Gojam*, named *Serca Christos*, with a small army, to convoy the tribute of gold that was coming from the kingdom of *Enareca* (V), against the *Gassates*; as soon as he entered

⁷ Vid. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 14. & al. sup. citat.

(V) We have elsewhere observed, that this new-conquered kingdom paid rather a free-will-offering, than a tribute, to the *Abissinian* monarchs; they being in no condition to oblige them to it by reason of their vast distance, and the country of the *Gassates* lying for the most part between them. For this reason, though it consisted only of 1000 ounces of gold, or about 10,000 crowns, yet such was the indigence of those monarchs, that they were glad to send a caravan, under a strong convoy, to fetch it from thence, and to prevent its being intercepted by those free booters (48).

(48) See before, p. 38.

entered the territories of those free-booters, and saw them *new sedi-*
 covered with multitudes of large cattle, he set aside the *tions*;
 thoughts of escorting the tribute, of which he knew he had
 no share, and seized upon such a large number of their cows,
 as he judged would yield him a much richer booty; and ac-
 cordingly was driving near 100,000 of them towards *Dan-*
caz. The emperor, highly incensed at this insult, sent him
 express orders to restore the cattle to the owners, and to
 surrender himself prisoner: but he, instead of obeying, is-
 sued out a proclamation, declaring prince *Basilides* emperor; *proclaims*
 and commanding all that embraced the *Romish* faith to abjure *Basilides*
 it out of hand, and return to that of *Alexandria*. This was *emperor*.
 done without the young prince's consent, or even knowledge;
 and did no less exasperate him against him, than it did his
 father; and having obtained his leave, marched directly
 against him at the head of his army. The rebel was no
 sooner apprised of his approach, than he sent an express to a
 young prince of the race of some of the ancient emperors, in- *His decla-*
 viting him to come and accept of the crown, and assist him *ration*
 in restoring the old *Abissinian* church, and driving all the *gains him*
Jesuits and *Portuguese* out of the empire; assuring him, that a *great*
party. he could not fail of being supported in it by all the monks, and
 the far greater part of the grandees and people.

THIS prince, whose name was *Melcha Christos*, readily
 accepted the offer; and raised what forces he could get, in
 order, if possible, to join those of *Serca Christos*. In the
 mean time he caused a manifesto to be published, importing,
 that he did not take up arms with any intent of seizing on the
 sovereign power, but only to extirpate the *Roman* religion,
 and restore the old *Alexandrian* faith through the empire.
 This declaration failed not to draw great numbers of monks,
 and other people who had retired into the mountains, to his
 party. But upon information that young *Basilides* was ad-
 vancing towards *Serca Christos*, he thought it more expedient
 to fortify himself among those almost inaccessible rocks, and

These *Gassates* spread them- very fat and fleshy, bear a
 selves along the banks of the great price through all the
Nile, on the south side of the neighbouring kingdoms and
 empire, between the kingdoms provinces: so that we need not
 of *Gojam* and *Damot*, and their wonder at the preference which
 country so abounds with grass, this revolted viceroy gave to
 that they breed an innumerable 100,000 of them, before 1000
 multitude of black cattle; ounces of gold (49).
 which being of a large size, and

(49) *Teller, Ludolph, Lobr. et al. sup. citat.*

Serca
Christos
defeated
by Basili-
des:

cudgelled
to death.
Seven of
his accom-
plishes be-
headed.

The empe-
ror's suc-
cess against
the revolt-
ers.

Forced to
flick back
with
shame.

wait for a more favourable opportunity. On the other hand, the emperor seeing himself threatened by those two revolts in different parts of his dominions, was obliged to send for his brother again, and to be reconciled to him, in order to advise with him what course to steer against them: whereupon *Ras Sella Christos* counselled him to send a new reinforcement to his son, together with express orders to go and attack the rebel *Serca Christos*: of which he acquitted himself with such diligence and success, that he was forced to retire with all speed over the *Nile*; whither he still closely pursuing him, obliged him to come to a sharp engagement, in which his forces were totally routed: upon which he fled to the neighbouring mountains; but before three days were over, he surrendered himself to the prince; by whom he was sent prisoner to the imperial camp, and there bastinadoed to death. Seven of his companions being likewise conducted thither in chains, had their heads cut off. One of his chief officers, who was of the number, and had the boldness to vent his dire blasphemies, as *Tellez* styles them^a, against the church of *Rome*, as he hung suspended to a hook, had his tongue cut out, and, towards night, was dispatched by a volley of darts^b.

THIS success encouraged the emperor to march at the head of his whole army against the other revolters, who lay encamped on the high mountains of *Lasta*: for by this time he was relapsed into his old suspicions against his brother, and obliged him to retire to his own house. He therefore divided his army into three bodies, in order to enter those mountains by as many ways; and had the good luck at first to surprise and kill some of the revolters: but one of his bodies having met with a more warm reception, and been repulsed with great loss, he thought fit to withdraw with more haste than honour, before the rebels had stopped his way through those passes, which would have cut off his provisions, and reduced his army by famine, as well as prevented his retreat: and he had the good fortune to time it so well, that he gained the imperial camp at *Dancax*, without any farther damage than the dishonour of leaving the kingdom of *Begameder* exposed to the fury and resentment of the revolters: the consequence of which ill-concerted expedition was, that it greatly tarnished his fame, and disheartened his friends, at the same time that it raised the

^a Ub. sup. c. 25.
a. 70, & seq.

^b Id. ibid. *BUDOLPH*, l. iii. c. 11.

spirits of his enemies^c. The patriarch was very diligent in *The patriarch and bishop bold their visitation.* making his visitations in the kingdom of *Dembea*, and others about it, whilst the new bishop of *Nice* did the same in other parts; and the Jesuits, in their respective cantons; and all of them successfully enough, by their own accounts, to make daily a great number of profelytes. But notwithstanding all these boasted conversions, the *Alexandrians* gained so much ground at court, that they now made no scruple to tell the emperor, *That all these disasters were wholly Representing to the change of religion he had occasioned in his dominations, and that neither he nor the people must expect peace or tranquility as long as he upheld and promoted the Romish religion; which, how right soever it might be, could never appear so to his subjects, as long as it condemned that in which they had been brought up: that it was next to impossible ever to persuade them that circumcision, or the observance of the sabbath, could be offensive to God, or that the Alexandrian liturgy, calendar of fasts and festivals, ought to give place to that of Rome. That it would therefore be more safe if he would relax his severity in those points, which did in no wise attain the essentials of Christianity, and grant them a full liberty to go on in their ancient rites and customs, seeing all the efforts of Ras Sella Christos, and his partisans, to the contrary, were chiefly levelled against his and his kingdom's safety^d.*

THESE representations, joined to the danger he was in *who re.* from the revolvers in *Lafta*, lately mentioned, made such *laxes* an impression on the emperor, that he communicated them *his severe edicts.* to the patriarch, who, on his part, though very loth to relax, yet at such a juncture, being glad to lower his sails, and rather remit a little, than lose all, consented that some small concessions should be made to the people, provided they were not repugnant to the *Roman* faith. Accordingly, before he went afresh against the revolvers, he issued out a proclamation in his army, That they should be allowed the use of their old books and rites in the divine service, provided they were revised by the patriarch. 2dly, That they should observe all their festivals according to the old *Alexandrian* calendar, except that of *Easter*, and those that immediately depended upon it: And, 3dly, That those who cared not to fast on *Saturday*, should do it on *Wednesday*: These were indeed very trifling concessions at the best, and consequently such as neither could satisfy the *Abissinidn*

^c TELLEZ, ibid. c. 26, & seq. LUDOLPH, ub. sup.
LEZ, c. 28. LUDOLPH, ub: sup.

^d TEL-
clergy

and is fe-
verish con-
fused by
the patri-
arch.

1531.

His jef-
f's answer to
him.

Two re-
marks up-
on it.

The patri-
arch's
f'ange be-
haviour.

clergy nor laity. But what more surprised the emperor, was, that they highly displeased the patriarch himself; who thereupon took the liberty to expostulate with him in very unbecoming terms; telling him, that he might as well have given them free liberty to return to their old *Alexandrian* faith, seeing they would of course take his proclamation in that sense. Yea, he went so far as to remind him of the fate of the *Jewish* king *Uzziah*^{*}, who was smitten by God with a leprosy for having presumed to infringe on the priestly office; intimating thereby, that it belonged solely to the Pope, and to himself, his vicar, to grant such licences; and that he had in that usurped a power which did not belong to him. This bold epistle could not but nettle the emperor to a great degree, and could not fail of making him sensible how much too generous he had been in his vast concessions to those pretended successors of *St. Peter*, and what advantage they took now of his too great weakness. Nevertheless, as he was now going on such a dangerous expedition, he contented himself with sending him a suitable answer; in which, among other things, he reminds him, That when the *Romish* religion first began in his dominions, it did not owe its establishment to the preaching of the *Jesuits*, nor to any miracles they wrought in confirmation of it, nor to the good liking of his subjects, but merely to his own approbation and free good-will, inasmuch as we found that the doctrines of our (*Alexandrian*) books were quite conformable to it: and consequently could not see that he had given the patriarch any occasion of complaint. We shall beg leave here to subjoin a remark or two upon this answer: the one is, that the *Abissinians*, whom the *Portuguese* writers represent as ignorant, illiterate, and untractable, were yet able enough to perceive, that the dispute about the incarnation was founded on mere words, ill understood and explained: and, 2dly, that all the miracles which are related by those writers, particularly by father *Guerreiro*, are no better than mere invented fables, seeing that monarch, though so zealous for their religion, did not know of any such having been wrought. All this did not put an end to the contention between him and the haughty patriarch, whose savage behaviour on this occasion is justly blamed, even by those of his own church, and looked upon as the chief cause both of the total expulsion of all the missionaries and *Portuguese* out of that empire, and likewise of that of the irreconcilable hatred which the whole *Abissinian* nation hath borne ever

* TELLEZ, ub. sup. c. 19. p. 482; & seq.

face,

since, and doth to this day, not only to the *Portuguese*, but to all the *Franks* or *Europeans*.

BUT it is time now to come to the emperor's new expedition against the *Lastan* revolvers, in which he once more thought fit to recall his brother *Ras Sella Christos* to take the command; and, in spite of all his remonstrances, obliged him to go and attack them with only 3000 men. Whether this was done with a design to sacrifice him to his still corroding jealousy or not, we are not told, neither will pretend to affirm; but that brave general was presently beset with 20,000 rebels, and though he defended himself with the utmost bravery, as well as did at the same time *Keba Christos*, viceroy of *Begameder*, who lay at a small distance with his forces, yet being abandoned at length by their men, in the night, they were both forced to save themselves by flight. This disaster so alarmed the emperor, that he retired to the kingdom of *Gojam*, whilst the elated revolvers were taking their measures to go and make themselves masters of *Dancaz*, the usual place of his residence; and a great part of his forces were plotting to go over to them. The fear he was in left if the rebels seized on his court, the rest of the empire should declare for them, obliged him to try his fortune once more; so that leaving his baggage behind him, he marched directly towards them, all night, at the head of 20,000 men; in which attempt he succeeded much better than ever he had done.

HE was then encamped advantageously for the season, which was the beginning of winter, when on the 27th of June news was brought to him by his scouts that the enemy was advancing towards him with 25,000 men, but most of them ill disciplined and armed. They arrived accordingly about noon within sight of his camp, upon which, the imperial horse leading the van, the emperor himself clapping spurs to his horse, and being followed by the rest of his cavalry, they charged the rebels with such fury, that they fled at the very first onset like so many sheep before the wolf, and yielded them a complete victory. Night coming on, many of these mountaineers endeavouring to save themselves by flight during the darkness, dashed themselves in pieces among the rocks; the others were either slain or taken by the pursuing imperialists; insomuch that, by the next day, the slain were found to amount to 8000: the rest endeavoured to regain their high recesses, and abandoned their camp to the victors.

His officers
pathetic
remon-
strance to
him;

THIS signal defeat, which filled the *Portuguese* with joy and triumph, and made them imagine now that none would be so bold as to oppose the progress of their religion, had, however, a quite contrary effect, as it drove both the *Alexandrians* and imperialists into the utmost consternation. The chief officers of the court, in particular, accompanied the emperor in a mournful guise to the field of battle, and there addressed themselves to him in words to this effect^s. “ You see here, Sir, many thousands of your subjects slain before your eyes, and by your arms; they were neither *Mohammedans*, nor Gentiles, nor enemies of the Christian name, but unhappy vassals of yours and our relations, and our own flesh and blood; so that whether you conquer or be conquered, you still are sure to sheath your sword into your own bowels. Those who took up arms against you, did not do it out of any dislike to your person or government, but in defence of their ancient religion, which you would force them to renounce, and exchange for one to which they can by no means be persuaded to conform. What a deal of blood-shed hath this unhappy change already caused, and what a deal more is it likely to cause, unless you will suffer them to continue in that old way of worship, which they received from their ancestors? Without this, we shall never enjoy any rest, and you will find yourself shortly without empire or subjects. Add to this, that our worst enemies, the *Gallas* and *Turks*, against whom your arms might have been more successfully and gloriously employed, do hate and despise us still the more, and brand us with the name of renegados, for having thus deviated from our ancient faith (U).”

^s TELLEZ, *ibid.* c. 32. p. 488, & seq. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 12. n. 13, & seq.

(U) This last was so far true, that *Tellez* tells us in another place, that the king of *Adel*, his neighbour, and a *Mohammedan*, who had caused two jesuits, then going into *Abissinia*, to be apprehended and put to death, afterwards wrote a haughty reproachful letter, in which he styles him the apostate *Sasirus* (48).

Neither need we wonder that *Jews*, *Turks*, and *Heathens* should be so exasperated at his defection, not indeed out of any particular regard they could have for the *Abissinian* church, but out of downright hatred against that of *Rome*, and the *Portuguese* nation, whose growing power in his dominions had justly alarmed them (49).

(48) *Tellez*, *lib.* iv. c. 29.

(49) *Ludolph*, l. iii. c. 12. n. 16.

THIS pathetic remonstrance made so much the deeper *backed by* impression on the emperor's mind, as he was by this time *his son,* much worn with age, fatigues, frequent wars, and revels, *emprefs,* to say nothing of his suspicions against his brother and all *and court.* the *Portuguese*: but what still helped to sink it still deeper, was, that the prince, his son, the emprefs, and all the great ones of his court, were daily making pressing instances to him to restore the old religion, inasmuch that he fell into a deep melancholy and took to his bed; during which time the courtiers took that opportunity to publish an edict as from him, that the people might all return to the ancient faith, or embrace which church they liked best. The patriarch failed not, according to custom, to censure this conduct in the severest terms, and to exhort him to make a better advantage of the victory which God had granted to him, and to finish what he had so nobly begun. The emperor answered, that he had done all that was in his power, till he saw himself on the brink of being abandoned by all his subjects; and so without any farther regard to his censures, or the solicitations of the bishop and his jesuits, suffered the proclamation to come out; which was to this *Issues out a* effect: "Hear ye, hear: we gave you this faith because we *proclama-*
 "believed it good; but as innumerable have lost their *tion for li-*
 "lives on account of it, which *Elus* (*Ælius*, or *Julius*) *Ga-*
 "*brael*, *Tekla*, *Gerguis*, *Serca* *Christos*, and now lately *conscience*:
 "the *Lastan* mountaineers, we do now restore to you the
 "faith of your forefathers. The former clergy may return
 "to their churches, perform the divine service after their
 "ancient ritual, restore their tabots (small portable altars)
 "and other branches of their function. Farewell, and do
 "ye rejoice."

THIS edict (which *Tellez* scruples not to style impious, sacrilegious, and the source of many dangerous errors, which crept in, in consequence of it, through the perverseness of the *Abissinian* clergy¹) caused an inexpressible joy among not only all the monks and priests, but among the army and laity. These last expressed it more particularly by flinging the beads, and other popish trinkets which the missionaries had given them, into the fire. The clergy began to perform their functions as usual, to administer the communion in both kinds, the ceremony of circumcision, together with that of the general ablution on the festival of epiphany, and by the *Portuguese* falsely styled rebaptisation², were renewed

¹ Ub. sup. c. 35. LUDOLPH, ub. sup.
vid. sup. p. 187, & seq.

² De hoc,

every-where with extraordinary zeal and exultation; a short hymn having been composed on that occasion, and sung at the revival of the old worship, to this effect.

*Canticle
sung in me-
mory of it.*

*THE Ethiopian sheep are now delivered
From western wolves, by the doctrine of the apostle St.
Mark,
And of Cyril, the two pillars of the Alexandrian church.
Rejoice and be glad, and sing hallelujahs;
Ethiopia hath escaped from the wolves of the West¹.*

*The Abis-
sinians
seize on
their
churches.
The empe-
ror's low
condition.*

It may be proper to observe, that though the proclamation above-mentioned restored the *Abissinian* church in *statu quo*, yet it did not exclude the *Roman* priests from the free exercise of their own. But by this time the latter were become so odious through the whole empire, and the emperor so little able, if he had been still inclined, to support them, as he was now languishing under a deep melancholy and a broken constitution, that the *Abissinian* clergy made no difficulty to seize on several of their new churches, such especially as came nearest to the *Alexandrian* model; some of which more resembled strong fortresses than Christian churches. Here the patriarch tried once more to rouse up the drooping zeal of the desponding monarch, by representing to him, that his forbearance and inactivity was going to bring a civil war into his dominions between the *Alexandrians* and the *Romanists*. An indiscrete and ill-timed intimation this at such a juncture! but to which he could only answer, *What can I do? I, who have now neither empire nor authority left.* His brother, *Ras Sella Christos*, wrote a pressing letter to him, which is still preserved by the *Portuguese* writers; but which, if genuine, shews more zeal and prejudice, than either reasoning, or even common-sense; nor was it then a proper time to apply to him in the bad state he was in^m.

Death.

1633.

THE emperor, unable to support himself longer under such a load and variety of diseases and calamities, expired on the 16th of *September* of the same year, in the sixty-first of his age and twenty-fourth of his reign, not without some suspicion of his having been dispatched before his time by poison; though by what appears from all accounts we have from thence, he really died of excess of grief and a worn-out constitution, occasioned through a long series of rebellions within, and wars from without, and other murmurs

¹ Vid. LUDOLPH, ub, sup num, §1.
LUDOLPH, LOBO, &c.

^m TELLEZ,

and

and disasters which followed him closely during his whole unhappy reign; which might have proved a glorious and prosperous one, had the missionaries never set foot within his dominions. He died, we are told, in the *Romish* faith, and still kept two of those fathers about him to his dying hour. His body was buried with great pomp in the church of *Funeral. Ganeta Jesu*, about four leagues from *Dancaz*, the place where he usually resided, and now died. We have elsewhere described the ceremony of his interment, and of his son's installation to the throne, and need not repeat it here^a.

BASILIDES, al. *Faciladas*, his eldest son, succeeded him (who took the name of Soltan *Segued*); and, from the very beginning of his reign, shewed himself a mortal enemy to the church of *Rome*, to her missionaries, and to all her friends and converts. The very first person on whom he wreaked his resentment, was his uncle *Ras Sella Christos*, whom he stripped of the few lands and dignities which the late emperor had left him, and ordered him to be conducted into banishment, in chains, to the kingdom of *Samen*, or *Cemen*, where he lived like a common criminal under a guard; which severe treatment was probably less owing to the extraordinary zeal which he had always shewn for that church, than for the threatening words he uttered as he was taking the oath of allegiance to him^o. Several other great men underwent the same banishment; particularly *Azag-Tino*, the late emperor's secretary, and the princess *Vatatta Georgissa*, his first cousin; and others were put to death for having spoken too vehemently against the *Alexandrian* church, and called that faith the religion of dogs. The fathers *Mattos* and *Giroko*, two Jesuits who had continued with the emperor till his death, were ordered to depart from *Dancaz*, and repair to *Ganeta Jesu*, whence they were again turned out with four, and sent with eight more out of the monastery of *Gorgerra* to *Cottela*, where twelve of them lived for some time very hardily.

AMONG all these delinquents, one may easily imagine that the haughty patriarch was not treated more favourably than his inferior brethren. This prelate had taken the liberty to write to the emperor in favour of these fathers, whom he had stripped of all their lands, and designed to confine them at *Fremona*; but having now received an order from him, by two of his officers, to surrender into their hands all the

^a See before, p. 115, & seq. & auct. sup. citat. ^o See before, p. 180, 298.

*His letter
to that
monarch.*

fire-arms which were in hispossession, and to retire immediately to the same place, he now resolved to expostulate with him in a second letter; in which, among other things, he said, "That it was not of his own accord that he was sent patriarch into *Abissinia*, but at the command of the Pope and king of *Portugal*, and at the request of the emperor his father; and now he begs of him, since he is going to dismiss him out of his dominions, to let him and the world know his motives for so doing; and whether he and his brethren are condemned to banishment on account of their faith or morals, I have," continued he, "in complaisance to your father, remitted all our peculiar rites, except that of the communion in both kinds, which the Pope alone can dispense with; and now make you the same offers, provided you and your subjects do submit yourselves to the *Roman* church, as to the mother of all churches; and lastly, I beg that we may again, as at the beginning, be allowed to have the matter debated in a proper assembly of both parties, that it may be made plainly to appear which side is most in the right."

The emperor's answer to it.

To this letter, which *Tellez* hath inserted at full length in *Portuguese P*, the emperor was pleased to answer in a calm and judicious manner, by reminding him, *That the breach between him and the Abissinians, was not so much owing to the dispute about the two natures of Christ, but to their denying them the cup in the communion; to their altering of the fasts and festivals; to their presuming to rebaptize their proselytes; and to re-ordain their priests and deacons, as if the former had not been true Christians, nor the others lawfully ordained before the arrival of the Portuguese. As to having any farther conferences about these matters, he plainly tells him, that it was not by dint of arguments that they got their doctrines and rites established among them, but rather by persecution and tyranny, and that there was no good to be expected from any such disputes. He concluded with telling him, that he expected a new Abuna from Alexandria, and last, from the kingdom of Enarea, where he was now waiting only for his departure for Fremona; he having signified to him, that he could never consent to appear in any country where there was a Roman patriarch* (W).

SOME

▷ *Histor. Ethiop. lib. v. c. 3. p. 517, & seq.* 9 *Id. ibid. c. 4, & seq. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 13. n. 27, & seq. LOBO, LE GRAND, & al.*

(W) The patriarch *Mendez* in much harsher terms, in his couches this last circumstance letter to the king of Spain; and tells

SOME other messages passed to and fro after the receipt of *The patri-* this letter, but which had no other effect, than to hasten the *arch* delivery of all the fire-arms, and the departure of the pa- *obliged to* triarch and his brethren to their college at *Fremona*; for *depart*: which place they set out, without farther demur, accompanied by one *Paul*, the emperor's nephew, who was ordered to guard them through the deserts, which swarm with robbers; tho' instead of protecting, he was the first that fell foul upon them, and would have stripped them of *robbed by* all their baggage and valuables, had not some of the patri- *his escort*, arch's *Portuguese* killed two or three of his men, and scared the rest away. Neither would it have been possible for them to have saved any thing that was left them, or even their lives, had not the two other governors, *Tekla Salus* and *Azma Gerguis*, who were to escort them through their own territories, proved more faithful to them. So dreadfully were they way-laid and assaulted through every place they came to; till at length, with much fatigue, loss, and danger, they safely arrived at *Fremona*, on the 24th of *April* 1633. of the following year, though in a very miserable plight. *Arrives* We shall follow them no farther than to this place, where *safe at* they were hardly allowed a small time to refresh and reco- *Fremona*. ver themselves, before they received a fresh order from the *Ordered to* emperor, expressly enjoining them to leave it, and to de- *depart out* part instantly out of his dominions, and embark for the *of the em-* *Indies*. They staid, however, some time, to try to soften *pire*.

tells him, " That the new Abu-
" na staid some years *incognito*
" in the kingdom of *Enarea*:
" but that upon the news of
" *Mendez's* abdication, he had
" sent the emperor word, that
" he could not perform the
" functions of his dignity, un-
" less the *Latin* patriarch, and
" his Jesuits, were either killed,
" or banished far enough off
" (50)." It must be owned,
however, that the emperor
seems here to have used them
with an unbecoming cruelty, in
sending them to so distant a
place, through deserts, which
he knew swarmed with banditti,
and not leaving them any fire-

arms to defend themselves against
them. To which we can only
answer, that it was not without
good grounds that he feared to
trust the *Portuguese* with such
dangerous weapons, which they
knew so well how to use upon
all occasions, and might be
easily induced to have turned
against himself; and therefore
chose a less hazardous way to
secure their retreat, by order-
ing them a sufficient escort thro'
every place of his dominions
which they were to pass; and
which, as the sequel shews,
actually conducted them safe to
that place.

Hardships
and cruel-
ties they
met with.

Redeemed
at a vast
price.

the *Abissinian* monarch in their behalf, and used what friends they had left to represent to him the imminent danger they must run from the *Turks*, *Moor*s, and other enemies to their religion; and that it was in effect to send them as sheep to the slaughter; or, what was much more dreadful, as poor naked men into a miserable state of slavery. The emperor, though he knew all this perfectly well, was yet so exasperated by his clergy, and others of his court, that he proved inexorable to all these solicitations, and they found themselves obliged to comply with his severe commands. They were first conducted to *Mazowa*, and thence to *Suaken*, where they were most cruelly used by the rapacious and inhuman bashaw; and after having suffered the hardest imprisonment and cruellest indignities, were forced to ransom their liberty at a most exorbitant price. From thence, after many other difficulties and hardships, they arrived at *Goa*, and thence returned to *Lisbon*; where they published this most melancholy account, both of their sufferings and disappointments; though we may reasonably suppose they suppressed the main motives that occasioned it. All that we need add of the patriarch and the two Jesuits, that were detained at *Suakem*, is, that they did not obtain their liberty till the 24th of *April*, 1735; when, having paid 4000 pieces of eight for their ransom, they were put on board, and arrived safe at *Diu*; from which place *Mendez* soon after sailed to *Goa*, in order to solicit for a fresh reinforcement to be sent into *Abissinia*, but without any success^r.

1634.
Other Je-
suits dis-
covered and
put to
death.

It is now time to return to *Ethiopia*, and see what passed there after their expulsion. It might indeed have been expected, that after so severe a treatment of those missionaries, and the haughty patriarch, the ferment which they had kindled in the spirits of the *Abissinian* clergy and laity, as well as in the emperor's, would have been in some great measure allayed: but there remained still sufficient cause for it, as long as father *Apollinaris d'Almeyda*, the lately made bishop of *Nice*, and some others of the jesuit fraternity, continued still concealed in the kingdom of *Tigre*, and were privately protected there by the viceroy *Cysla Mariam*. The emperor was soon apprised of it, who immediately sent him orders, either to deliver them up to the mercy of the *Turks*, or to cause them to be put to death: so that being afraid of concealing them any longer, yet unwilling to sacrifice them to his resentment, he left them at liberty to retire whither they

^r TELLEZ, ub. sup. l. vi. c. 14, & seq. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 14.

could; which they did, the bishop, to father *Rodriguez's* retreat, where he continued for some time, and the other to a poor thatched cottage, where he lay concealed a whole year. About the same time *Tekla Emanuel*, governor of *Assa*, being removed ^{removed} *Tekla* for having entertained three others of the fraternity, his brother, who succeeded him, did not leave off searching after ^{for pro-} them, till he found them in the retreat where they lay hid, ^{testing} and killed father *Gaspar Pays*, and three other *Portuguese* ^{them.} youths, and left the rest dangerously wounded; particularly *F. John Pereyra*, who died a week after of his wounds. Nor was the emperor less severe against such of his subjects as still persisted in their profession of the *Roman* faith, six of the principals of whom he caused to be put to cruel deaths, *Their* and others to be persecuted with equal rigour: to avoid ^{deaths.} which, many of them either fled, or returned to the ancient church.

THIS continued till the year 1638, when the bishop of ^{1638.} *Nice*, and his two companions, being delivered up to the emperor, & ^{seq.} he condemned them to death; but afterwards, changed their sentence into that of banishment: but this not pleasing their enemies, they were all three hanged. Several others, some of whom had lain concealed till this time, and others who were lately arrived, particularly six *French* Capuchins, were all likewise put to death. Notwithstanding all these severities, there remained yet some other Jesuits concealed here and there; and among them *F. Lewis Cardeyra* and *Bruno Bruni*, who, in spite of all the emperor's promises and threats, were publicly protected by the lord of *Temben*, *Cardeyra* an *Abissinian* nobleman, of the kingdom of *Tigre*. But he ^{and Bruno} was quickly after closely besieged, and, after a vigorous ^{protected} defence, slain by the viceroy of that kingdom: the news of ^{for some} whose death were brought to *Amba Salama*, or the holy ^{time,} mountain, where those two fathers had made a vast number of such zealous proselytes, that rather than deliver up their spiritual guides, they chose to endure the greatest extremities of hunger and thirst, during more than a year; that is, till the year 1640; when being reduced to mere skeletons, and having obtained of the emperor an amnesty both for themselves and their two guides, they suffered them to be conducted to a neighbouring town, where a fair was kept in the month of *March*, and where, we are told, they were publicly hanged, notwithstanding the emperor's solemn engagement to the contrary.

• Id. ibid.

• TELLEZ, ub. sup. l. vi. c. 16, & seq.

Le
Grand's
character
of the pre-
late Men-
dez.

WE shall go no farther with the history of those persecutions and public executions, nor with the methods which the courts of *Rome* and *Spain*, and the society *de propaganda fide*, took afterwards to gain fresh footing in *Abissinia*; those transactions relating rather to the church history of that country, and consequently out of our province. Those of our readers who are curious in those things, may have recourse to the authors mentioned in the following note (X) for a fuller account. We shall therefore conclude this head with a remark, no less judicious than true, of one of the learned of the *Romish* church, often quoted in this chapter. "It were to be wished, that the patriarch (*Mendez*) who was in other respects a man of excellent talents, had never intermeddled with such a variety of affairs, and had not carried his authority to such a height, and behaved in *Ethiopia* as if he had been in a country where the inquisition is established; by which means he set all the people against him, and made all catholics, and the Jesuits especially, appear so odious, that the hatred which the *Abissinians* conceived against them, still continues to this very day." He might have added, that they bear the same irreconcilable hatred to all the *Europeans*, of what country

• LE GRAND, relat. hist. dissert. ix. ad fin.

(X) The reader may consult on that occasion the remainder of father *Telles*'s history, and that of Mr. *Ludolph*, so far as they both go. He may also have recourse to the ecclesiastical history of *Ethiopia*, written in *English* by the Rev. Mr. *Geddes*, chancellor of the cathedral of *Salisbury*; printed at *London*. anno 1696, 8vo; and to an epitome of it, written by the learned Dr. *Michael*, professor of divinity and of the oriental languages, at *Hall* in *Saxony*; in which he takes particular notice of all the disasters which the arrival of the Jesuits occasioned in the *Abissinian* empire.

This last piece, which is

written in high *German*, was first printed at *Hall* above mentioned, ann. 1724, at the head of another piece, intitled, the life of *Peter Heyling* of *Lubeck*, a young *Lutheran* gentleman, well versed in the *Arabic*, who passed into *Ethiopia* with the new *Egyptian* *Abuna*; and during his stay at *Snakem*, held some disputes with the patriarch *Mendez*; with which this last was so little pleased, because he explained all that was said in the *Arabic* tongue to the bystanders, that he cried out, after they were parted, that if that young doctor ever got into *Abissinia*, he would plunge the whole empire into a most dangerous heresy (51).

(51) De hoc, vid. *Ludolph*, Hist. *Ethiop.* lib. iii. c. 14. n. 6, & seq.

or religion soever, whom they all confound under the common name of *Franks*; which they seldom pronounce without the addition of some curse or execration. But let us now take a view of the temporal state of the empire:

Soon after the death of the two ~~fishers~~ last mentioned, there happened a dreadful eruption of the *Gallas* into the kingdom of *Tigre*; a great part of which was laid utterly waste by those barbarians; against whom the emperor sent his son at the head of the choicest part of his army. These were to be joined by the *Saentes*, or lords of lands of that kingdom, and gave the enemy battle on the very spot, we are told, where the fair above-mentioned was kept: the onset was furious on both sides, till the young prince was slain, together with the Bahr-naghash *Tekla Salas*, and some other nobles; upon which the whole imperial army was put to the route with a great slaughter. Flushed with their success, they returned on the following year with such an additional force, that they overran above twelve provinces belonging to that large kingdom, and penetrated as far as the sea-coasts, where they intended to have made themselves masters of *Deano*, or, as the *Europeans* call it, the fort *Arhico*; but were forced back by the *Turkish* artillery of it, which began to fly about their ears. The cruelties and ravages they committed in this expedition, were such, if we may credit the intelligence that hath come from thence by the way of *Mazwa*, from some *Portuguese* monks, and others, that the generality of the *Abissinians* looked upon them as judgments from heaven, for their persecutions against the missionaries and their converts: even the empress mother, *Sollicited* as well as his brother *Claudius*, who had been their greatest in favour enemies, became now their most zealous intercessors with her of the *Je-* son, and even begged of him to return to that church, and *suits*; prevent thereby the total ruin of the empire. To all these solicitations he lent only a deaf ear; or, as our author words it, he hardened his heart, and persisting in his old measures, resolved, if possible, to extirpate the very name and memory of papists and *Portuguese* out of his dominions *.

From this time forward, we hear and read of nothing but of persecutions and civil wars, and other calamities within, *raises new* new projects and fruitless attempts without to revive the mission, *persecuti-* and get fresh footing in *Abissinia*; and of now-and-then some *ons against* new monks discovered, and put to death, for endeavouring to procure a private admission into it; whilst the patriarch *The patri-* *Alphonso Mendez*, conscious of his having been the cause both *arch solli-*

* *Ibid. ibid.*

*cuts the
Pope and
king of
Spain in
vain.*

*Tries to
corrupt the
basbaw of
Suakem ;*

*who sides
with the
emperor.*

*Three Ca-
puchins
put to
death by
him.*

*The patri-
arch and
Jesuits sus-
pended at
Rome.
Capuchins
sent in
their stead.*

of their expulsion, and of all avenues being so closely shut up against them, ceased not to solicit the courts of *Rome* and *Madrid's* assistance, in favour of some project or other he was hatching, not so much in hopes of regaining his lost dignity, as of retrieving his character, and the credit of his order ; but met with nothing from either but discouragements, or at best fair words and fruitless promises. He was even so impolitic as to endeavour to corrupt the *basbaw* of *Suakem*, who was their greatest enemy and obstacle in their way, by great presents and pompous promises, to permit some fresh Jesuits to steal into the empire in disguise, in order to supply the place of the old ones, who he knew were all dead by this time ; not considering that the *basbaw*, being retained by the emperor, would not have failed of putting them to death, or at best to have extorted vast sums from them for their ransom : an eminent instance of which he gave in the year 1648 ; when having caught three Capuchin friars who were sent on that dangerous errand, he ordered them to be beheaded, their heads to be flayed, and the skins to be stuffed with straw, and sent to that monarch, as a testimony of his compliance, and a claim to his reward.

FROM this transaction one may draw these two inferences ; viz. 1st, That the emperor not only retained an irreconcilable prejudice against all missionaries, but took all proper precautions to prevent their even approaching his dominions. The other, That by this time, both the Pope, and society *de propaganda fide*, as well as the king of *Spain*, were quite dissatisfied with the proceedings of the patriarch and his Jesuits, and their chusing from that time to send Capuchins, Dominicans, and men of any order but theirs, plainly shews that they had conceived some strong suspicions against that politic society. But this caution, instead of producing any good effect towards the re-introducing a mission into the country, rather proved an obstruction to it ; the Jesuits and their friends being no less industrious and diligent in misrepresenting and undermining all the measures of the other friars, than they were in contriving and promoting their own. The same contrast reigns also between the *French* and other missionaries, who were pitched upon for that work, and the *Portuguese*, who were now set aside on account of their being become so odious to the *Abissinians* ; altho' from their frequent disagreements and recriminations, a reader may much sooner perceive their measures and proceedings to favour more of the politic, than apostolic, spirit, than be able to assign which side is either most guilty, or most misrepresented.

As

As for the patriarch, though he never dared to return *The patri-* into *Europe*, after his expulsion and disgrace, but still con- *arch will* tinued in *India* to the day of his death, when he found that *plots in* all his solicitations proved ineffectual at *Rome* and *Madrid*, *India.* he tried to set up a correspondence with the Capuchins, whom he supposed to be either still at *Suakem*, or to have by that time got into *Abissinia*, in order to know what passed there, and consult about such other measures as the present juncture should suggest; little dreaming that the *Turkish* bashaw had put them to death. He sent thither with this *Torquato* view an *Italian*, named *Torquato Parisiano*, in the disguise of *sent into* an *Englisbman*, in a ship of the same nation, to that island, *Abissinia.* where they landed on the 7th of *May*, 1648. Here they were soon informed, though contrary to the bashaw's express prohibition, of the fate of the Capuchins: upon which, the *Englisb* advised *Torquato* to return to the ship, *Forced to* seeing he could do no good on shore, but rather ran the *go back.* risque of his life; to which he complied, and returned in the same ship to *India*. Some other stratagems the old patriarch set on foot afterwards, which proved equally abortive, till death at length put an end to them, and his life and *The patri-* exile, the 29th of *June*, ann. 1656, in the 77th year of his *arch dies* age, and 22d of his banishment. *in India.*

As for the remainder of the emperor's reign, and those of his successors, it is all either wrapped up in obscurity, thro' *The rest of* the general stop that hath been put to all future commerce *this reign* with that empire, or so differently related by the jesuitical *very un-* and capuchin writers above-mentioned, that little certainty *certain.* can be had from either party. If any thing can be depended upon that they have written on the subject, it is the severity with which *Basilides* treated all the missionaries and their converts: among the former, *Tellez* closes his history with, what he styles, the martyrdom of father *Bernard Nogueyra*, whom the patriarch *Mendez* had appointed his vicar-general, after the death of all the others, and was the last who suffered for that cause. As for their converts, they had not so much as the least toleration allowed them, but were obliged to return to the *Alexandrian* church, or to abscond themselves from punishment by retiring into mountains and deserts: but there is little reason, whatever those writers may pretend to the contrary, to suppose, that the numbers of these were any thing so great as they represent it; seeing, even by their own accounts, the *Abissinians* were always more ready to change sides upon all emergencies, than to suffer for either. It is therefore more probable, that after the death and expulsion of those fathers, and the arrival of the

new Abuna, that church resumed its ancient state; especially, as *Ras Sella Christos*, and other great partisans of the see of *Rome*, were effectually deprived of the power and means of raising any new disturbances in favour of it *.

The patriarch's
strange politics and
advice;

THIS the patriarch *Mendez* was so sensible of, that whilst he lived, he ceased not soliciting the viceroy of *Goa*, and the king his master, to attempt a fresh invasion and revolution in that empire. His advice, which favoured more of the martial conqueror than of a Christian apostle, was, to send a sufficient naval force into the *Red Sea*, to seize on the isle of *Mazowa*, and the port of *Arkico*; thence to corrupt, or subdue, the *Bahr-naghass* to their side, recall the exiled *Ras Sella Christos*, and proclaim him emperor in the room of *Basilides*, and by that means to kindle a civil war throughout the empire: all which he proposed not only as feasible, but as the only means left of reducing it under the Pope's authority.

and father
Lobo's at
Rome,
suspected.

The father *Jerom Lobo*, often quoted in this chapter, had been sent to *Rome* upon the same errand by the patriarch, and had expatiated upon that favourite subject at that court with such warm zeal, that the Pope and cardinals began to suspect, that their expulsion and late disasters were rather owing to their having been guilty of some such treasonable attempts and practices, than to any other motive they alleged, to throw the blame from themselves. The very slight mention which *Tellez* makes of their endeavours of releasing *Ras Sella Christos* from his exile, and of the revolt of *Za Mariam*, who died sword in hand at the head of the rebellious mountaineers of *Lasta*, lately mentioned, may be sufficient to shew how much reason there was for such a suspicion. However, as neither the Pope, nor *Spanish* king, were inclined, or perhaps in a capacity to attempt any such project against the emperor, it is very likely that both church and state continued peaceable and free from any future attempt, at least from that quarter.

A false
Abuna,

BUT if we will believe the blind reports that came from thence, a more shameful disaster happened to both from the pretended Abuna, whom we left in the kingdom of *Enareä*, and who, we are told, proved no better than an obscure layman, who was bringing thither some horses from *Nubia*, and who had ventured to assume the patriarchal dignity, and to perform the functions of it undiscovered and unsuspected, till he was at length found out by an *Egyptian*, who knew and betrayed him; at which he was so exasperated, that he murdered him. The emperor was not long uninformed,

* TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, &c.

both of the crime and imposture of the pretended Abuna, *deposed and* whom he deposed by his own authority, and sent into banishment in the barren illand of *Deck*, where all the great criminals of state are confined ^{v.} The true one arrived soon *The true* after from *Alexandria* with his wife and children, but behaved in such a scandalous manner, that the emperor was *one tam-* obliged to depose him likewise; and sent him under a *pered with* strong guard to bleach on the top of an almost inaccessible *by mission-* rock. *aries.*

AN express was dispatched with all speed to *Alexandria* for a new one; but in the mean time, father *Agathangelus de Vendosme*, who was now become chief of the capuchin mission, went thither on purpose to intreat the patriarch to consider the deplorable condition of the new converts in *Abissinia*, and to send thither a milder and more humane Abuna; and one, who by a prudent and charitable conduct, might soften the minds of the court and clergy in their favour, and dissipate, by degrees, those violent prejudices they had conceived against the *Roman* church. The patriarch not only promised to comply with his request, but even wrote a letter to desire the emperor to treat those new converts with less severity, and to abstain from shedding of Christian blood. At the same time he nominated one *Mark*, who professed great friendship for the capuchin friar, to be his Abuna there. The good old father, highly flushed with his success, sent a letter by him to the patriarch *Mendez*, who was *Converses* then a prisoner at *Suakem*, full of commendations of the *with the* new prelate, and of the great expectation he had conceived *patriarch* from his interposition and good offices. But the *Portuguese* patriarch, more clear sighted, or perhaps more suspicious than father *Agathangelus*, soon discovered him, upon their conferring together, to be a strenuous Jacobite; and that *Proves an* instead of favouring the *Romanists*, he would prove one of *enemy to* their bitterest enemies, as he actually did not long after. *the Ro-* In some of these interviews it was, that the young *Lutheran*, *Heyling*, who had agreed with the Abuna to pass with him *Heyling* into *Abissinia*, had the conferences with *Mendez* which we *gets into* mentioned in a former note. *Abissinia* *with him.*

THESE frequent visits were at length broken off by the rapaciousness of the bashaw; who, in order to extort a greater sum from the patriarch for his ransom, caused him to be more narrowly confined; upon which, the Abuna and the *Lutheran* made the best of their way into *Abissinia*, where this last was to practise physic, and by that means introduce

^v De hac, vid. sup. p. 99.

himself to the emperor. In the mean while, father *Agathangelus*, and five more of his fraternity, depending upon the friendship of the Abuna *Mark*, had found means to ingratiate themselves with the new bashaw whom the Grand Signior had sent to *Mazwa*, and had actually landed with him in that island under his protection. But here *Agathangelus*, burning with desire to try now his success in *Abissinia*, and venturing to cross thither with another of the brotherhood in the disguise of *Armenian* merchants, they were both apprehended, and, at their desire, it is most likely, were conducted to the Abuna, expecting no doubt to be cleared and set at liberty by him: instead of which, he publicly declared that he knew them to be *Roman* priests, sworn enemies to the *Abissinian* church, and come thither to oppose the Abuna, and subvert it; upon which they were both stoned to death without farther trial. After which, he and *Heyling* proceeded on their journey to the court, where they both met with a gracious reception: and it is from this last that we are informed of the death of the two Capuchins above-mentioned. He continued several years in this empire, being highly favoured by the court and clergy, both on account of his skill and success in the physical province, and his knowledge of the oriental languages, and in polemic divinity; which last, Mr. *Ludolph* attributes perhaps too fondly to the great affinity of the *Abissinian* and *Lutheran* principles²; adding, that he had been brought up under masters of such great and sincere piety, that they were thought to be infected with enthusiasm. Others, particularly *Mendez*, represent him as infected with quietism; and adds, that *Mira obscuritate omnia ad spiritum referebat*. However that be, he could not conceal his religion so closely, continues that author, but he was at length found out and banished. *Ludolph* on the contrary, says, that he was greatly esteemed, and raised to high preferments; and that it was with regret that the emperor suffered him to return into *Europe*; which, if he had lived to do, he would have obliged the public with some very curious memoirs of that country; but he fell unfortunately into the hands of the *Arabs*, some say; others, of the bashaw of *Suakem*, who ordered him to be put to death; but whether by the order of the emperor, or not, is still in dispute between the two parties above-mentioned. All that we can say farther about it, is, that if he had had any favourable credentials, or pass, from that monarch, the bashaw was too much his creature to have used him other-

Two Capuchins betrayed by the Abuna, and stoned. Heyling's success in Ethiopia.

Leaves it after some years.

Put to death in his return.

² Comment. p. 553.

wife than well: but he might, peradventure, have been stripped of them by the *Arabs* before he reached *Suakem*, or might not have been able to obtain any, as he left the country so much against that monarch's will.

THIS may suffice to shew how little dependence there is on any intelligence we have from thence; and that, not only on account of the contrast we find between writers of different persuasions and interests, but likewise prejudice and resentment against those of whom they write; of which, perhaps, none hath been more misrepresented than the emperor above-mentioned, merely for the disgust he had justly taken against their principles, and the severe measures he was forced to take to prevent his church and empire from being overturned by their politics, and becoming a prey to *Rome* and *Spain*.

WE have already observed what pains the late patriarch *Basilides Mendez* had taken to corrupt the behaviour of *Suakem* into his *intimist* interest, and how far the *Capuchins* had gained that of *Maz-wa* to introduce them into *Ethiopia*: and though neither of *rumours* those attempts succeeded, yet they could not but greatly *and* alarm *Basilides*, especially as a report was spread through all *threats* the coasts of the *Red Sea*, and had reached to the heart of his empire, that the *Portuguese*, assisted by all the princes of *Europe*, were equipping a great naval force to invade his dominions; which had obliged him to keep constantly two ambassadors at *Mazwa* and *Suakem*, a third at *Moca*, and a fourth at *Yemen*; and to ply the governors of them with rich presents from time to time, to keep them stedfast in his interest, and oblige them to seize on all suspicious persons that attempted to enter into his dominions: yet could not all these precautions prevent some of them running the imminent risque of it.

AMONG them, one father *Botelko*, who had been some time rector of the jesuit college at *Diu*, took it into his head to try whether he could not prove more successful than his brethren, and ventured to land at *Suakem* in a *Turkish* disguise; of which the *Abissinian* ambassador was no sooner apprised, than he set out with all possible speed to acquaint his master with it, not doubting but there were more of the same fraternity ready to follow him. This intelligence occasioned new instructions and presents to be dispatched to those *basbahs* and governors, to seize and put to death all the *Portuguese* and *Franks* that came into their hands, and not to suffer any of them to harbour within the neighbourhood of his dominions. The misfortune was, that *Basilides* suffered himself to be drawn into a suspicion that

his brother *Claudius* was a party concerned in all the machinations that were formed against him; that he held a clandestine correspondence with the Jesuits, and was entered into a secret alliance with the *Portuguese* ².

Hist. crit. ON this suspicion, which, even from the Jesuits own activities to his count, was not without a sufficient foundation (Y), at such

a

* *Iid. ibid.* TELLEZ, LOBO, LE GRAND, & al.

(Y) If this young prince's accusation be not artfully contrived by the jesuitical writers, rather to raise the reputation of the banished patriarch *Mendez*, and his fraternity, and thereby tarnish that of the emperor and the *Abissinian* clergy, at the expence of his character; which, after his execution, none dared to vindicate, it plainly appears from it, that he justly drew that severe punishment upon himself. But that the reader may the better judge of it, we shall give it in the words of a late *French* writer, who extracted it from the works of the fathers *Noguesra*, *Torquato*, *Pisani*, and the patriarch *Mendez*. It is to this effect:

"The young prince's whole crime was, his being suspected of an attachment to the church of *Rome*; for being little edified by the corrupt morals of the *Abissinians*, and the scandalous lives of their clergy and the *Abuna*, who led a most licentious life, he frequently compared their conduct with that of the patriarch (*Mendez*) and the Jesuits, whose merits and virtues he took delight to extol; and used to say, that in banishing them, they had

"preserved the tares instead of the good wheat, and had foolishly exchanged the gold for mere copper.

"He was for-ever commending the patriarch for his modesty, constancy, piety, and learning; and would often ask whether such another pastor was to be found in all his brother's dominions? All which discourses were reported to the emperor by a domestic of that young prince. It was moreover found out, that he had turned two or three of his officers out of his service for having abjured the *Romish* church: all which, concludes our author, were sufficient to prove him guilty, at a time, when being a Roman-catholic was looked upon in the same view as being a traitor to the emperor and the state, and being guilty of every kind of crime (1)." Thus far our author; and we leave it to the reader to judge, whether a young prince, that could so publicly vilify the *Abissinian* church and clergy, and so highly extol that of *Rome*, and her haughty prelate and missionaries, at a time when the empire had so strong a party

(1) *Lobo suite de la Relat. de l'Abissin. op. Le Grand, p. 146. 4^{me} Edit. Paris, an. 1784.*

a critical time, he caused him to be apprehended and brought *brother*, before him bound hand and foot, and accused him, before a &c. *just*-numerous concourse, of having renounced the religion of *fiel*. his forefathers, and to have conspired with the *Portuguese* against his crown and life, in order to overturn both church and state, and subject both to the Pope and king of *Spain*. The prince was easily condemned by the whole assembly to be deserving of a speedy death; and was accordingly conducted to prison, where his head was cut off on that very

of these within its bowels, and was threatened with an invasion of all the Roman-catholic princes in *Europe* from without, supposing him to have proceeded to no other overt act, which is scarce credible, can be properly said to have been unjustly put to death; especially in a country where the emperor is acknowledged to have an unlimited power over the lives and fortunes of all his subjects (2)? Is he to be branded with the names of tyrant and persecutor, for preventing the imminent subversion of church and state, by timely cutting off those who dare even speak and act like professed well-wishers, if not like open promoters, of it? Had the Roman-catholics made no attempt to subject both to a foreign power, but been only prosecuted for their different principles in religion, this might have been justly termed a down-right persecution; and yet not a worse than is practised, and professedly allowed, by their own. He would in this, as head of the *Abissinian* church, have only followed the example of the head of theirs: and the same apology which the learned *Gonzales* makes for the one, would have justified the

lesser severities of the other, for departing so far from that Christian and charitable behaviour, which the gospel requires of us towards those that differ from us in points of faith.

His words, to give them no harsher sense than they will bear, are to this effect (3). "If, in the primitive times, obstinate heretics were not persecuted to death, it was owing to their being then too powerful, and to the Pope's not being sufficiently supported by the secular arm of Christian princes. But now, when the Christian faith is so firmly established, and these pontiffs invested with such a sovereign power, it is but just that they should proceed against them with the utmost rigour and severest punishments." Will not, therefore, this doctrine and practice make it appear still more just in an *Abissinian* monarch, to exercise the same punishments on such delinquents as add the blackest treason to their heresy, and whose faith and principles so plainly tend to overturn their constitution in church and state, and to enslave their country, to the declared enemies to both.

(2) *De hoc, vid. sup. p. 107, & seq. Catal. p. 117, & seq.*

(3) *Gonzal. Hist. Pontifical &*

night. This execution was followed by several others, with confiscations of estates, imprisonments, and other severities, from which persons of the highest rank, even among the fair sex, were not exempted; some of whom were banished, and others confined to some barren rocks, for no other crime than their intimacy with the deceased prince, or shewing, like him, any particular regard for the *Romish* religion. These severe examples the jesuitical writers have not scrupled to brand with the name of cruel and tyrannic persecutions; though the reader may see by what we have said in the last note, there was but too just occasion for them at that time. But one may see clearly enough, by all this out-cry, that that monarch was, at all adventures, to be branded with the most odious names, and charged with the most atrocious deeds, for having dared to save his church and empire from falling under the tyranny of *Rome* and *Spain*, and the punishing one of the chief promoters of that treasonable project, must be represented as an unjust and inhuman fratricide.

A new crime laid to all European powers, they have devised another accusation against him, which, if once credited, would not fail of doing it. It is as follows.

Accused of introducing Mohammedism into his dominions. ALL these severe punishments not being capable of quieting the emperor's mind, who rather imagined that they only increased the number of malecontents, both within and without his dominions, had recourse to the *Mohammedan Yemen*, with whom he entered into an alliance: and the more effectually to bind him to his interest, not only offered his subjects the free exercise of their religion, but desired of him to send some able doctors to come and preach it among his people. This negotiation was occasionally discovered by the falling out of the two persons he had intrusted with it, one of whom was a *Turk*, and the other a Christian; the former of whom was highly carested and honoured at the *Yemen's* court; and at their return was distinguished with considerable presents, whilst the latter was scarcely taken any notice of: in revenge of which, this last taking an opportunity of going before him, spread the alarm where-ever he passed, that the emperor had sent for *Mohammedan* doctors to propagate their religion, and that one of that class was actually on the road thither with the other ambassador, meaning the *Turk* above-mentioned, and would soon be at court with him.

A general revolt. THIS news failed not to raise a general revolt, which was chiefly headed by the monks, and followed by an universal outcry, that the emperor ought to be dethroned, and another

another prince raised to the crown, fit to maintain the ancient *raised by* religion. The emperor tried in vain to disculpate himself, *the monks.* and throw all the fault on the empress mother, who was the grand-daughter of a *Mobammedan*, and still retained a strong bias for that religion: no credit was given to any thing he said, because they knew he had held several private conferences with the *Turkish* doctor. So that seeing himself on the point of losing at once his life and crown, he was forced to dismiss him with as little noise as possible, though not without considerable presents ^b. This is the sum of the charge alledged against him; which, as well as that other of fratricide, Mr. *Ludolph* justly questions, as at least very improbable ^c, and such as in their nature, especially the last, *The ac-* might justly require the testimony of a much more impartial *count* set of witnesses, than that of an exasperated patriarch, and a *much to be* surviving Jesuit or two, reduced to the lowest plight and *suspected:* misery, before it can gain credit with persons of common candour and judgment, at least in that hateful light in which they have represented it. *Basilides* was threatened with a powerful invasion from all the catholic princes in *Europe*, and wisely endeavours to secure all his frontiers; retains, by his largesses, or suppose it had been by an alliance with, all the *Mobammedan* princes on that side which lay most exposed, and at which the *Romish* missionaries used to slide into the empire; and might not this be sufficient to give birth to that calumny, that he was going to introduce their religion into his dominions? which, if carefully spread by their indefatigable agents, would not fail to raise new commotions within, and awaken all the *European* princes out of that despondency into which the miscarriage and disasters that attended their former mission had visibly thrown them, of succeeding in it by such violent and imprudent means as had hitherto been pursued. Nothing could be more likely to alarm them than such a report; for should that rich and potent empire *probably* become *Mohammedan*, what hopes could there be of ever *invented* reducing it to the obedience of the Pope or king of *Spain*. *the Euro-* But the sequel itself shews, that neither of them gave any *to stir up* credit to that report; neither was it indeed credible, that *the Euro-* *pean* *princes.* *Basilides* would have taken a step of this nature, which would more effectually have ruined him, than any difficulties he laboured under, or any danger that seemed to threaten him could possibly have done. However, *Tellez* hath affirmed it ^d

^b TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, LE GRAND, ub. sup. ^c Hist. Ethiop. l. ii. c. 7. n. 67. iii. 14, 64 vid. & comment. pr. i. 57.

^d TELLEZ, ub. sup. l. vi. c. 37, & seq. LOBO, et LE GRAND, p. 149. upon

The sad condition of the Jesuits upon the authority of Father *Nagayra*, who was still alive in *Angonia*, tho', by his own account, in a most miserable condition (Z); upon that of Father *Tarquato Pizani*, another Jesuit,

(Z) Nothing, indeed, is more melancholy and dismal than the account which he gives of the distress he and all his friends and converts were in at that time; and our readers will not think it foreign to our subject, if we subjoin a letter which he sent from *Mozzica* into *Europe*, upon that affair, written in the name of *Ras Gula Cristos*, and his own; and runs as follows:

"Most illustrious lords, the bishops and governors of the *Indies*, *Ras Gula Cristos* to all catholic Christians and true sons of the church of God, peace and mercy in our Lord.

"I know not in what tongue or words I can sufficiently express the perils and dangers of this church, which are the more afflicting to me, as I am an eye-witness of them. I heartily beseech our Lord Jesus Christ, who was nailed to a cross, and is plentiful in mercy, to make them known to all our brethren, to all prelates, archbishops, bishops, rectors, kings, viceroys, princes, and governors, who enjoy any authority on the other side of the water. I always believed, and often flattered myself, that they would have assisted us ere now, and not have so long delayed to redeem us from the hands of barbarians, and of that perverse nation, if the multitude of my sins had not obstructed it. In former days, when there was no church here, and when the names of Christian

and Catholic were unknown to us, some of them have come to our assistance, and have rescued us from the power of the *Mahomedans*; but now when we have here such a great number of faithful, we are forgot, and not one thinks of assisting us. What! doth the sovereign pontiff of *Rome*, our father, and so dearly beloved shepherd, no longer sit on *St. Peter's* immovable chair, or doth he no longer think of comforting us? We are his sheep, and shall we not, before we quit this miserable life, have the satisfaction to hear that he thinks of us, and designs to prevent our being devoured by those heretics, who wage so bloody a war against us? Hath *Portugal* no longer any prince that burns with the same zeal as the great *Christopher de Gama*? Is there no prelate left there to lift up his hands to heaven to obtain for us the assistance we stand in so great need of? I faint at the thoughts of it, my speech fails, and my tongue is dried up, whilst my eyes flow with a constant stream. Covered with dust and ashes, I beg and conjure all the faithful to send us a speedy succour, before we are utterly destroyed.

"My chains grow heavier and heavier, every day, whilst I am told, that if I will come over to their side, and return to our old communion, we shall

Jesuit, who came thither, as is supposed, either about or soon after that time; and more particularly on that of the patriarch
Mendez,

"shall be recalled from our
 "exile. These promises are
 "made to me with no other
 "view than to ruin me, and to
 "involve all the catholics that
 "are left, and the very church
 "itself, in the same ruin. If,
 "therefore, there be still any
 "Christians left on the other
 "side of the ocean, let them
 "shew themselves such, by ac-
 "knowleging us as their bre-
 "thren in Jesus Christ; and
 "since we maintain the same
 "faith which they do, let them
 "come and deliver us from this
 "Egyptian heresy and bond-
 "age."

"Here," says *Nogueyra*, "end
 "the words of our friend *Ras*
 "*Sella Christos*, which he ut-
 "tered to me with bitter sighs
 "and tears, when I last visited
 "him, in *August*, anno 1648.
 "It is now my turn to weep,
 "and a flood of tears obliges
 "me to drop my pen. I am
 "unable to write, and leave
 "you to judge of my excessive
 "distress. I landed at this
 "place (*Maxwa*) on the 26th
 "of this month, at the greatest
 "peril of my life. I have
 "spared no labour, nor shun-
 "ned any danger to come hi-
 "ther, in hopes that our faith-
 "ful friends, either from *Por-
 tugal* or *India*, would, before
 "this time, have sent us some
 "seasonable help; but not the
 "least have I found. I have
 "rather been ill used by the
 "*Baneans*, particularly by *Xa-
 bandur* and *Xarcast*, who are
 "known to engross all the coin.
 "None of them have deigned
 "to shew me their letters, or so

"much as to let me know what
 "news they had received. I
 "have writ several letters from
 "*Dembea*, and have not re-
 "ceived any answer to them,
 "which makes me think that
 "they all miscarried, and that
 "God would not suffer any of
 "them, through my sins, to
 "come to your hands. I am
 "now about to return to *Ras*
 "*Sella Christos*, and shall leave
 "here *James Xaxem*, a man
 "well known by the *Baneans*,
 "and who, if any answer
 "comes, will convey the same
 "to me.

"My fellow-labourers, *Abba*
 "*Melcha Christos*, *Abba Feuxa*
 "*Christos*, *John Gabriel*, *Gre-
 gory*, *Anthony d'Almanza*, and
 "*Christopher*, are now become
 "mere skeletons, having been
 "dragged into prison, whipped,
 " &c. and their skins are fallen
 "off, through excess of mise-
 "ry; and, if they are not dead,
 "they have undergone the most
 "extreme hardships, being for-
 "ced to beg their bread from
 "door to door.

"On the 21st of *October*,
 "1647, *Abba Zara Christos*, the
 "disciple of *Abba Karil*, and
 "brother of *Abba Gregory*, was
 "put to death; 'as was also the
 "senator *Ando*, a man eminent
 "for his learning and piety. On
 "the 30th of *September* 1648,
 "Dom *Ibun Laca Mariam*,
 "Dom *John Melcha Christos*, and
 "Dom *Theodore*, were impri-
 "soned; and Captain *Gabriel*
 "*Donacous* hath been banished,
 "for not delivering me up into
 "the hands of the heretics. All
 "the *Portuguese* of *Fremona* have
 "apo-

Mendez, who, though at that distance, yet might hear of it by some *Abissinians*, who were come into *India*; and these the reader may believe, if he pleases, seeing the absolute stoppage that hath been put to all future commerce with that country hath deprived us of all means of disproving it, but such only as reason suggests against the probability of it.

They re-
present
Basilides
as unfor-
tunate in
his wars.

NEITHER are the remaining particulars of that monarch's reign reported in a more favourable manner, with respect to him; and it plainly appears from the contents of the letter mentioned in the last note, and some others we have taken notice of a little higher, that their main design was to animate the Pope and *Spain* to make a fresh attempt on this empire, it could not but be their interest to represent it as reduced to the lowest degree of weakness by revolts, invasions, and other calamities; and these as so many just judgments inflicted by the Divine Providence to punish that unfortunate prince both for his apostacy from the church of *Rome*, and for the cruel persecutions he had exercised against her most zealous votaries. Accordingly, no sooner had he, with great

“ apostatized, and have shewn
“ the most excessive hatred a-
“ gainst me, and accused me
“ before *Abba Emana Christos*,
“ our most bitter enemy, and
“ one who hath already put fe-
“ veral catholics to death.

“ To conclude, I go hence
“ without the least glimpse of
“ hope or comfort, having nei-
“ ther food nor raiment, nor
“ daring to stay here longer,
“ for fear of being surpris'd by
“ the *Turkish* vessels, whom the
“ season will quickly bring hi-
“ ther. I shall return again by
“ the next year, if God per-
“ mit; and I beseech God that
“ this letter may be perused
“ by all our prelates and church-
“ men, and particularly by the
“ patriarch *Mendez*, and the fa-
“ ther *Emanuel d'Almeida*, if
“ they be still alive; and, with
“ my face prostrate to the
“ ground, do recommend my-

“ self to their blessing and
“ prayers. Dated from *Mazawa*,
“ *January* 30th, 1649. Sign'd,
“ *Bernard Nogueira* (4).”

The reader may see by this letter to what distress the missionaries, and their converts, were reduced; and that the emperor was fully resolv'd to extirpate them and theirs out of his dominions, and to prevent, by all possible means, their ever getting footing into them again. It is therefore no wonder, that their resentment and despair should drive them to invent this calumny against him, of having a design to introduce *Muhammedism*, which could not fail, if credited in *Europe*, of exasperating all the *Roman* catholic powers against him, and stir them up to use their utmost efforts to prevent the loss of all their hopes on that rich country.

(4) *Tellaz, ubi sup. Lobo, Le Grand, hist. de la relat. d'Abissin. p. 150, & seq.*

difficulty, suppressed the general revolt which his clergy had raised against him, on the suspicion of his going to introduce the *Mohammedan* religion, but he was obliged to go and quell a fresh one among the *Agaus*, several of whose provinces had taken up arms against him. In which expedition, *Defeated* however, instead of the laurels and spoils he promised to *by the* himself, he met, we are told, with a most shameful overthrow. In the same year, his general *Bella Christos*, who was then at the head of a powerful army, was likewise totally defeated by the mountaineers of *Lasta* ^{*Invaded*}. This misfortune was soon followed by a terrible irruption of the *Gallas*, ^{*by the*} who entered the kingdom of *Gojam* at three different places, ^{*Gallas.*} whilst *Basilides* was refreshing his battered troops in that of *Begameder*, and in the territories of the *Agaus*; so that he was forced to let them commit the greatest ravages, and go off with their immense plunder, as he was not in a condition to oppose them. In short, say our authors, he was successful in nothing but in his discovering and apprehending some ^{*His severe-*} of his catholic subjects, and condemning them to death, or ^{*city to the*} the cruel banishments; of both which they give us a large number of instances, which we shall not trouble our readers with ^{*catholics,*}. Amongst them, Father *Nogueira's* trip to the island ^{*and to Fa-*} of *Mazowa* having been discovered to the emperor, and re- ^{*ther No-*} presented to him as a fresh attempt to call in a new supply of ^{*gucyra.*} *Portuguese*, an order was published to have him apprehended alive or dead; so that neither the college of *Fremona*, nor any of his intimate friends, dared to give him admittance; and some of them, who had gone over to the *Abissine* church, proved his most inveterate enemies; yet could none of these lay hold on him.

THE imperial army had hardly refreshed itself about two months in the province of *Cattela*, before it revolted, and lost a good number of officers, and a much greater one of soldiers. This was followed by a revolt in some of the provinces on the west of *Enarea*, who refused to send the yearly ^{*A new re-*} tribute of horses, which they had engaged to pay, on condition that *Basilides* should protect them against the *Portuguese* ^{*volt.*}.

THE following year was no less unfortunate to him, in *Bella* which *Bella Christos* was sent against the mountaineers of *Christos Denghis*; who, upon the first notice of his approach, seized ^{*defeated.*} on all the passes, and so well fortified themselves in them, that they not only stopped his further progress, but fell so

* LE GRAND, ubi sup. p. 154.
ibid.

† Id. p. 155.

‡ Id.

suddenly

Invasion
by the
king of
Adel.

suddenly on him on all sides, that they made a most dreadful slaughter among his forces. This was soon after followed with the news that a certain strange nation had penetrated through some of the *Abissine* frontiers, and were ravaging the maritime provinces without opposition; upon which, it was immediately concluded that these could be no other than the *Portuguese*, who would quickly become masters of the whole empire. However, it was not long before they found their mistake, these new invaders being the subjects of the king of *Adel*, who had taken the advantage of the great losses the emperor had sustained, and made himself master of ten or twelve strong high rocks, from which he sent them to plunder and ravage the low-lands, and sometimes penetrated a good way into the neighbouring provinces.

This account
contradicted
by abbot
Gregory;

and is
plainly im-
probable.

THUS far the account of those Jesuits, if they may be credited, represents that monarch's reign as very unfortunate in every respect. This, we have already observed, may have been their interest to set forth in that light, in order to stir up their friends and favourers to send them some fresh assistance. But if we believe Mr. *Ludolph* and Abbot *Gregory*, no reign could be more quiet and happy than his proved, from the time of his expelling the patriarch and missionaries, except some few severe examples he was forced to make on a few of their zealous and daring partisans. This indeed plainly appears the most reasonable account of the two, seeing all the revolts and disasters that had happened in former reigns were wholly owing to the preference which his predecessors had shewn for the *Romish* church, and the violent means which they used to force their clergy and laity to submit to it, as we have already seen. What cause could there be for any fresh discontents, after he had so effectually removed the occasion of all their fears, and had, in every step he took, approved himself a sincere and strenuous defender of the *Abissinian* church against all the open and secret attempts of the Pope and *Portuguese*? And as to the charge laid to him of favouring *Mohammedism*, it is not only inconsistent with the zeal he shewed for the restoring of the ancient church, but absurd on several other accounts. And we accordingly find in the preamble and some other parts of a letter which he, or, which is perhaps more probable, his son and successor *Af Segued* sent to the governor of *Batavia*, circa ann. 1672 (for he there styles himself *Af Segued*, the son of *Alam Segued*, which name *Basilides* had taken towards the latter end of his reign), that he gives himself and his father the character of *Christian princes*, and defenders of the *Christian faith*; a plain indication that it was still the estab-

lished

Still style
themselves
Christians,
and
defenders
of the
faith.

blished religion of that empire. This letter, a *Latin* version of which the reader may see in Mr. *Ludolph's* Commentary ^b, doth not indeed begin with the usual words, *In the name of the Father, Son, &c.* like those of his predecessors, but *In the name of God, merciful and gracious*. Neither is it dated according to the *Christian*, but the *Mohammedan*, æra; viz. in the moon *Moharam* (*April*), and in the year of the *Hejra* 1083. The reason of which appears to be, that the letter being written in the *Arabic*, and not in the *Ethiopic* tongue, the *Arabian* secretary made use of the *Mohammedan* instead of the *Christian* inscription and æra; but, in other respects, it runs, as all others do, in a truly *Christian* style.

BUT what still more confirms the steadiness of *Basilides*, and his two immediate successors, to the antient *Abissinian* Faith, is the condition which the *French* physician *Charles Poncet* found the empire in at his arrival there, and the remarks he made upon it during his short abode there, *annis* 1699 & 1700; of which we shall now give a short account, 1699. it being the last particular we have to relate concerning it. In Pon- We shall only observe here, with respect to the state of reli- cet's time, gion, that he found the emperor to be a zealous professor of the *Abissinian* faith; the *Abuna*, clergy, and monks, though ^{the Mo-} hammed- not very well versed in polemic divinity, yet strenuous assert- ans based in Abis- ors and rigid observers of the rites, tenets, and discipline, of sinia. of their church, the laity most devoutly submissive to them, and all of them intirely averse to every religion but their own, but more particularly against the church of *Rome*, and *Mohammedism*. With regard to the latter, though he found it tolerated amongst them, as they are indeed pretty numerous, and have engrossed the commerce, as hath been formerly hinted i, yet they live in separate quarters, and are styled no better than *Gebertes*, or slaves. The *Ethiopians* never eat with them, nor of any thing that is killed by them. They do not even drink out of a cup that hath been used by one of them, until the prayers of some good man have been said over it, and he, by his breathing thrice into it, drives away the evil spirit. He adds, that they never salute them but with the left-hand, which is a mark of contempt ^k.

ONE action, however, he relates of the emperor *Basilides*, 7000 whom he calls *Ati Basili*, and the grandfather of the young monks pre- emperor then upon the throne; which seems, in some mea- cipitated sure, to confirm what the *Jesuits* laid to his charge, about from a rock.

^b De hoc, vide *Histor. Ethiop.* lib. ii. c. 7. n. 67, & seq. lib. iii. c. 14. ad fin. & *Com'm.* p. 244.

ⁱ See before, p. 89.

^k *PONCET*, Voyage, *Engl.* p. 68.

his

his favouring the *Mohammedans*; viz. that he caused 7000 priests and monks, who had revolted against him, to be thrown headlong from the top of the mountain *Balban*¹: for it is hardly to be supposed that those priests raised that revolt upon any other account, and the alliances which the emperor had made with the *Mohammedan* princes, joined to the pensions and presents he had sent to them, in order to prevent the *Portuguese* entering into his dominions, might at once give birth and countenance to the false report, that he was going to introduce *Mohammedism*, and so stir up the whole body of the clergy against him: but whither of the two were more likely to be the inventors and first spreaders of this calumny, the missionaries, who had been so severely treated by him, and whose interest it was to render him as odious to his subjects as they possibly could, or the *Abissine* clergy, whom he had so highly obliged by those severities, and by his strenuous zeal against the church of *Rome*, and all its partisans, we leave it to the reader to judge.

The
French
try their
success
there.

WE come now to speak of the voyage of *Charles Poncet* to the *Abissinian* court, and of the occasion of it, tho' without entering into any farther detail of it than concerns the sequel and conclusion of this history. The *French* court had by this time been induced by some of the missionaries of their nation to try their fortune, and to hope for better success in this empire, by their artful and insinuating address, than the *Portuguese* had done by their ambition and untimely zeal; and the late king, *Lewis XIV.* had been prevailed upon to write a most obliging letter to *Adian Segued*, the father of the young emperor then upon the throne; which, though we are not told by what means, found its way to that young monarch; seeing *Poncet* tells us, that he was pleased to shew it to him, when he was at his court. At the same time, *Monsieur Maillet*, the *French* consul at *Kairo*, had orders to make what inquiries he could into the state of that empire, and to try all possible means and stratagems to open a way into it to some of his nation; and fortune at length offered one to him, which he readily laid hold of, and carried on with success. *Agi Hali*, the emperor's factor in that city, complained to him of a stubborn disease, with which not only he, but his master, and the prince his son, had been afflicted for some time: upon which, the consul told him, that he had a most expert physician in his service, who, he was sure, could cure him of it, if any of that profession could. *Hali*

Poncet
sent this
letter by the
French
consul.

¹ Id. ibid. p. 57.
P. 57.

^m Id. sub init. LE GRAND, ubi sup.

was easily prevailed upon to make use of him, and was effectually cured; and this was inducement enough to him to venture the sending *Poncet* to his master's court; to which the consul not only readily consented, but likewise sent a letter of recommendation by him to the sick monarch. The Jesuits at the same time, who were highly displeased at their being set aside from that mission, to make room for the Capuchins and other friars, made use of all their interest to be re-admitted into it, and to have some of their society permitted to accompany the said physician into *Abissinia*; alleging, that the catholic converts which were in that empire were their own flock: and accordingly Father *Fr. Xavier de Brevedent*, a man of great piety, zeal, and learning, especially in astronomy, was allowed to go with him as one of his retinue. They embarked upon the *Nile*, along with the emperor's factor *Agi Hali*, on the 10th of *June*; and, after a long and tedious journey both by land and water, which we shall pass by as foreign to our subject, they arrived at *Barko*, a small town about half a day's journey from the city of *Gundar*, on the 3d of *July* of the following year; and there the good old father died of a dysentery, occasioned by his taking the seeds of the *Indian* pine-apple, which he had brought from *Tripoly* in *Syria*, and which, it seems, are a very dangerous remedyⁿ.

PONCET, having staid there to refresh himself till the 21st of the same month, pursued his journey, and arrived safe at *Gundar* on the evening, and met with a most gracious reception from the emperor, and received several private visits from him, till he was recovered of his fatigue, which was not till the 10th of *August* following, when he was honoured with a public audience of him, with as great ceremony as if he had been an ambassador. The apartment, which had been assigned to him in the imperial palace, being near that of the emperor's children, he was conducted from it about ten of the clock in the morning, through above 20 others, to the great hall, where his majesty was seated on a throne or couch, covered with a carpet of red damask, flowered with gold; round about which were several large cushions, embroidered likewise with gold. This couch, of which the four feet were of massive silver, was placed in an alcove at the bottom of the hall, and covered with a dome all shining with gold and azure.

THE emperor appeared covered with a rich silk vest with long sleeves, and also embroidered with gold; and the scarf
The emperor's dress, &c.

ⁿ *PONCET*, p. 40.

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with

with which he was girt was wrought in the same costly manner. His head was bare, and his hair braided with great neatness, and a large emerald glittered with singular majesty on his forehead. He was alone in the alcove, and sat cross-legged on his throne after the eastern manner; his great lords standing on each side in their ranks, with their hands across one upon the other, and observing a profound silence. Upon his approaching the foot of the throne, and paying him the usual prostration, he had the singular honour to kiss his hand, and presented him with Monsieur *Maillet's* letter; which being interpreted to him, he expressed himself highly in favour of the *French* monarch his master, inquired much after the royal family, the extent of his dominions, power, grandeur, &c. and seemed highly pleased with the account he gave him; the result of which was, that he expressed a desire of entering into an alliance with him, and to obtain one of his daughters to give in marriage to the prince his son.

*Desire of
an alli-
ance with
Lewis
XIV.*

*His cha-
racter.*

Devotion.

*The em-
press con-
sults Pon-
cet.*

*Poncet's
account
different*

THIS is the substance of this public audience, and some other private ones, he had with that prince, which we need not enter into a detail of here. The character our author gives us of him is, that he appeared to be about forty-one years of age, tall and handsome beyond any of his court, courteous and generous, wise, prudent, and warlike, and so religious, that though he had not yet finished the course of physic which the doctor had ordered him, yet he would not absent himself from church on the festival of the assumption of the Blessed Virgin, which is there celebrated with great pomp and ceremony, the Abuna officiating in his pontificalibus, and the emperor assisting at it with all his numerous court in their most pompous dress, while the army was drawn up in the best order, and accompany him to and from the church, and heighten the grandeur of the festivity by their shouts, firings, and warlike music. The emperor dining on that day in public, and *Poncet* being allowed a table near his own, the empress, who had likewise some ailment to consult him about, appeared in the afternoon in great pomp; upon which, the whole court withdrew, except he, who was ordered to stay. She appeared magnificently clothed, and covered all over with jewels. She had a fair complexion and majestic porte; and, after she had consulted him about her health, her curiosity induced her to ask many questions about the *French* ladies, their dress, &c.

IT is plain, however, that in what he says of both their majesties, and other persons of quality, wearing of variety of jewels, and the description he gives of several of the emper-

ors,

ror's, and some of the princes and princesses, stately palaces, from the as well as of *Gondar*, which he styles the capital city of *reft*.

Ethiopia, and of some other towns and places of note, he contradicts the unanimous account which all the *Portuguese* writers have given us of that empire¹, except the Dominican friar *Urreta*, who is universally cried down as a fabulous author. The city of *Gundar*, or, as Mr. *Ludolph* writes it, *Guender*², is, according to him, an imperial camp, and not a city, much less the metropolis of the empire (A); that title belonging only to the decayed town of *Axuma*, as we have elsewhere shewn³. Hence it is, that his and Mr. *Maillet* the *French* consul's enemies have not scrupled to expose his account of *Abissinia*, and all that he hath said of it, as a piece of forgery, contrived by them to impose upon the *French* court, and even to affirm that the former was never in *Abissinia*⁴. This is indeed looked upon by the more candid part of mankind as an unjust and invidious reflection on them both; yet as some other difficulties have been raised against them, which are not quite removed, we shall suspend our judgment, till time furnishes us with some new account or discovery, which may enable us to fix it with more certainty than we can at present.

To come, therefore, to the conclusion of this relation, *Poncet* having succeeded in the cure of the emperor and his family, but enjoying only a crazy state of health in that hot

¹ See before, p. 33.
 before, *ibid*.
 & seq.

² Lib. ii. c. 13.

³ See be-

⁴ See LE GRAND, *ubi sup.* 406, & seq. 408,

(A) And yet it is plain, that both *Bernier* and *Thevenot* had made the same mistake; the former of whom calls it *Gundra*, and the latter *Guntar*; and both style it the metropolis of *Ethiopia* (5), as the *Arabian* geographer had done before them (6). Neither need we much wonder at it, the ancient metropolis *Axuma* being reduced into a poor village, in which are no footsteps left of its pristine dignity, but the old church, in which the emperors are still

crowned. It was natural for those foreigners to call any other in which those monarchs resided by that title. It is not so easy to account for *Poncet*, who resided some time in it, styling it a city, if it was no other than an imperial camp; or to mention its 100 churches, and several palaces, if they were no other than pavilions; unless we suppose that they were called so by the *Ethiopians*; and that he still followed the style of his interpreter.

(5) *Poyage du Levant*, p. ii. c. 68.
 p. 90. *Ludolph. Comm. Proem.* i. 102.

(6) *Vide* *Gal. ant. in Alf. c. 9.*

Morat
sent am-
bassador
to Lewis
XIV.

country, resolved, if possible, to get out of it as soon as he he could. The difficulty was, how to obtain that monarch's permission, who was by that time become very fond of him, and his medicines, and his method of treating his patients. He was therefore obliged to tell him, that, if he staid much longer in his dominions, death would soon put it out of his power to be any longer serviceable to him; but that if he could be permitted to breathe his own native air, the only expedient that could recover him, he might then be enabled, as soon as he found his health sufficiently confirmed, to return, and renew his services to him. The good emperor, softened by such powerful motives, and his most solemn oaths and promises, consented to his departure; though much against his will, and not without obliging him to swear on the holy Gospel, that he would not fail of performing his promise, and returning to him as soon as he was recovered. At the same time, the vast esteem which he had inspired that monarch with for the king his master, having determined him to send an ambassador to negotiate an alliance with him, and to send him some considerable presents, he at first pitched upon one *Abba Gregorios*, and recommended him to *Poncet* to teach him the *Latin* tongue; but, upon second thoughts, being reminded by one *Morat*, that it was the custom of the *Abissine* monarchs to make use of strangers, rather than of their own subjects, for such commissions, he was easily persuaded by that designing minister to appoint his young nephew to that employment (B). Accordingly, young *Morat* was publicly declared,

(B) This old *Morat*, *Mourat*, or *Marat*, had been settled, it seems, in *Abissinia*, ever since the reign of the emperor *Basilides*, whence he had made several trading voyages to *India*, and was at length sent to *Batavia* by that monarch, or his successor, with a letter to the governor, *anno* 1678; and there it was that he had those conferences with *Paul de Roo*, which Mr. *Ludolph* caused afterwards to be published, giving an account of the then state of *Abissinia*. He was there received as an ambassador, and easily persuaded the *Dutch* that a very advantageous commerce might

be settled between them and the *Abissinians*, by the way of the *Red Sea*; upon which, they sent some vessels thither, which were obliged to sail back with all the lading they had brought.

In a second voyage he made thither soon after, he brought with him an envoy from the *Dutch East India* company; and, upon his arrival at *Moca*, told him that he must go and fetch the emperor's pails, without which he could not get admission into his dominions, and was very pressing to have taken with him the presents that were designed for that monarch; but the suspicious *Hollanders* excused them.

declared, and ordered to get all things ready, particularly *Presents* the presents, which consisted in a number of elephants, *sent.* horses, and young *Ethiopian* children^u, civet, and some other products of that country. His chief errand at the *French* court, besides the negotiating the alliance above-mentioned, was, as he informed the *French* consul at *Kairo*^v, to obtain from that monarch an able engineer, a cannon-founder, an armourer, a clockmaker, some architects, masons, carpenters, locksmiths, gardeners, glaziers, and a good physician, or surgeon.

PONCET, being very pressing for his departure, obtained *Poncet* his audience of leave, which was equally pompous with the *sets out* first, and much more tender on both sides. The ambassador *before* *Morat* was detained some time longer by the emperor, whilst *him.* he was to wait for him at *Devarowa*, the capital of the kingdom of *Tigre*; to which he was to be conducted by a considerable escorte by the emperor's orders; who had likewise dispatched his commands to all the governors of the provinces through which he passed, to receive him with all possible honours, and to furnish him with every thing he wanted, which was punctually performed by them. He set out accordingly from *Gundar* on the 2d of *May* 1700, and, at the end of two months and a half, during which he found his health to mend gradually, he arrived safely at the capital *Arrives* above-mentioned, and met with an honourable reception *at Deva-* from the *Bahr-nagash* of that province^x. *rowa.*

Soon after his arrival there, news came from court of the death of prince *Basil*, the emperor's eldest son, who was suddenly carried off by a malignant fever, in the 19th year

^u Id. *ibid.* p. 88, & seq.
GRAND, p. 408.

^v See his *Memoirs*, apud *Le*
^x *Ibid.* p. 91, & seq.

themselves from intrusting them in his hands; so that he was obliged to sail away without them. They waited a whole year for his return, to no purpose; and at length returned home as they came.

This transaction we should hardly have heard anything of, had it not been for Mr. *Poncet*, who sent an account of it to the *French* consul at *Kairo*, in order to warp him against the

cheats and impositions of the like nature, which are frequently committed by *Greeks*, *Armenians*, and others; of which he gives him some further instances in the same letter (8). But one may safely infer from that of old *Morat*, that his view was not much better, when he recommended his nephew *Morat Iben Magdeloon* as a proper person to be sent ambassador to the *French* court.

(8) *Le Grand, Rehist. H. de l'Abissin.* t. 162. 4^{ta} Edit. Paris 1723.

Prince
Basilides
his cha-
racter.

of his age, and within eight days after his return from a campaign in which he had accompanied his father, and wherein he had highly signalized himself against the *Gallas*, and had killed eight of them with his own hand. His loss was so much the more regretted, as he was endowed with all the good qualities of an accomplished prince, and with such singular bravery, that one day seeing his father fall into an ambushade of the enemy, he ran with all possible speed to his assistance, pierced through the thickest crouds, and charged them with such surprising valour, that he rescued him, and saved his life at the utmost peril of his own. But that which most endeared him to the people, was his love to them, and the concern he shewed for their poverty and misery, occasioned by the avarice and tyranny of his nobles and officers; inso-much that the messenger, who brought the news of his death, said, that the young prince made it his dying request to his father, on the last visit he paid to him a little before he expired, that he would ease them of that grievous burden; and, to his great satisfaction, obtained a previous promise from his afflicted father, accompanied with a flood of tears ⁷.

Funeral
obj. quies.

UPON the receiving the news of that prince's untimely death, the *Bahr-nagasches*, or governors, caused it to be published by the sound of the trumpet both at *Devarowa* and through all the provinces of the *Tigran* kingdom; after which, every one appeared in the deepest mourning. On the day following, his funeral obsequies were performed at the great church of that city with more than usual solemnity ⁸, and lasted three whole days, according to custom. In the mean while, the emperor being obliged, upon that occasion, to abstain from all public business, prevented *Morat's* being dispatched so soon as was at first expected; and *Poncet* becoming more and more uneasy at his delay, and afraid of losing the monsoon, sent word that he would wait for him at *Gedda*, a small sea-port on the *Red Sea*. From thence, among other letters which he sent to the consul at *Katro*, one of them was to acquaint him with the impossibility of procuring admission to any of the missionaries into *Abissinia*, and informing him that, upon his first coming thither, above 100,000 priests and monks had raised a revolt against the emperor; and that they had done the same upon hearing that an *English* vessel had appeared upon that coast, and that the emperor was sending an ambassador, with horses, elephants, and *Ethiopian* children, into *Europe* ⁹; which letter is dated *December 6*,

⁷ Ibid. p. 103, & seq.

⁸ De his, vide sup. p. 179. & seq.

⁹ LE GRAND, *ibid.* p. 161, & seq.

1700. After having waited there some time, he received a letter from *Morat*, that he could not come to him so soon as he designed; upon which, he set out for mount *Sinai*, which he was desirous to visit, and where *Morat* agreed to join him. He came to him accordingly a month after, but in a miserable plight, having been first deprived of the *Abissine* children he was to carry into *France* by the king of *Mecca*, and, to complete his misfortune, the vessel in which the presents were, had been cast away. They set out from *Sinai*, and soon after arrived at *Suez*; whence *Poncet* sent word to the consul of his coming with the *Abissinian* ambassador by the caravan, consisting of 8000 camels. *Poncet* got to *Kairo* two days before the ambassador, to get all things ready for his reception^b; but, upon his arrival, so many objections were raised by the consul's enemies against his credentials, the loss of his presents, and the account he gave of himself and commission, as rendered his embassy abortive, and prevented his being sent to the *French* court. Soon after which, new objections were raised, discoveries made, or pretended to be made, and the whole affair of *Poncet's* voyage, and *Morat's* embassy, cried down as a mere imposition^c.

SINCE that time we read of nothing relating to this empire, but of fruitless and disastrous attempts made by the missionaries to get into it again, but of nothing that has been transacted in it; so careful have the *Abissine* monarchs been, by the help of their *Mohammedan* neighbours, to deprive us of all further intelligence from thence. We shall therefore, according to a former engagement, close up this history with a short abstract of the surprising account given of this celebrated empire by that romantic writer *Ludovigo de Uretta*, a Dominican frier, often mentioned in this chapter, and printed at *Valentia*, anno 1610; not doubting but such a sketch will be acceptable to our *English* readers, especially as his whole fraternity, notwithstanding the many and considerable approbations which his romantic performance carries in its front, as so many vouchers of its truth (C), have been since made
so

^b PONCET, *ibid.* p. 119, ad fin.
sup. & seq. 373, & seq. 393, & seq. 406; 414, 428, 441, & alibi
pass. See also before, p. 10.

^c See LE GRAND, *ubi*

(C) His book came out licensed, approved, and vouched, by no less men than Don *Balazar de Barin*, doctor of laws, archdeacon of *Xatrua*, canon

of the church of *Valentia*, and vicar-general and official of the archbishop of that city; *Juan Pasqual*, rector of the church of *St. Martin*, and licensor of the patriarch

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An abstract of Uretta's Ethiopic history.

The author's monstrous pretences to sincerity exploded.

so ashamed of it, that they have spared neither pains nor cost to get and destroy all the copies they could get into their hands (D), in order to suppress so authentic a monument of their zeal and fertile invention to serve their cause, or the interest of their order, whenever it chanced to want some fresh support, as it seemed to do very much at that time, when the rising reputation of the Jesuitical society began so effectually to eclipse their own; and if some copies have happily escaped their diligent search, and have been preserved in the hands of protestants, we may probably suppose it to be owing to the universal outcry which the whole tribe of the missionaries, especially the Jesuits, raised against it, from the moment of its appearing in print, and excited the curiosity of strangers, particularly Protestants, after so interesting and extraordinary a piece, so plainly designed to blast the credit of all that had been said or written by other hands concerning the *Ethiopic* church and empire; but so unhappily and injudiciously executed, and stuffed with palpable forgeries, that, but for the number of champions on the other side, and the pains they took to expose it, it might probably never have reached foreign parts, but been confined to its native soil, for whose benefit and instruction it was professedly compiled, as being more naturally disposed to swallow all such kinds of pious prodigies; though even there he hath not been negligent of such artifices as were most likely to make them pass for cur-

patriarch of *Antioch*, and archbishop of *Valentia*; Father *Raphael Riphez*, prior provincial of the Dominicans in the kingdom of *Arragon*; Father *Lupero de Huette*, and Father *Jeronymo Mos*, licensers of the holy office of the inquisition; all of whom give the highest commendations in their several licences, both to the history and its author: to all which we may add, that it is dedicated to, and patronized by, the master of the sacred palace (1).

(D) This we have from the learned and reverend compiler of the church-history of *Ethiopia*, who finding that book become scarce by the destruction

which the Dominicans have made of it, hath favoured the world with the following short abstract of it out of the original, then in his hands, and which, he tells us, he carefully preserved, as worthy to be bequeathed, after his death, to a library; which, to use his own words, next to that of *Ethiopia*, is the greatest in the world (2). We may add, that his excellent history of the *Ethiopic* church, being also become no less difficult to be met with, except in the great libraries, or in those of the curious, was the main motive that induced us to transplant the said abstract into this part of ours.

(1) See *Geddes's Hist. of Ethiopia*, p. 430.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 431.

rent;

rent; nor scrupled to introduce his romantic legend with the most solemn protestations of sincerity; and boldly appeals to heaven, and all its saints, for the truth of its contents; tho' we are told by better and more impartial hands, that there is not one syllable true throughout the whole book (E). Nor hath

(E) These are our author's own words; to which he adds, that he doth not remember to have ever seen a history in any language that had more of the magisterial air of truth in it; the author seeming every where to value himself extremely on his fidelity, and his care of setting down nothing without being first well assured of its truth; appealing constantly to authentic records, tho' a great way off, for such falsehoods as had the least colour of truth in them.

What is still more shocking in that fabulous author, is the apostrophe, or address, with which he concludes the legend of the lives of many Dominican saints and martyrs, some of which, we have reason to believe, were never in nature, or, if they were, did never belong either to his church or order. It is as follows:

" Most glorious, illustrious,
" and holy saints, who being
" now in the celestial palaces
" clothed with robes of im-
" mortality, do enjoy the clear
" vision of the most holy Tri-
" nity, and being divested of
" the bodily weapons where-
" with you fought so manfully
" in the world, are now seated
" under the shade of the victo-
" rious palm and triumphant
" laurel, in the pavilions of
" glory; pardon me all my
" faults, pardon all my errors,
" pardon my incapacity, and
" the injury I have done the

" height of your triumph, wor-
" thy of all immortal trophy,
" by my rude pen; and pray
" for me, O most glorious
" saints, who, in company of
" the angelic spirits, and in the
" celestial choir of God, sing
" the SANCTUS of the mass to
" the most holy Trinity, and
" are perpetually employed in
" the praises of God, pardon
" the unpolishedness, shortness,
" and grossness, of my tongue,
" your prowess being so great,
" your works so heroic, and
" victories so glorious, that no-
" thing less than the tongues of
" angels are fit to celebrate
" them. Pray for us, O ex-
" alted princes, who live as
" grandees of the celestial pa-
" lace, and are as *knights of the*
" *GOLDEN KEY* in the council-
" chamber of God, being al-
" ways in his presence. Pardon
" that little I have wrote of
" your exploits, your glory be-
" ing so great, that no pen, ex-
" cept it be taken from an
" archangel's wing, is fit to ce-
" lebrate them. Pray for us,
" most glorious stars of heaven,
" most resplendent meteors of
" the earth, golden artisans of
" the church, and the bright
" light of the *PREDICANT OR-*
" *DER*, who, from your thun-
" dering pulpits, awakened the
" world, confounding heretics
" and pagans, and converting
" souls to God. Pardon, if the
" brightness of your virtues
" are eclipsed by the small part
" I have celebrated of them.

" And

bath he been less sparing of his invective censures on the Jesuits *Masseius* and *Mariana*, for having, as he charges them, laid aside that strict regard to truth, which becomes a Christian historian. And as for those who shall dare to question his veracity, he makes no scruple to rank them amongst the herd of sceptics, who doubt the truth of every thing. He still falls more severely foul on protestants, as conscious that they, of all his other Christian readers, will be the most ready to disbelieve and ridicule his pious narrative; thanking his God, that he doth not write it for the perusal of a *Luther*, *Calvin*, or other excommunicated heretics, who ignorantly, rashly, brutishly, and blasphemously, deny the profitable intercession of the most glorious saints with God; but for the comfort and benefit of his most catholic countrymen, who justly boast a faith ever untainted by all such heresy and erroneous doctrines, as his neighbours the *French*, *English*, &c. have suffered theirs to be corrupted with; and therefore hopes will more readily credit his whole narrative, especially as it comes recommended to them by so many eminent licensors, as a work of wonderful edification and comfort to all pious souls; most of whom likewise vouch for the truth of it. Who those licensors and vouchers were, we have shewn in a former note; and what character and thanks they deserve for their commendatory sanction to such a romantic heap of pious forgeries, the reader will be best able to judge from the following extract out of it.

“ And pray for us, ye apostolic
 “ preachers, who are now in
 “ shining glory before the Fa-
 “ ther of lights. Pardon me,
 “ if your travels, peregrina-
 “ tions, labours, sermons, vir-
 “ tues, and prodigies, or if the
 “ g’ory of your glory is not
 “ magnified as it deserves; and
 “ pray for us, valiant martyrs,
 “ who, with your blood, con-
 “ firmed the truth of the gospel,
 “ conquered tyrants, triumph-
 “ ed over wild beasts, and, with
 “ your hands full of palms,
 “ and your heads crowned with
 “ laurels, are entered into the
 “ heavenly palaces. Pardon

“ my ignorance, and pray for
 “ us.
 “ Sacred virgins, shining now
 “ in your religious apparel, the
 “ glory of the world, the ho-
 “ nour of heaven, the bright-
 “ ness of human nature, and
 “ the special ornament of the
 “ Dominican order, pardon all
 “ the defects of this book, with
 “ regard to your praises; and
 “ pray for us *. *Amen.*”

Thus much may suffice to shew the lying as well as romantic spirit of the author, and what credit is to be given to his heap of pious forgeries.

* *Ibid.* p. 477, & /s.

AFTER

AFTER a long and pompous account of the setting out of Ethiopia eight of his Dominican fraternity from *Rome* to the *Holy* *when and Land*, accompanied with a holy sister of the same order, *anno* *by whom* 1316, and their visiting the holy city, sepulchre, and other *converted* places in and about *Jerusalem*, these nine pious pilgrims went thence down into *Egypt*, and passed quickly afterwards into *The fable* *Abissinia*, where they applied themselves to the learning of the *of his* language of the country, and made such surprising progress *eight Do-* in it, that in a few days they were able to preach to the in- *minican* habitants, to the great astonishment of all that heard them, *monks,* and soon after of the whole empire. Their sermons seldom *and their* failed of being accompanied by some extraordinary miracle, *reception* which gave an irrefragable sanction and evidence to all they *at court.* said; insomuch that their profelytes became nearly as numerous as their hearers. Their fame soon reached the imperial court, and *Prestor John*, the then reigning monarch, amazed at the arrival of nine such unexpected strangers, and much more at their doctrine and miracles, thought himself obliged to send them a kind welcome into his dominions, as well as an invitation to his capital; and, as a further encouragement and mark of his esteem, he was pleased to grant them a full power not only to preach their new gospel through his whole empire, but likewise to build as many convents in it as they should think proper, to promote and accelerate the conversion of his subjects to their church. He, moreover, impowered them to exercise their inquisitorial power and authority over them all, engaged his royal word to allow them all the privileges and immunities which their order enjoyed in the *Latin* church. A less encouragement from so great and absolute a monarch would have been more than sufficient to invite such zealous preachers into the heart of his empire; and they received his gracious messages with such grateful joy, as made them overlook all the fatigues and dangers of so long a journey; so that they quickly advanced above 600 leagues into his dominions, and came at last to the lake *Cassates*, on the other side of the equinoctial, where the *Nile* hath its spring-head, near the mountains of the moon.

HERE, with no less surprising expedition and success, they *Their vast* erected their first and most stately monastery. This spacious *convents* building was soon afterwards followed by others, not only in *and con-* the kingdom of *Gosam*, but in other parts of the empire, *verts.* and among the *Cassres*, quite to the *Cape of Good Hope*. The number of their neophytes multiplied in such surprising proportion, that their monasteries were quickly filled and overstocked with such of them as stood candidates for the Dominican order; among whom there was no small strife to

get

get admittance; and most of those, who obtained it, became afterwards almost as famous for learning, piety and miracles; and many of them for their martyrdoms for the faith, as their teachers.

**Tecla's
conversion
and mi-
racles.**

BUT the most remarkable for his zeal and piety, but most chiefly for his extraordinary miracles, above the rest of their profelytes, and afterwards of their professors, was the priace *Tecla Haymonot*, the emperor *Sakazah* and empress *Sarah's* only son, who, after having wrought sundry miracles during his infancy, preferred the Dominican habit to the *Abissinian* crown, as soon as he was come of age, and became in time the chief and glory of his order, being daily honoured with the visit of angels, who brought him down from heaven the bread and wine which he consecrated at mass. Neither did the angels alone express their ambition to attend upon this extraordinary person; for the very brutes, and even those of the wildest and most dangerous kind, as lions, tygers, wolves, crocodiles, serpents, and other noxious creatures, gathered after him in shoals, as often as he went out to preach; and ceased not to follow him till he had dismissed them with his blessing, which they all received with the greatest marks of respect and thankfulness they were capable of expressing.

**Revered
by brutes.**

**Founds a
stupendous
monastery.**

But the most surprising and extraordinary of all his miraculous feats was the vast monastery which he founded, and was afterwards called by his name, which was capacious enough to contain nine thousand friers; in the rearing of which he obliged the devil to serve him seven years, and to do all the most servile and hard work. Whether he employed any of his inferior demons in that drudgery, we are not told; but only this our author assures us, that the monastery hath never been so well served since; insomuch that when the emperor was told of it, he could not forbear blaming his son for not having tied the devil to the same service of the convent as long as it stood.

**Forces the
devil to
serve it
seven
years.**

NEITHER did the holy sister, who had been the constant companion of their travels from *Rome* to *Abissinia*, prove less diligent and successful with respect to those of her own sex; but looking upon herself as equally intitled to the emperor's promise with other fellow-labourers, erected likewise a stately nunnery, wherein she fixed five hundred Dominican *Beatas* of the third rule. This vast nunnery was at first called in their language *Bado Nago*, but hath been since better known by that of *Sancta Clara*. This may suffice as a specimen of the author's fertile brain on the subject of his nine Dominican apostles, and their miraculous success; all that needs to be added to it is, that their history, like *Raphael's* cartoons,

toons, is curiously painted in the cloisters of *Plurimanos*, *Their hi-*
 whether any one, who questions its veracity, may repair for *story finely*
 a full conviction. *painted in*

THIS monastery of *Plurimanos* is that very individual one *it.*
 which was built by *Tekla Haymonot*, with the devil's assist-
 ance, and big enough to contain nine thousand monks, all *One big*
 of his order; being full four leagues in compass, and having *enough for*
 eighty dormitories, which have all the great church at one *9000*
 end, and the refectory, or dining-hall, on the other. The *friers.*
 dormitories have likewise a great number and variety of cells;
 that is, some 120, others 150, and some 200; and each
 dormitory hath a particular chapel and library belonging to
 it. The great church is 600 paces long, and wide in pro- *Its great*
 portion; and so it had need, to hold nine thousand friers, *church.*
 who all repair to it on *Sundays* and holidays. The next
 grand monastery in this empire is that called *Attelugab*, and
 was built by *Bartholomew de Tivoli*, a Dominican frier, who
 was afterwards consecrated bishop of *Dangola* at *Rome*. This
 convent hath no more than seven thousand monks, who like-
 wise repair to their great church, and afterwards dine all to-
 gether, in their common refectory, on all high days.

THESE two monasteries are the two grand nurseries for *The two*
 missionaries, who are dispersed in vast numbers, not only *grand se-*
 over *Africa*, but likewise once a year into *Arabia*, *Bengal*, *minaries*
Siam, *Pegu*, and as far as the vast empires of *China* and *for mis-*
Tartary. It was by some of those missionaries that the *sionaries.*
 kingdoms of *Congo* and *Angola* were converted to Christia-
 nity, anno 1580; and others spread their missions, though
 not with equal success, as far as those of *Monomotapa*, *Mo-*
zambica, and all the vast continent called *Cafraria*, quite to
 the *Cape of Good Hope*. All these missionaries were obliged to
 return to their respective convents at *Whitsunday* every year:
 but here our author, being conscious that such annual re-
 turns, from such remote regions, must be supposed above the
 power of flesh and blood, hath taken care to ward off the
 objection, by seriously telling us, that they came back with
 nothing but skin and bones.

THESE two famed monasteries, if we may believe our *Vast num-*
 historian, were no less fruitful in their martyrs than in their *bers of*
 preachers and miracle-workers. Three hundred thousand of *them mar-*
 those Dominican apostles had suffered martyrdom in various *tyred.*
 parts of *India* and *Africa*; which is more by far than any
 other, he might have said than all the orders of his church
 put together, can boast. Even within, and in the neigh-
 bouring states of, the *Abissinian* empire, and in the reign of
 the

Presented by the empress. the empress *Hilena*, who was herself a Dominican *Beata* (F), eight hundred of the monks of the *Alleluiah* convent alone had been put to various kinds of death for preaching the gospel; at which that pious princess was so much troubled, that she sent to all the *Mohammedan* and heathen princes about her dominions, that she would no longer suffer any of their subjects to come and trade within her empire, if they did not abstain from molesting her friers, and suffer them to preach the gospel peaceably among them, each in their respective missions.

Their ab-bots made grand in-quisitors. THE Abunas, or priors, of those two convents are, by the pope's letters, constituted grand inquisitors of *Abissinia*, where they execute that power with greater rigour than in *Spain*; and every heretic and apostate is turned over by their tribunal to the secular arm for the very first fault, though ever so penitent, and immediately, without mercy, thrown to the lions.

The imperial li-brary and treasury. WE shall not repeat here what we took occasion to mention in a former note *, his pompous description of the imperial library and treasure; the former founded by the celebrated queen of *Sheba*, and built upon the mount *Amara*, which that pious queen hanelled with *Solomon's* own works, and others written before him by the patriarchs *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Job*, &c. which that magnificent *Jewish* monarch presented her with; and which both she and her successors have been since enriching with every thing that was valuable in that kind, in all languages, and out of all parts of the world, at an immense expence. The latter founded likewise by the same princess, and on the same mount, into which, as into a bottomless gulph, both she and her successors have been throwing the richest of treasures, without ever drawing any thing out of it.

* See before, p. 197, & (O).

(F) By which must be understood not a professed nun of that order, but a kind of secular devota, who hath dedicated herself to the service of the *Virgin Mary*, under the ensign of *St. Dominic*, and obliged herself to wear her scapulary, to repeat the long rosary, and observe some other acts of devotion in

honour of her. Of which kind, there are millions of both sexes in the church, of *Rame*, who, being admitted into this service by the Dominican friers, and paying a certain small sum at their entrance, and another at the particular feasts observed by that order, bring a constant income to the convent.

His

His account of the *Abissinian* hierarchy is no less pompous *Hier-* and solemn than it is notoriously false, as the reader may *archy.* judge by comparing it with that which we have given of it in a former section *. According to him, there are no less *Prelates* than twelve archbishops and seventy-two bishops; the former *and priests* answering to the twelve apostles, and the latter to the seventy *how ad-* two disciples appointed by our Divine Redeemer. In imitation of which every cathedral likewise hath twelve canons, who all live in community with their respective diocessans, who enjoys the whole tythes of his bishoprick. When a canon dies, he is succeeded by the eldest priest in his diocese; and when the bishop dies, he is succeeded by the eldest canon of his cathedral. In like manner, the archbishops are succeeded by the eldest bishop of his province, and the eldest primate is always honoured with the dignity of the pope's legate; this privilege having been annexed to that dignity by Pope *Clement VII.* Over and above these there are a great number of titular bishops and archbishops, all of whom are nominated by the emperor, and confirmed by the pope. Every primate is obliged to visit his whole province at least *Visitations* once in six years, which is not done without great pomp and *and church* retinue, besides the crowds of laity, which flock to them for *cessures.* their blessing. These metropolitans are no less free of their curses and excommunications, when any thing is done amiss by the laity; and these stand in no less dread of them, especially as they are not permitted to eat or drink till they have, by proper means, obtained a reversion of the sentence; so that none of them can despise them longer than they can live without meat and drink.

THE richness and splendor of the *Abissinian* churches are no *Five* less extolled by our author, but especially those of *Alleluiah churches.* and that of the Blessed Virgin; the former built by the queen of *Sheba*, which is in the form of *Solomon's* temple, and the latter by the empress *Candace*, mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*, built in form of a cross. All of them, according to him, are built of the choicest materials, as marble, porphyry, and granate, and adorned with the richest carvings, paintings, and other embellishments; some of them have three, and others five, ailes. The reader may, if he pleases, compare this pompous description with what we have formerly said of those structures, and their ornaments †; though this may be owed to be the only point in which he hath least deviated from the truth.

* See before, p. 133, & seq.

† See before, p. 104, & seq. :

BUT

*Doctrine
and discipline
affirmed
to be the
same with
that of the
church of
Rome.*

BUT he hath made himself ample amends for it in the account he gives of the *Abissinian* faith and doctrine. According to him, the *Abissines* are not such arrant heretics of the *Alexandrian* leaven, as they have been affirmed to be by the Jesuitical tribe, that they have ever been, or at least ever since the preaching of his eight Dominican apostles, very zealous sticklers to the *Romish* faith and discipline, stigmatize the *Alexandrian* patriarch, and his adherents, with the worst of epithets, and are in all points the very same with those of the church of *Rome*.

*By whom,
and why,
misrepresented.*

WHAT, he tells us, gave occasion to this base and unjust slander on the *Abissinian* church, may be justly deemed a master-piece of the most fertile and bare-faced invention; and is as follows: The far greater part of 400 *Portuguese*, who were sent into *Ethiopia* under the command of Don Christopher de Gama, being *Jews* in their hearts, they had not been long in that country before they began to imagine themselves far enough out of the reach of the inquisition, and to make open profession of *Judaism*, to the no small surprise and scandal of the other *Portuguese*, little dreaming that there had been a much more severe one established in that empire by the holy see, and at the request of the eight Dominicans, near a century before. They were soon made sensible of their mistake, and the Dominican inquisitors, being informed of their

*Their
character,
and escape
to Goa.*

apostacy, quickly took all proper measures to get them all apprehended by their *familiars* (G), with the greatest secrecy. But the *Jews*, it seems, had likewise their *familiars*, though of another species; our author affirming, upon this occasion, that the whole race of them were magicians, and in confederacy with the devil, who failed not to apprise them of their danger, and assist them to make their escape; so that, before the inquisitors officers could lay hands on them, they had already dispersed themselves, and got far enough out of their reach. Some of them, he tells us, got as far as the kingdom of *Berno*, whither, tho' they taught the natives how to make gunpowder, he wishes they had all gone; for then, says he, there would have been none left to run to *Goa*, and raise such scandalous lies against the *Abissine* church, as those who went thither did; who, merely to justify themselves, and be revenged on the Dominican inquisitors, represented the *Abissines* as mortal enemies to the pope and *Romish* church, and as holding sundry heretical tenets; which was the reason they did not care to stay any longer among them.

(G) So that unchristian tribunals call their officers, which, in *Latin*, signifies no more than *demessies*; tho' that of hell-hounds is by far more suitable to their office.

HERE

HERE our historian naturally enough falls into a most *The author* violent fit of railing, not only against those *Portuguese Jews*, *spits his* but, for their sake, on their whole race; calling them an *im-* *venom* *pious, cruel, malicious, pestilent, contagious, vile, infamous, against* *nasty, and loathsome generation;* and, to crown all, *calls on* *all the Devils in Hell to fetch away the whole race of them, for* *having dared to report such impudent lies against an empire* *that was much more catholic and orthodox than that of the* *most Christian king, in having received the holy inquisition and* *council of Trent, which the Gallican church could never be* *prevailed upon to do.* He no less censures the old-Christians among the *Portuguese*, for having given credit to such malicious and groundless reports.

As to what the popes and kings of Portugal have since *The pope* done, upon the supposition that the *Abissinians* were really *and king* heretics, and enemies to the Roman church, he endeavours *of Portu-* to excuse their having been so miserably imposed upon by *gal ex-* those villainous *Jews*, as they were also in the case of the *cused.* good old patriarch *Oviedo*; who (at the same time that he was recalled by the pope, on the small prospect there was of his doing the church any service in *Ethiopia*, by reason of the emperor's and people's obstinate adherence to the *Alexan-* *drian faith*) was in the highest esteem among them, revered as a saint, beloved as a father, listened to as a second *Solomon*, and looked upon as an apostle sent by God unto them; and was so far from being in disgrace with the *Abissi-* *nian monarch*, that he had raised him to the dignity of president of his *Latin-council*. It is true, he owns, that the *The empe-* *Portuguese* patriarchs and fathers had by several indiscrete *ror Me-* steps so far exasperated the minds of the *Abissinian* clergy, *nas's let-* and were looked upon by them with such an envious eye, *ters to* that they quickly grew sick of the country, and were glad *them.* to return to the *Indies*; the *Portuguese*, adds he, being a people who cannot live long out of their country, or at least from among their own countrymen: whereas the good bishop *Oviedo*, being a *Spaniard*, and less precipitate in his *Submission* resolves, would never leave his flock, nor quarrel with them *to the see* about trifles; and so lived and died in *Ethiopia*, in great ho- *of Rome.* nour and esteem; and his memory is still precious among them to this day. Of the truth of all which, his holiness was quickly after fully satisfied; for the *Abissinians* of *St. Stephen's college at Rome*, understanding how their church had been misrepresented, dispatched with all speed one of their members to the emperor *Menna (Menas)*, the successor of *Claudius*, to acquaint him with it: at which news, that prince so highly resented his being misrepresented as an enemy

to the church of *Rome*, and was so exasperated against the *Portuguese*, that he forthwith published a law, expressly forbidding all of that nation, upon pain of death, to come into his dominions, without a certificate of their being *Old Christians*, from the inquisitions of *Lisbon* and *Goa*.

HE next-dispatched letters to *Gaa*, *Lisbon*, and *Rome*, to assure those courts of the falshood of all those reports, which, he said, none but a pack of such vile and execrable *Jews* would have had the malice to invent, or the impudence to publish. One of his letters was addressed to the College of Cardinals, and particularly to the protector of the *Abissinian* empire; full of the strongest professions of his inviolable zeal for the *Roman* faith; and this he caused to be backed by another from his council of state, to the same tenor, and in the same loyal terms: both which were sent to *Rome* by an ambassador. Our author adds, that *Alexander III.* who succeeded *Menas*, not reckoning all this enough, sent a fresh embassy thither, which consisted of 24 priests and 2 noblemen, to renew and ratify his obedience to the holy see.

Grand
ambassy
thither.

THUS far the abstract of the Dominican history of *Ethiopia*; which, in its original, contains no less than 1130 pages, in octavo, printed in a small type, and all filled with the same romantic fustian, tho' with the greatest pretences to sincerity, and the strictest regard to truth*. Well might his whole brotherhood be ashamed of such a heap of monstrous bare-faced forgeries, and much more to see it ushered into the world with the licence and approbation of some of the eminentest dignitaries of their order. Could the most diligent endeavours have succeeded of utterly suppressing the memory of the work, as well as of its author and vouchers, we may boldly suppose scarce one copy of it would have been left undestroyed. But there were too many of their rivals concerned in preventing it, and who have effectually done it: yet hath this their victory gone but very little way towards clearing themselves of that glaring blemish which will, in all likelihood, stick to them to the end of the world, of having, by their partial and indiscrete zeal, rendered the name, not only of *Romish* and *Portuguese*, but even of *European*, odious through this whole empire, as they have done that of *Christian* in the greatest part of *India*. Neither is this misfortune confined to *Higher* but has spread itself thro' *Lower Ethiopia*, where we shall meet with still more flagrant instances of this unchristian spirit, especially in those countries where their well-meaning proselytes were, by their means, unwarily, brought under the no less insupportable tyranny of the *Portuguese* monarchs.

All a heap
of forge-
ries.

* See GEDDES, ub. sup. p. 477, & seq.

S E C T. XI.

The History of the Kingdoms adjacent to Abissinia ; of Dancali and Adel, on the Coast of Babel Mandel, and of Magadoxo, &c. on the Coast of Ajan.

BEFORE we enter upon the description and history of *Some of these kingdoms*, it will not be improper to apprise our readers, that all our maps of *Africa*, those of *D'Anville*, the most modern and exact not excepted, place several kingdoms *this coast* on the confines of *Abissinia*, along the coasts of the *Red Sea*, concerning which we meet with little or nothing in our geographical books but their names and precarious situation, *unknown, or mis-called*; and of which we hope we shall be readily dispensed taking any farther notice in the course of this chapter ; especially if they remember that we are not writing an universal body of GEOGRAPHY but of HISTORY, into which it would therefore be impertinent to intermix some few, and, perhaps, uncertain, particulars of the former, where we have nothing material to add to it, relating to the latter. Of this nature are the kingdoms of *Baku*, or *Bali*, *Deking*, or *Deghin*, *Barnaghasso*, or *Midrebbar*, and others; which croud this coast in the maps, whilst their names are unknown even to the most voluminous compilers of geographical dictionaries. At the head of them stands the supposed one called *Barnagosso*, or *Barnagash*, *as that of Barnagash*, on the confines of that of *Tigre*, belonging to the empire of *Abissinia*, and styled a kingdom, in those maps, thro' mistake, or inadvertence ; that compound name of *Bahr*, and *Naghass*, signifying no more, in the *Ethiopic* language, than a prefecture, or government of a maritime province, or territory, of which there are still several which bear that title, some subject to the *Abissinian* emperors ; and others which have withdrawn their allegiance from them, and put themselves under the protection of the *Turks*, as we have seen in the preceding chapter. However, both of them are in too poor and mean a condition to deserve that pompous name, each being equally under the yoke ; and that of the latter being scarcely to be supposed higher than that of the former ; and what a kind of one this was, may be guessed at from the wretched reception which the *Portuguese* ambassy to the *Negus*, under the famed *Alvarez*, met with from one of them, in his way to that court, and the miserable plight he found that maritime go-

* Vid. int. al. LUDOLPH. Ethiopia, l. i. c. 3. n. 7.

vernment in, which could hardly afford him and his retinue any better fare, thro' his territory, than barley bread, or barley meal, and some wine made of honey^c.

Kingdom
of Balu ;

THE petty kingdom of *Balu*, or *Bali*, was once subject to the same empire, but hath since revolted from it ; and is erroneously taken, by some geographers, for a part of that of *Dancali*, though this last be an ever faithful ally, and the other a declared enemy, to the *Ethiopian* monarchs. However that be, his dominions, let him assume what title he will, deserve no farther mention, seeing he hath neither cities nor towns in it, but only some villages scattered through a large, and, for the most part, uncultivated territory, inhabited by the wild plundering *Gallas*, of whom we have elsewhere spoken^d ; who at first settled themselves in these maritime parts, and from thence made the most dreadful inroads into the adjacent provinces of *Abissinia*, and have since settled themselves, not only in several of its frontier, but likewise in some of the inland, kingdoms, as we have already observed in the history of that empire. Those who inhabit that territory are fierce, warlike, and cruel, like all the rest ; only they that live near the sea, have embraced *Mahomedism*, and live more on trade than plunder. Their prince is rich, and so powerful, that he obliges the basha of *Swaken*, which lieth over against his dominions, to yield him one half of the customs of that island. Our author adds, that he hath plenty of gold and silver, and abundance of fine large horses^e. According to Mr. *Ludolph's* map, the river *Habesh*, or *Hawash*, which comes down from the confines of *Shewah*, crosses his territories, and, continuing its course eastward, loses itself in the sandy deserts of the kingdom of *Adel*.

inhabited
by the
Gallas ;

their
dreadful
plunders ;

king rich
and powerful.

Hawash
river.

THE kingdom of *Dekim*, or *Deghim*, which lies between that of *Balu*, on the west, and *Dancali*, on the east, is still more unknown to us ; for which reason we shall pass to the next^f.

Kingdom
of Dancali.

DANCALI, or *Dancali* and *Dangales*, is likewise situate on the *Red Sea*, between those of *Dekim*, on the west, and *Adel* on the east. Its extent, along the coast, is but small, whatever it may be towards the inland, and is neither well cultivated nor inhabited. The king of it is a *Mohammedan*, as are most of his subjects, but in strict alliance and friendship with, or, as *Father Lobo* adds, tributary to, the *Abissinian* emperor^g : if

^c De hoc vid. sup. ibid. & *ALVAREZ* in *Ramusio*, vol. i. p. 196. edit. 3.

^d See before, p. 39, & seq.

^e *LEBO's*

relat. de *Abissin.* p. 38.

^f See his map, history of *Ethiopia*,

l. i. c. 8. n. 48, 106.

^g *Relat. de l'Abissin.* p. 48.

fo, he must, in all likelihood, be so likewise to the grand signor, who is master of all this coast. His kingdom chiefly abounds in mines of salt, of which vast quantities are made, and a great traffic carried on, both into the inland parts, and on the *Red Sea*. Its chief sea-port, and that no extraordinary one, is that of *Baliur*, or *Balyur*, which stands at about fourteen hours distance, west, of *Babel Mandel*. And it was in this port that the *Abissinian* patriarch, with his Jesuits and *Portuguese*, first landed, and were received by the Cheyk with great civility, the emperor having chosen that port for their landing, and given proper orders for their reception (A); tho' that did not hinder the Cheyk, and his inferior officers, from insisting upon some considerable presents, in proportion to their rank, when they came to bring their baggage on shore, as is customary among all the *Turks*.

Port of Balyur.

Portuguese land at it.

THE king, who had likewise received letters from that monarch to the same purport, sent to invite the patriarch, and his retinue, to his court, which was about 3 or 4 days journey from *Baliur*, and dispatched his own son to meet them in the way, and conduct them to the royal palace, or rather camp, which they found to consist only of half a dozen tents, about a score huts, fenced about with a thorn hedge, and shaded by some wild kind of trees. Near the palace is a river, which, in winter, is very full and rapid; but it being then summer, was quite dried, and had no water but what was digged for, at the bottom of its chanel, or bed.

Their reception from the king;

his court;

THE hall of audience, where they were received by the king, was a large tent, or hut, about a musket-shot from the

(A) The persons who composed this embassy, besides *Alphonso Mendez*, newly created patriarch of *Abissinia* by the pope, were those that follow; viz.

1. *Jobannes Valesco Castellano*.
2. *Hieronymo Lupo*, or *Lobo*. 3. *Bruno de Santa Cruze*. And, 4. *Francesco Marchesio*, all four Jesuits, who had two lay brethren to attend them; viz. *Emanuel Luis* and *Joannes Martini*. The rest of their retinue consisted of one servant, five musicians, three *Abissinians*, who conducted the ambassadors, two masons, and

two apprentices, who were to be employed in the building of churches, and other religious houses, as had been agreed between the emperor and the king of *Portugal*. All these, except *Velasco* and the three *Abissinians*, were *Portuguese*, and all landed at the port of *Balyur*, on the 3d of *April*; having been timely forewarned, by letters from the *Abissinian*, from landing either at *Suakem* or *Mawwa*, which were then in the hands of the *Turks* (*).

(*) De hoc vid. *Gregor. in Lulolph bis. Esbiop. l. iii. c. 11. n. 9. & seq. J. z. zic, Coding. Lobo, & al. plur.*

audience to them ;
attend-ance ;
 rest. Two of them are for his own use ; the other four are for his mother, brothers, and chief officers. The presence-hall had, at the upper end, a kind of throne, reared only of stones and clay, and covered with a carpet, and two velvet cushions. At the other end, facing the throne, was his majesty's horse, with the saddle and other accoutrements suspended on one side ; it being the custom of this country for the master and horse to lie together, whether king or subject. Around the hall were about half a hundred young men, sitting cross-legged on the ground ; and when the *Portuguese* ambassadors were admitted, they were made to sit down in the same posture.

dress ;
greediness and arrogance ;
 THE king came soon after, preceded by some of his domestics, one of whom carried an earthen pitcher, full of hydromel, or wine made of honey ; another a drinking cup, made of porcelain ; and a third carried a cocoa-nut shell, filled with tobacco ; a fourth a silver tobacco-pipe, and some fire. Next to them came the king, dressed in a light silk stuff, with a turban on his head, from the rims of which hung a parcel of rings, nicely wrought, which dangled before his forehead : he held in his hand a short kind of javelin, instead of a sceptre, and was followed by all the chief officers of his court and household, and among them his lord high steward, the superintendent of his finances, and the captain of his guard. The respect paid to him, at his coming in, was by standing on their feet, and squatting down again twice ; after which they went towards the throne to kiss his hand. The audience was short, but full of the most bombastic professions of love and esteem on his side, and of respect and gratitude on theirs ; but this behaviour soon altered, when, on the next morning, they came to make their presents to him, and, instead of acceptance, our author, who brought them to him, met with a severe repulse and reprimand, for daring to affront a monarch like him with such trifling presents, and was bid to take them away out of his sight. Our Jesuit readily obeyed, without betraying either fear or any other emotion than that of disdain, after having given him to understand, that they were of more value than he ought to have expected from religious persons, who had renounced the world, and forsaken their native country, for the sake of carrying their religion into the *Abissinian* empire ; and told him, at parting, that, since he did not think them worth his acceptance, the next he sent for from them should be less so.

meanness and resentment ;
 THE king, tho' surpris'd at his rough compliment, let him go away with them ; but, being unwilling to lose them, sent one of his officers to fetch them back, with orders to insist upon

upon some addition being made to them, but was glad to take them as they were; the good father, on his side, insisting upon retrenching some part from them: so that when they were brought again, the greedy monarch received them with visible marks of dissatisfaction and resentment; and it was not long before he made them feel the effects of it, not only by detaining them, upon some pretence or other, longer at *refuses to* his court than was necessary for getting things ready for *dismiss* their departure, but by privately forbidding his subjects to *them* sell them any kind of provisions, at any price; so that they must have been obliged either to satiate his greediness with larger gifts, or been in danger of starving, had not the good father resumed his high tone with him, and, partly by the keenest expostulations against his behaviour, and partly by threatening him with the emperor's resentment, brought him, against his will, to comply with the patriarch's demands, and use them with more humanity. This did not hinder the black monarch from putting off ~~their~~ departure out of his dominions, from day to day, and suffering them to be chagrined and insulted by his subjects, in hopes of finding some pretence for extorting some further presents for their dismissal; to avoid which, they found no better expedient than to bribe *Audience* one of his favourite ministers with a valuable gift, who, *of leave* quickly after, obtained their audience of leave, and such *obtained by* other supplies of carriages, provisions, &c. to proceed on their *dint of* embassy to the *Abissinian* court. Neither was it possible to get rid of that of *Dancali*, till they had extended their largesses to all that belonged to it, from the highest officers, *Greediness* down to the most menial servants and camel-drivers *of his* *court*.

THIS small kingdom hath some considerable towns besides the port of *Balyur*, the most considerable of which are *Vella*, *Other* or, more probably, as *Davity* conjectures, *Leila*, another port *towns* on the *Red Sea*, and mentioned in the *Portuguese* letters of the year 1617, as one of those which belong to the allies of the *Abissinian* emperor; for tho' *Sanutius* and others speak of this king of *Dancali* as at enmity with him, it is plain from *Jarrick Codingo*, and especially *Lobo*, who was one of the embassy, that he was, at that time, tributary to him; tho', from his being a *Mohammedan*, and his ill usage of his ambassadors, one may judge he could be no friend to him in his heart. The other two towns are *Korkora* and *Manadeli*^k, where they have some manufactures of the linen and cotton kind, with which they traffic with the *Negroes*. The river *Ha-*

^l *Lobo*, ub. sup. p. 50, & seq.
l. iii. D^r L^{es} L^{es} A^das, D^{as}PER.

^k LA CROIX Africa,

Country
poor and
barren.

Inhabi-
tants black
and poor.

wash, or, as others call it, *Hanazo*, hath its rise at some of the mountains on the south, and, running north-eastward, waters the kingdoms of *Dawaro* and *Adel*, and there is swallowed up in the quick-sands; but the country is barren, dry, and sandy, producing no kind of food, for cattle but only leaves; labours under great scarcity of water, and that which their wells afford is brackish and unwholesome¹. The inhabitants are *Moors*, and consequently lazy and indigent, fearful and diffident of all the *Europeans*, and especially of the *Portuguese*.

CH A P. V.

The History of the Country of Ajan, al. Axan; and of the Kingdoms and States belonging to it.

The coasts
of Ajan
described:

kingdoms
belonging
to it;

THIS large tract of land, which extends itself on the north side, along the southern coast of the gulph of *Babel mandel*, quite to the utmost verge of *Afric* on that side, or to the cape called *Guardafuy*; and on the eastern side, from the said cape, on the 12th deg. north latitude, quite to the equinoxial line, which divides this last coast from that of *Zanguebar*, was once contiguous to, if not wholly a part of, the *Abissinian* empire; though long since not only dismembered from it, and divided into several inferior kingdoms, but even parted from it by the *Gallas*, *Gaffates*, and other barbarous nations, which are settled between them: and this may be the reason why the *Arabs* still give to these coasts the name of *Abex*, or *Habex*, or *Abissinia*: though others give them that of *Ajan*, or, as the *Portuguese* write it, *Axan*. So that upon the whole, the last name doth not so much imply the name of a particular kingdom, as most geographers would intimate, as a general one of a maritime tract containing several petty kingdoms and states; the principal of which are, the kingdoms of *Adel*, al. *Zeila*, *Magadoxo*, or *Madagoxo*, on the coasts, and some others in the inland, little known to us but by their names: and lastly, and, what we mention for its singularity in those parts, the republic of *Brava*².

THE generality of geographers have added another kingdom, viz. that of *Adea*, within this country of *Ajan*, and place it near that of *Magadoxo*; but which we shall in the

¹ *Iid. ibid.* LUDOLPH, *Ethiop.* l. i. c. 2. n. 11. ² MARMOL, *Afric.* l. x. c. 10. SANUT, l. xii. DAVITY, DAFTER, & al.

sequel

sequel shew that it is a mere imaginary one, as well as its pretended opulent capital of the same name, and seated on the same coast. All the eastern coast of *Ajan* is affirmed to *soil*; be a mere sandy and barren tract, producing neither corn, grain, fruit, nor any animal, but of the wild kind; for which reason it is most commonly called the desert coast. But as *produce*; you advance farther northward, and along the northern coast, you meet with a very fertile country, which produces great plenty of all sorts of provision, in which it drives a great commerce, and more particularly in an excellent breed of *commerce*; horses, in great request, and which foreign merchants fetch in great quantities, in exchange for silks, cottons, and other clothes.

THE inhabitants along this last coast are mostly white, *inhabi-* with long lank hair; but grow more tawny, or even quite *tants*; black, as you proceed towards the south. Here are plenty of negroes, who live and intermarry with the *Bedowin Arabs*, and carry on a great commerce with them, which consists in gold, slaves, horses, ivory, &c. which they commonly bring from *Abissinia*, with which they are almost constantly at war, and of which they plunder and ravage whole provinces. As they are all either zealous *Mohammedans*, *religion*; or *Bedowins*, an idolatrous and superstitious sect among the *Arabs*, so they are alike enemies to the *Abissinians*, who are all Christians; and the frequent inroads they make upon them renders them warlike and stout; but all of them, especially the *Bedowins*, who are rude and brutish, are arrant thieves; but more particularly those who live nearest to the *manners*. trading coasts ^b. Let us now take a view of those kingdoms which are included within this tract, beginning with that of *Adel*, as the most considerable, and best known to us.

S E C T. I.

The History of the Kingdom of Adel, al. Zeila.

FROM the full and copious account we have given of the vast and noble empire of *Habash*, or *Abissinia*, in the *Kingdom of Adel, al. Zeila*. foregoing chapter, our readers must not expect the like complete history of this, and other kingdoms there mentioned as contiguous, and at frequent wars with its monarchs; our *Europeans* being still to this day as little acquainted with the one, as they were formerly with the other: that is, till the *Portuguese* and their missionaries were invited thither by the

^b Id. *ibid.* SOMMAR regn. Axan. tr. 3. ap. DAVITY, MAGIN. *geogr. & al.*

Why so little known to the Europeans. Abissinian court, and met with such encouragement from them, as enabled them to give the world so uncommon a history of it, and which might have been much more extensive still, had those fathers been as intent upon that as they were upon reducing the *Ethiopian* church to the see of *Rome*; which if they could once have compassed, according to their sanguine hopes, would have afforded them more time and opportunities of enlarging their description of it.

How these became suspected by the Adelite kings.

BUT it was this extraordinary welcome, and the unusual caresses of the *Ethiopic* court, which rendered them suspected and odious, and with them all other *Europeans*, to all the adjacent kingdoms above-mentioned; and to a higher degree, as they were mostly either zealous *Mohammedaus*, or barbarous idolaters, given to all kinds of superstitions and cruelties, and irreconcilable enemies to the Christian religion, or, to speak more properly, to the *Romish* church; for that was all the Christianity they knew. So that it is no wonder both *Moslems* and *Heathens* did so unanimously join in guarding all the avenues into their own dominions against all those so odious and dreaded interlopers, and in exercising the most cruel severities against as many of them as found means to elude their vigilance, and ventured to penetrate, under various disguises and pretences, into any part of their territories (A). We have seen, at the close of the last chapter, how few, if any, of these infatuated zealots, who have attempted it, have escaped a discovery, and how dreadfully those have been

(A) To this we may add another no less stinging and cogent motive for this jealousy and hatred; viz. the many and swift conquests which the *Portuguese* have made, both on the eastern and western coasts of *Afric* (to say nothing of those they made also in *India*); the inhuman treatment they shewed to those princes and states who refused to submit to their superior force, by reducing their stately cities into ashes with their artillery, putting all to fire and sword that opposed them, car-

rying off all they found of value amongst them, as lawful plunder; and what was as bad, if not still worse, the cruel tyranny and oppression they exercised on all those who submitted to their yoke (1), and for which they quickly became, and, on their account, all the *Europeans* in general, and the very name of Christian, odious through all those parts, as we have already shewn in several parts of this work *, and shall have still farther occasion to shew in the sequel.

(1) *De his vid. Offertio hist. Portug. per tot. * Vid. int. al. vol. vii. p. 29, & seq. & alib. pass. viii. p. 133 & 345. &c. c. 9. p. 257, & seq. c. 10. pass. See likewise hereafter our history of Congo, Angola, &c.*

treated,

treated, who have fallen into their hands^a. Our readers, therefore, need not be surpris'd, all these things duly weigh'd, if we hitherto are able to say so little of those kingdoms; tho' their nearness to, and their commerce, or, more properly, wars and irruptions into, the *Abissinian* empire, of which we have had frequent occasion to speak in the course of that history, will hardly permit us to pass over so many potent princes and states as were there mentioned, without giving the best account we can meet with concerning them.

Of all the neighbouring enemies which the *Abissinian* monarchs have had for some centuries past, the king of *Adel* hath been the most powerful and inveterate, and that especially on account of religion, both he and his subjects being zealous *Mohammedans*, not only cultivated, but carefully intail'd the bitter rancour on his successors against the *Abissinians* and their faith; and this hostile animosity increased still more, from the time that these emperors applied to the *Portuguese* for help, and were enabled, by their superior skill and valour, to give their *Mohammedan* enemies several considerable overthrows, of which we have given an account in the preceding chapter^b.

BUT nothing did so effectually alarm and confirm the *Adelite* princes, and their allies, in their jealousy and resentment against the *Ethiopic* court, as that mean and unworthy offer of the emperor above-mentioned to submit the *Abissinian* church to the authority of the *Roman* see, which they doubted not would infallibly engage all the Christian, that is, as they imagined, all the *European* powers to their assistance, to destroy, at once, *Mohammedism* and *Heathenish* superstition, and reduce all their dominions under the *Ethiopic* yoke. They had, by that time, had many smarting proofs of the superiority of the *Portuguese*, in point both of valour and martial discipline; and it was become an usual saying, among their dastardly troops, and those of their allies, that those *new comers* were not men, but devils incarnate, and that it was impossible to make head against them. And if such a small army of them, scarcely amounting to 300, could perform such unheard of wonders, in favour of the *Abissinian* monarchs, what could they expect less from the united forces of all the *European* princes, but unavoidable destruction? What method, therefore, was more likely to ward off so fatal a blow, than to engage all his allies, and other powers far and near, who were equally threatened with the same ruin, to join with him not only all their home forces, but likewise in the same

^a See before, p. 316, & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 226, & seq. 239, & seq.
caution

Care of
guarding
their
coasts
against
them.

caution and vigilance, to stop every avenue to their respective dominions against all strangers, under whatsoever disguise or pretence. All which was so punctually and effectually done, that if the so much wished-for alliance between the *Abissinian* monarch and the *European* powers had taken place, which it did not, and these had thought fit to send him a new reinforcement of men and arms, they would have found the landing them upon any of their coasts, and much more their penetrating through their dominions, altogether impracticable. Neither did its unexpected miscarriage permit these princes to abate of their care and vigilance, but have followed the same precautions method ever since, and with all possible success.

Situation, THE kingdom of *Adel*, so called from its metropolis (B),
boundaries, and *Zeila*, from another eminent sea-port of that kingdom, is situate along the southern coast of the *Red Sea*, which bounds it on the north; from the streights of *Mean*, or *Babel Mandel*, on the west; to the cape of *Guardafuy*, on the east, which is the utmost verge of this coast, on this side, from which it begins to wind itself south-west, along the *Indian sea*, by which it is bounded on the east. Its limits on the south extend to the kingdom of *Magadoxo*, from which it is divided by the river of that name, and on the west hath the *Gallas*, or *Callas*, the kingdoms of *Bali*, *Dovaro*, and *Dancali*. Its full extent, on either side, is not certainly known; the longest is along the coast, from east to west, and is supposed to be about 160 leagues, and the least, from north to south, about 72^d. Ancient geographers, however, gave it a much larger extent, and it had, according to them, many more considerable provinces, which the *Turkish* conquests have since dismembered from it, as we shall see in the sequel. We meet with but an imperfect account of the inland part of the kingdom, except that *Marmol*, or rather his *French* transla-

^d SANUT, MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER, Afric. & al.

(B) *Marmol* calls the metropolis of this kingdom *Aran* (6), but neither describes it, nor takes any other notice of that of *Adel*, than giving it the title of a royal city, which we are told is the name of the kingdom and its capital. As for that of *Zeyla*, or *Zeila*, by which, he

says, the kingdom is called, it is very likely, as the judicious Mr. *Ludolph* conjectures, that it was given to it by some *Europeans*, from an eminent sea-port which it hath on the northern coast, and was, perhaps, the only place of note they knew in it (7).

(6) *Afric. lib. 2. c. 7.*

(7) *Sarbi map of Abissinia.*

tor^s, mentions six cities in it, besides that of *Zeila*, and the two capitals of *Adel* and *Aran*, above-mentioned; viz. *Bali*, *Doara*, *Gomizara*, *Noverata*, and *Socel*; to which a modern geographer adds three more; viz. *Auffagurella*, situate on a high hill in the center of that kingdom; *Barbora*, situate on the bottom of a bay, into which the river *Hawacha* formerly discharged itself; and *Msta*, on the eastern banks of the river *Soal*, on the northern coast¹. The most considerable places on the eastern coast are *Asum*, or *Afion* (C). It is a small town, but abounds with provisions and other refreshments for mariners; but, having no haven, is not much resorted to. The next to it is the cape of *Guardafuy*, supposed to be the *Aromata* of *Ptolemy*; it lies north of *Asum* about 12 degrees and a half of latitude, over-against the island of *Sucotra*, or *Zocotora*, in *Arabia Felix*. Turning south-westward from the said cape, one meets with the towns of *Salin*, the ancient *Mosilon* of *Ptolemy*; then *Barbora*, *Me-tha*, and, last of all, *Zeila*, said to be the finest and richest in that kingdom², and the only one we meet with any account of worth inserting.

ZEILA is seated on a spacious bay, just upon coming out of the streights of *Babel Mandel*, and, from its situation, seems to be the *Avarita* of *Ptolemy*. It retains still some noble relicks of its ancient splendor. The houses are built of stone and mortar, the streets wide and regular, its haven very commodious, and well frequented, and is both populous, and carries on a considerable commerce, it being the place through which the greatest part of the merchandizes, which are carried into the *Abissinian* empire, commonly pass, as well as those which are consumed in the kingdom of *Adel*; the revenue of which is so considerable, that the kings of it are often at war with those of *Aden* about it; upon which account

¹ *Afric. l. x. c. 7.*

² *LA MARTINIÈRE* sub *Adel*. *MARMOL*, l. x. c. 7. *De la Croix*, vol. iv. c. 11.

³ *SANUT*,

MARMOL; & al. sup. citat.

(C) This city Mr. *Cornille*, by mistake, places near the kingdom of *Melinda*, beyond the river *Chimanchi*, on the coast of *Aden* (8), and been probably led into the error by a French collector of travels, intitled, *La Voyageur curieux*, or

curious traveller, chap. 8. This shews how little dependence is to be had on such collectors, *Afion* being the same with *Asum*, or *Asuma*, and far enough from the kingdom of *Melinda* or the coast of *Aden* (9).

(8) *Dict. sub voc.*
Martinière, &c. sub *Asum* & *Afion*.

(9) *Vid. Depper Africa*, sub *Adel*, *Sanjut*, &c.

the

the former keeps constantly a strong garrison in it; but more particularly on account of its being the chief place by which the *European* missionaries endeavour to get into *Abissinia*; and here it was that two of them, viz. *Franc. Munchado* and *Bernard Ferreira*, having attempted to land with that design, were apprehended and put to death, *an.* 1624, by order of the king of *Adel*, as we have hinted in the preceding chapter †.

Commodities in, and exports.

THIS sea-port had indeed, at that time, all the advantages of commerce over that of *Aden*, till the arrival of the *Portuguese* fleet, in the year 1517, which utterly destroyed it: since which time *Aden* hath gained that advantage. There was, however, some considerable traffic carried on in it by the *Arabs*, who brought thither *Negro* slaves, elephants teeth, gold dust, meyrone, and other gums, which they bought in *Abissinia*, and sold to the merchants that came from other parts thither to purchase them.

Want of water.

THE territory about *Zeila* is rich and fertile, if we may believe *Marmol*; but others represent it as dry, sandy, and barren, and so destitute of water, that the inhabitants are obliged to go two days journey for it^b. Much of the same nature is the whole canton it belongs to; in which, however, we are told there are two other cities, named *Dalaca* and *Malaca*, but nothing further relating to them.

THE next city of note is *Barbara*, situate at the bottom of convenient bay, on an island of its name, but called by *De Lisle Alondi*. It hath been all along a kind of rival in commerce with that of *Zeila*, and is no less resorted to by foreign merchants, who carry on much the same traffic. It is situate over-against the city of *Aden*, and made once a considerable figure, but was plundered and burnt by the *Portuguese* fleet, *an.* 1518, who expected to have found a considerable spoil in it, but were happily disappointed, the inhabitants having had time enough before-hand to convey themselves and their most valuable effects away. The island which is almost contiguous to the *Terra Firma*, is very fertile, and produces plenty of corn, fruits, and cattle, great part of which is exported, by the same merchants, into other countries^c. The other parts of the kingdom of *Adel* being mostly flat, and with very few high hills; they have seldom any rains; but that defect is abundantly supplied by the rivers which run through it in great plenty^d.

† See before, p. 226, & alib. pass. ^b DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. ubi supra. ^c MARMOL, ibid. c. 8. DAPPER, & al. ^d MARMOL, ubi supra.

THERE is one among the rest, named the *Hawash*, which *Rivers.* comes down from the *Abissinian* mountains, on the confines of the provinces of *Xaaxa* and *Ogge*, which receives some other rivers into it, and takes a considerable circuit before it comes into the kingdom of *Adel*. It is called *Kimanci*, and is very *That of* broad and deep, and hardly inferior to the *Nile*, excepting *Kimanci* in the length of its course; for it hath scarce run six miles *described.* through it, before the inhabitants divide it into such a great number of canals, that it is, in some measure, exhausted before it reaches the sea. This renders the country so rich in grain, *Soil;* fruits, and other provisions, as are more than sufficient for *produces* the people, and part of it is conveyed into other neighbouring kingdoms, especially those of *Aden* and *Zeiden*. They have plenty of wheat, barley, and millet; they have variety of sheep, cows, and other beasts. Some of their sheep, like those of *Syria*, *Arabia*, and other parts, have large tails, which commonly weigh between 20 and 30 pounds¹.

BUT their main traffic consists in gold-dust, elephants teeth, frankincense, and *Negro* slaves; all which they fetch chiefly from *Abissinia*, with whom they are continually at war, and miss no opportunities of making inroads into some of their *inroads* provinces, and whence they seldom return without great *into Abissinia.* quantities of all that kind of plunder. This is afterwards conveyed, as was lately observed, to the port of *Zeila*, where they never fail of meeting with merchants from *Arabia*, *Camboya*, and other parts, ready to exchange them for cloths of cotton, silk, and linen, of various sorts; collars, bracelets, and other ornaments, of amber, chrystal, and other materials; dates, raisins, fire-arms, *Arabian* horses, and other such commodities^m.

THE *Adelites* are stout and warlike, and fight with surprising intrepidity against the *Abissinians*, as well out of zeal *inhabitants de-* for religion, as in hopes of plunder; the former being all staunch *scribed.* *Mohammedans*, and the latter a pusillanimous sort of Christians, in no-wise equal to them either in valour, discipline, or warlike weapons; those of the *Abissinians*, especially in the *weapons* remote parts, consisting chiefly of bows and arrows, lances, *and dis-* and javelins, all wretchedly fabricated; and the ordinary sort *plins;* among them having hardly any thing better than long staves, sharp-pointed on one or both ends, and hardened in the fire, to fence against their enemies; whereas the *Adelites* are furnished, by the *Turks* and *Arabs*, with variety of fire-arms, *fire-arms,* and other offensive weapons, which they exchange, as we

¹ MARMOL, DAVITY, & al. ub. sup.
MARMOL, & al.

^m BERMUD,

complexion ;

dress ;

religion.

Government despotic.

By whom first founded.

hinted above, for slaves, gold-dust, and other *Abissinian* plunder ; and, by their frequent incursions into that empire, are much better trained up to the martial, or rather plundering, trade. Their complexion, along the northern coast, is of a tawny brown ; but the farther one proceeds towards the southern parts, the more one finds them draw towards a downright black. Their dress chiefly consists of a cotton piece of cloth, which covers them only from the girdle to a little below the knee; all the rest of their body being naked ; except the king, and nobles of both sexes, who wear a kind of loose garment, which covers their whole body, and a cap over their head : all the rest go bare-headed and bare-footed. They are, however, very fond, the women especially, of adorning their necks, arms, wrists, and ankles, with bracelets of glass, amber, and other such trinkets.

We have already hinted that their religion is *Mohammedism*, and their government monarchical and despotic, though under the protection of the grand signor, to whom the kings of it pay a kind of homage and tribute for it. It was at first founded, as we are told^a, by one of the princes of the blood of the imperial family of *Abissinia*, named *Salatru*, who, having found means to escape out of the rocky prison, in which those unhappy princes were heretofore wont to be confined^o, into this kingdom, or, perhaps, only then province, of *Adel*, put himself under the protection of the then king of *Zeila*, who, soon after, gave him his only daughter in marriage, upon his turning *Mohammedan*. And it was by his assistance that he made himself master of the first, and, after his death, succeeded him in the other, and made of both one kingdom. This prince, like most renegadoes, became a most inveterate enemy to all Christians, and was continually at war with some of them, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the *Portuguese*, upon their landing at his old capital of *Zeila*, and plundering and setting it on fire. Concerning which transaction we have the following account from some of their writers^p.

THEIR fleet had suffered greatly by want of provisions ; and amongst them that lost their lives by it, was Don *Duarte de Galvan*, who was sent ambassador to *Abissinia* by king *Emanuel*. *Suarez*, who commanded the fleet, having dispatched some of his ships in quest of some fresh supply without success, resolved to sail to *Zeila*, then very rich and populous ;

^a Lettr. di ANDR. CONSALI.

112, & seq. & (E).

^p CODINGO de reb. Abissin. l. ii. OSSORIO Portuguese conquests, & al.^o De hoc vid. sup. p.

but,

but, to his great surprize, found it deserted by its inhabitants, who carried off all their valuable effects, and left only a good garrison to defend it. The *Portuguese* finding it impossible to get any provisions, either for love or money, unanimously agreed to storm it, which they might the more easily do, as it had neither walls, towers, or any other fortifications. They landed accordingly some of their forces, who stood drawn up in arms along the shore, expecting, with impatience, the rest, which *Suarez* was to send after them: but, finding that he did not dispatch them so soon as he might have done, whilst themselves were exposed to all the insults of the garrison, they at length resolved to enter it with sword in hand; and having, with difficulty, mastered one part, and repulsed the other, they fell a plundering the houses, and carried off a considerable quantity of provisions, the best part of which they sent on board the fleet, and destroyed the rest, together with the city, which they set on fire, and reduced to ashes. This is the plausible account these authors give of their countrymens destroying this and many other fair and opulent cities, and their inhabitants, on that and other coasts; and who can wonder, after this, at their very name having become execrable all over those parts, and, upon their account, that of *Frank, European, and Christian*? We have hinted above that the new king of *Adel* was defeated, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by them about this time¹; but whether it was at the plundering of *Zeila*, or at some other encounter with them, we cannot be certain. However, what we have here related is more than sufficient to justify his rancour and resentment against them.

Salatra defeated by the Portuguese, who plunder and burn Zeila.

Hatred to the Christians.

His successor, whom some call *Gradabemett*, *Bermudez Goranbo*, or *Gorhanna*, but others most commonly *Granza*, or *Grainbe*, was a prince who inherited all the irreconcilable hatred against the *Christians* in general, but more particularly against the *Portuguese*; and we may add, who proved one of the most formidable enemies they had to encounter after their landing in these parts, and put their valour and politics to the severest proof: for being timely apprised of their fleet's approach, he had taken all necessary precautions, and given the proper orders to his officers, in what manner to act against such of them as should venture within their reach. Accordingly the first who fell a sacrifice to his revenge, were a company of about sixty of their deserters, who, having left their fleet, and gained the shore in a boat, had unhappily landed in

Succeeded by Grainbe, an enemy to the Portuguese.

¹ See *DAVITY*, and the authors cited by him.
TELLEZ Hist. Ethiop. LUDOLPH, & al.

² *BALTH.*

Cruel stratagem against them. some creek near the port of Zeila, found themselves quickly after ready to perish with heat and drought in that sultry and barren quarter. One of the king's commanders being informed of it, sent them word, that if they would deliver up their arms, and surrender themselves to him, he would immediately supply them with water, victuals, and other necessaries. Their desperate condition not permitting them to hesitate about his offer, they readily complied; which they had no sooner done, than he ordered them all to be butchered upon the spot^t. We may justly question whether any *Mohammedan* commander would have been guilty of so horrid a piece of treachery, especially against a parcel of poor perishing deserters from an invading enemy, against any other nation, or on so important a crisis.

A fresh one disappointed THE next engine they played off against the *Portuguese* would have proved of much worse consequence, could it have taken effect so soon after the former: we shall give it, as nearly as we can, in the words of our author.

WHILST these things were transacting, the admiral of the *Portuguese* fleet sent a galley to *Arkico*, to exchange a thousand ells of cotton cloth for a certain quantity of beeves, and other provisions they wanted. The bargain being made, the cattle was seized on at once by a *Bahr-nagash*^u named *Nero*, belonging to the king of *Adel*, as they were driving them by land from *Arkico* to the place where the *Portuguese* vessels were waiting to receive them. Immediately after which, the *Bahr-nagash* dispatched one of his captains to tell the *Portuguese* commander, that the king his master was now in possession of the whole *Abyssinian* empire, which he had lately conquered from the *Negus*, or emperor, and to invite the *Portuguese* to conclude a treaty of peace and commerce with him; assuring them that they should be supplied from thence with plenty of gold, slaves, ivory, myrrh, and other valuable drugs, sufficient to carry on a very profitable traffic; whilst he on his part would take care to furnish them with what provisions they wanted, and at the same time restore to them the cattle he had seized from them, and make them full satisfaction for the sixty deserters he had caused to be put to death.

by the jealous patriarch. HERE the good patriarch *Bermudez* failed not to caution the *Portuguese* captain against relying on the fair offers of the treacherous *Bahr-nagash*, and to advise him to use art against art, and to outwit him in his own way. The result of which

^t *BERMUD.* relat. apud *PURCH.* Pilgr. l. vii. c. 7. p. 1149, & seq.

^u De his vid. sup. p. 227, 253, 259, & al. pass.

was, that they sent him a present of a barrel of wine, and *The Turk* a fresh quantity of cotton cloth, in exchange for a new ish *Bahr* supply of cattle and provisions, instead of that which they *nagash* had taken as a lawful prize from them: That as to the sixty *witted* deserters, they had but a due punishment from him for their treachery; and as to the proposed treaty of peace and commerce, it being then the holy week, they were not permitted to treat about it, but would apply themselves intirely to it, as soon as the holy days were ended; and bring their merchandizes on shore, for the more easy and speedy conclusion of it.

THE captain, pursuant to the same advice, forbade any *by the* long-boat to go to land, lest any of them should betray their Portuguese design, or give the *Bahr-nagash* notice of it; and at the same guestime ordered all his soldiers to hold themselves ready to get on board all the light vessels belonging to the fleet, with all possible secrecy, and without any lights, to prevent their being discovered. Their measures being thus taken, captain *Martin Corea*, at the head of 600 armed men, went on shore about ten of the clock at night, and seized on all the avenues at *Camp* which the enemy might escape. In this descent some of the *prised* *Turks* and *Fartaks* were slain, and part of their baggage seized, *Corea* not having had time to secure a sufficient quantity of carriages. At the same time, the *Bahr-nagash* observing that the king his master betook himself to flight, marched directly against the *Portuguese*; and was no sooner known than he was shot to death by a *Portuguese* marksman, whilst a *The Bahr* number of *Turks*, both on foot and horseback, coming to *nagash* his rescue, were part cut in pieces, and the rest were put to *slain by a* flight. *Corea* and the patriarch sent the head of the *Bahr-nagash* *marksman* to the empress of *Abissinia*, with an account of their successful descent, and first defeat of her enemy the king of *Adel*; who received both with no small joy, and dispatched soon after one of her chief noblemen to congratulate them upon it.

THIS glorious beginning, which, by a well-concerted counterplot, at once freed them from the hostile designs of the *Mohammedan* *Bahr-nagash*, opened a way to their troops through the territories of the *Adelite* monarch, and gave him and his subjects so early a proof of the *Portuguese* superior valour and policy, as excited a good number of young gentlemen in the viceroy's fleet to beg his leave to lift themselves as volunteers in this *Abissinian* expedition. To this he not only readily agreed, but begged of the patriarch *Bermudez* to admit into that number his own brother, the brave *Don Christopher de Gama*, and re-

Don
Christo-
pher de
Gama
made ge-
neral of
the Portu-
guese.

commended him as a proper person to command his little army under him; which was agreed to with no less readiness on that prelate's part. It consisted only of 400 men well armed, disciplined after the *European* manner, and some small artillery; but was considerably augmented by the number of these volunteers, and their servants and equipage, which proved of no small service in the process of this arduous enterprize, both against the opposing force of the *Adelites*, and in the assistance they lent in getting the artillery over a great number of rocky mountains and difficult passes; which either fell in their way, or which they were obliged to betake themselves to, to avoid the arms of the *Adelite* troops, which were every-where posted in the most advantageous passes in their way.

Arrival at Dewarwa. FOR the disconcerted king had no sooner recovered himself from his panic at his late surprize and defeat, than he collected all his forces, as well as those of his allies, resolving, at all hazards, to obstruct the passage of the little *Portuguese* army through his dominions into those of *Abissinia*. But whilst these preparations were making to stop their progress, the enemy had not only gained the city of *Dewarwa* †, belonging to the *Abissinians*, where the *Bahr-nagash*, who commanded in the province, had furnished them with plenty of provisions, carriages, and other conveniences for their march, by order of the empress, who was come thither to meet and accompany them; but had already proceeded about eight days journey through a very rough and rocky territory, which the king of *Adel* had lately conquered from the *Abissinians*, and were arrived at a fine spacious plain, full of christian inhabitants, who then groaning under a *Mohammedan* yoke, readily submitted to Don *Christopher*. He had not marched above three days through their territories, and encamped on a pleasant spot near a spring of fresh water, before they received a haughty message from the king of *Adel* (D), to enquire

* BERMUD. ubi sup.

† De hac vid. sup. p. 341.

(D) It will not be amiss to observe here, that *Tellez*, and those who have followed him (6), whether out of contempt, or why, we need not concern ourselves, constantly styles this brave warrior only general, or grand

vazier of the king of *Adel*, without ever naming his royal master, or once bringing him upon the stage (7). But we think we have a much better authority in the patriarch *Bermudez*; who, being at the head

(6) *Tellez*, *hiss. Ethiop. lib. ii. c. 8. p. 70* §§ 113, & seq. & al. pass.

(7) *Lado's* *hiss. Ethiop. lib. i. c. 16. n. 44. ut.* (A) *et alib. pass.*

enquire of them who they were, whither, and on what errand, Granha's bound, and to inform them that those Kingdoms, through *naughty* which they had passed, by his and his soldiers valour, and the *message to him* favour of his prophet *Mahomet*, were become his by right of conquest; but nevertheless, to tell them, that seeing they had presumed to penetrate so far, if they would consent to list into his service, they should not only be received as friends and allies, but be moreover enriched with lands, pensions and preferments, suitable to their respective stations; but if they refused his offers, he ordered them immediately to depart out of his dominions, otherwise they should be treated as invaders, and be all cut to pieces.

THE answer which Don *Christopher*, to whom the message *Gama's* was delivered, and who was made commander of that ex- *answer to* pedition by the patriarch, sent back to the *Adelite* king, *it* was such as became his birth and station, and expressed a singular contempt of that prince, as well as of his offers *and means* and threats; the import of which was, that he was a ge- *presents to him,* neral of the king of *Portugal's* forces, and was sent thither with express orders from him to restore the *Abissinian* empire to its pristine state, and to recover those kingdoms and provinces, which his invading arms had dismembered from it. This answer, joined to the contemptible presents he sent with it, whether to him or to his general *Grainhe* we cannot be certain, joined to the rich and sumptuous ones which he bestowed on the messenger, soon determined the *Moorish* king to come to a fierce engagement, in which he appeared at the head of 1000 horse, 5000 foot, besides 50 *Turkish* mus- *A fierce engagement be-* keteers, and the same numbers of archers. We shall not repeat here what we have elsewhere related concerning the

¶ De his vid. sup. vol. v. p. 226.

of this *Abissinian* expedition, directing almost every step of it, and being present at every encounter which *Gama*, and his *Portuguese*, had with that *Moorish* commander, must have been better acquainted with his quality, and on every occasion styles him king of *Adel*. And as a farther proof of his being really such, he tells us, that when he was killed, and his widow taken prisoner, the *Abissinian* emperor, willing to gratify the *Portuguese* general, who then commanded, with that beautiful princess, presented him with two of his tributary kingdoms, with the title and insignia of the regal dignity, to prevent her descending from her former dignity, as we have seen in the preceding chapter (8).

(8) See before, p. 242.

tavern
them, in
which
both are
wounded.

The Por-
tuguese
gain the
victory.

Reduced
provinces.

disposition, success, and other particulars of this action, in which both sides engaged with such fury, that both generals who fought foremost in it were wounded, but the *Moorish* the more dangerously of the two, having had his horse killed under him, and received a shot in his leg from a carbine aimed directly at him by one of the *Portuguese* marksmen *. This proved a lucky hit for the *Portuguese*, whose commander was likewise wounded in the leg, though not dismounted; for the *Moorish* army had then surrounded them so closely on all sides, and being all stout soldiers, and so much superior in number, would in all probability have cut them in pieces, had not the fall of their general, and his being obliged to retire to a neighbouring hill to have his wound dressed, joined to the enemies erecting a pavilion, and other ensigns of victory, on the field of battle, as if already gained, so far disconcerted them, that they immediately faced about and followed their commander. This is at least the account which a cousin-german of the *Abissinian* Bahr-nagash (but who upon the reduction of that province by the *Moors*, had apostatized to *Mohammedism*) gave to the patriarch and *Portuguese* general, upon his coming to congratulate them on the next day upon their signal victory, and unexpected success.

THIS person having first given them some evident tokens of his penitence and earnest desire of being again received into the church, engaged for himself, and all that were under his government, that they should henceforward renounce *Mohammedism*, and pay the same tribute to their lawful prince, as they did to their *Moorish* conqueror; after which he went immediately to his own territory, whence he sent them a plentiful supply of cattle and other provisions: and indeed, as he had been made governor of all the great tract of ground by the conquering *Moor*, and had been base enough to renounce his Christianity, it was the least he could do, or engage, to prevent the fatal effects of military execution, and avoid the punishment, which his apostacy and ill example to his subjects justly deserved. But the *Portuguese* were the more ready to agree to his own offers; as there was a kind of famine reigning through all the country, and their camp had already felt the effects of it so far, that it being then the season of Lent, they had been obliged to obtain a dispensation from the patriarch for eating of flesh, and even to kill some of their beasts of burthen, to subsist;

* Ibid. p. 226, & seq. vid. & BERMUD. TELLEZ. & al. sup. citat.

and

and must have been obliged to ravage the country for sustenance, had not that nobleman's relief come so seasonably into their hands⁷.

LENT was scarcely over, and the two chief commanders cured of their wounds, before *Graigna* sent a fresh message to *Don Christopher*, advising him to get himself in readiness, for that he designed to pay him a visit sooner than he expected. He did so accordingly; but at the head of a superior force than he had before, and with the very flower of his horse and foot, which amounted to double their former number. At the first sight of it, the frightened empress would have gladly left the *Portuguese* camp, and fled to some place of safety; and had prevailed upon the patriarch to accompany her, but *Don Christopher*, who foresaw that his flight would not fail of disheartening his small army, obliged him to return, and be at hand to give them his blessing before they engaged.

ON the next morning by break of day both armies began their march, and met on a plain, where the *Moors* gave the first attack, having first surrounded that of the *Portuguese* on every side. The onset was carried on with great fury on both sides; but the fire of the *Portuguese* artillery gave the enemy so warm a repulse, that, not being used to it, they quickly gave way, and were no less annoyed in their retreat; for the *Portuguese* had taken care, before the armies engaged, to strew the ground with a good quantity of gunpowder in the highways and lanes through which they retired, with a train to each, to set it on fire; so that a great number of those poor wretches had their legs and feet terribly scorched and burned, the slight cotton garments about their middle set on fire, their breath stifled by the smoke and stench, and being wholly ignorant of the cause, imputed the dire effect to some infernal power, which helped to complete their disconcertment; especially, if we add the joint and equally surprising annoyance of the enemies hand-grenadoes and fire-pots, which still continued to make a most terrible havock amongst them. By all these means, the field of battle was soon covered with dead and wounded, horses as well as men; whilst the continual discharge of the *Moorish* fire-arms, and all the volleys of their arrows, had done no other execution on the enemy, than the killing about 20 of their men, among whom was their head commander. At length both horse and foot gave way, *Granhe* forced to retreat to a neighbouring hill, followed by them, and

*A fresh
engage-
ment soon
after.*

*The Moors
sadly bar-
raged by
the ene-
mies vari-
ous fires.*

⁷ Idem, *ibid.*

A a 4

once

once more left the enemy in possession of the field of battle, and saw himself obliged to abandon his noble camp, being forced to fly with such precipitation from their pursuers, that they had no time nor heart to secure any of their baggage, provisions, or rich furniture; insomuch, that finding it impossible, in spite of their utmost efforts, to overtake them, they returned, and fell a plundering of their richest tents, in which they found a very considerable spoil, in utensils; cloaths, furniture, money, ammunition and provisions. And it is on occasion of this fresh defeat, that he is reported to have palliated his disgrace and precipitate flight, by saying, that the *Portuguese* fought not like men, but like incarnate devils^a.

with great
loss.

He had indeed in this last defeat lost to great a number of men and horses (for besides those that were killed of the latter in the field of battle, a great number of them, scared by the fire, and the noise of the enemies artillery, had overthrown their riders, ran wild over the plain, and into the neighbouring woods, where they were lost) that he was obliged to apply to the grand signor, to whom he paid a kind of homage and small tribute, for a fresh supply of both; and the more effectually to obtain it, he sent a very considerable quantity of gold to the Porte, and another to *Zebid* the *basha*, who then commanded in the neighbouring government. Whilst this was transacting, he kept himself encamped on an advantageous hill, with the broken remains of his army; whilst the *Portuguese*, to avoid being surprized by him, with much difficulty gained the top of a very rocky and almost inaccessible mountain, on which they found a spacious plain, and there fortified their small camp^a.

Sends to
the Porte
for a sup-
ply.

Prepares
to re-en-
gage the
enemy.

No sooner had the *Adelite* king received the desired reinforcement from *Zebid*, consisting of 600 *Türks*, and 200 *Moors* on horseback, some say 1000 arquebusiers, and 10 pieces of field cannon^b, than he resolved at all hazards to attack the enemies intrenchments; whilst *Don Christopher*, who did not then think that situation safe enough, was gone at the head of a detachment to take possession of another and higher mountain, inhabited by *Jews*, and guarded by a *Moorish* garrison of 150 men, commanded by an officer of the *Adelite* king. Him *Don Christopher* attacked and defeated; killed 60 of his men, took 30 of his horses, and some prisoners, and put the rest to flight. He was, however, soon

^a BERMUDEZ, ub. sup. TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, vid. & sup. p. 228, & seq.

^b See before, ibid & seq. VINCENT LE BLANC, & al.

^c See DAVITY and his authors.

obliged

obliged to go back to the assistance of the rest of his army, who ^{sends them} sent him word of the approach of that of the *Moors*, who ^{notice of} were already encamped at the foot of that high mountain, ^{it.}

HERE *Grainbe* sent one of his officers in the disguise of a pedlar, loaden with beads and other trinkets, to tell that general, that his master would not fail to be with him in two or three days, with much more valuable wares. The man being seized by some of the *Portuguese* vanguard, was *Don Christ* stripped of all his load, and delivered his master's message; *topher's* and this occasioned *Don Christopher's* being sent for with all ^{fatal pride} speed. At his arrival, a proposal was made in council, ^{and de-} and approved by much the greater majority, of surprising the ^{feat.} *Moorish* camp in the dead of night, as the only expedient they had left to get out of their territories, and to save their handful of men against so superior a force. But that young warrior, scorning to take such a dishonourable advantage against an enemy, who never yet had attacked him without sending some previous notice of his coming, peremptorily refused to fall on him till break of day, which, though greatly against their will, they were forced to comply with. The consequence of which was their total defeat, and the loss of their brave commander; who being desperately wounded, and soon after discovered and taken by the *Moors*, was brought to their camp; where *Grainbe*, having, in vain, ^{Put to} tempted him to apostatize, both by vast promises on the one ^{death by} hand, and cruel indignities on the other, of which we have ^{Grainbe,} given a full account in the *Abissinian* history, being at length enraged at his surprising constancy and singular valour, caused him to be conducted to the field of battle, and there to be beheaded in the manner we have before related*. There the reader will also find a fuller account of that battle, and of the defeat of the *Portuguese*, as well as of the dreadful difficulties and perplexities they were obliged to undergo, before their small remainder got safe into the *Abissinian* dominions; *Grainbe* and his *Moors* following and harassing them all the way; *Bermudez* says, as far as the *Nile*, near the place where it falls into the lake *Dambee*†. Pursues It was not long after this that they were met by the young ^{the Portu-} *Abissinian* emperor, who gave them a most gracious reception, and with their assistance resolved to recover some of the provinces, which *Grainbe* had conquered from him; who, on his part, had taken all proper precautions to make a most vigorous opposition, and lay encamped on a spacious plain, having a very high and difficult mountain between him and

* See before, p. 233, & seq. & ant. sup. citat.
vid. sup. p. 37, & seq. 100, & seq.

† De hoc

forming a
bloody
stratagem
against
them.

the *Abissinian* army, whose passes he did not think worth guarding against them, but trusted to a stratagem, which he thought would do more execution among them than his *Moors*. Accordingly the *Portuguese* and *Abissines*, having with great difficulty gained the top of the mountain, were not a little surprized to find it altogether abandoned of its inhabitants, and that to all appearance with such precipitation, as to leave a great quantity of provisions, and particularly of wine. But, to their great surprize, they found them all poisoned; and it was happy for them, that the effects of it were so soon felt as to give timely warning to the rest; for as many of them as had ventured upon them, died so quickly after, that the rest fell immediately on breaking all the wine vessels in pieces, and destroying the other victuals.

Comes in
full sight
of them.

HERE finding a proper place to encamp, they made a short halt after their laborious ascent, which had taken up a whole day; and on the next morning they were no sooner got to the opposite brow, than they were in full view of the *Moorish* army, which had by that time advanced to the foot of it, and were both within hearing of each other's clamorous threatnings and shouts, those in particular which came from the *Moorish* camp, were, as is usual among them, of the most vapouring and deterring kind, importing no less than the utter extirpation of the imperial army, and its foreign auxiliaries, the impaling alive of the *Portuguese* patriarch, and the castration of the young emperor, in order to qualify him for one of the eunuchs in *Grainhe's* court.

Histthreat-
ing words
against
them and
the em-
peror.

THESE menaces so far intimidated that young prince and his pusillanimous soldiers, that they would gladly have avoided attacking the enemy; but were in some measure forced to follow them down the mountain, for fear of being abandoned by them. On the other hand, *Grainhe* no sooner observed them approaching, than he appeared at the head of his army, accoutred cap-a-pie, and mounted on a stately white horse, with a *Turk* on each side, directing his march against them. The *Portuguese* who led the van, suffered him to advance towards them, till he was near enough to be within musket-shot; when one of their expertest marksmen fired at him, and brought him down dead off his horse, to the great surprize and terror of his *Moorish* troops. His two *Turks* were likewise killed by some fresh shot; and the next discharge, which was a general one, made so terrible an execution among them, that the whole *Moorish* army was quickly thrown into the utmost confusion: so that between

Marches
against
them:

is slain by
a markf-
man.

† BERMUDEZ, TELLEZ, &c. al. sup. citat.

those

those who ran away from, and those who still pushed forwards towards, the enemy, they only opposed each other; whilst the *Portuguese*, following their advantage, made still a greater havock, and increased the disorder amongst them.

AND now it was that the *Abissine* troops, which had stood aloof off, ventured to fall upon the disconcerted *Moors*, and helped their brave auxiliaries to gain a complete victory over them. Both the field of battle and the camp were quickly abandoned by *Turks* and *Moors*, and plundered of all its wealth, and plenty of provisions, by the victors; as was soon after the whole province of *Dembea*, from which they likewise brought away the richest spoils, and a great number of prisoners, both *Turks* and *Moors*, and among the latter the son of the king of *Adel*, as we have elsewhere shewn; his queen narrowly escaping being of that number, by retiring into the province of *Dagaa*. After this successful action, the young emperor was easily induced to pursue his good fortune, and reduce several other rich kingdoms, which the king of *Adel* had conquered from him; all which, by the assistance of *European* auxiliaries, and the great dread which their surprising victories had spread through the whole empire, was completed to his wish, with no less facility than speed; but for which we shall refer our readers to the account we have already given of it in the *Abissinian* history.

BUT, whilst they were thus successfully employed, they received a message from the new king of *Adel*, or, as *Bermudez* styles him †, king of *Aden*, a firm ally of the late king of *Aden's* *Grainhe*, and as zealous a *Mohammedan*, which was likely to have put a stop to their progress. It was directed to the young emperor, and imported that he should not be too much elated at his late defeat of the king of *Adel*, for that he would find in him a successor both able and willing to repair his losses, and revenge his death; assuring him, at the same time, that he would not fail paying him a warm and speedy visit. This obliged the young monarch to give him the meeting, and, if possible, to be before-hand with him; and accordingly he ordered his army, preceded by his *Portuguese* vanguard, to march against him with all diligence, in order to surprize and fall upon him when he least expected it. There being a large river between them, they spent the whole night in crossing it; the horse by swimming, and the rest by the help of pontons, which they quickly made of the hides of their oxen, which were slayed for that purpose, and drawn backwards and forwards by ropes; all which was performed

† See before, p. 239, & auct. sup. citat.

‡ Ibid. p. 242,

& seq. † See the foregoing note (D), p. 372.

with

with such expedition and secrecy, that they were able to attack the enemy by the next morning, long before day-break. The king of *Aden*, surprised beyond measure at their unexpected approach, was one of the foremost to head his *Turks* and *Moors* against them; but was shot to death on the very first onset, probably by the same way as the *Adel* king, if not by the same hand. A bloody action ensued, in which there were many lives lost on both sides; and the young *Abissinian* emperor received a wound, and was in no small danger of losing his life, through the confusion and disorder that reigned in both armies, and the difficulty of distinguishing objects at that early hour. All that needs be added to what we have said heretofore on the subject of this action, is that the *Moorish* army were no sooner apprised of the king of *Aden's* death, than they betook themselves to a hasty flight, in which fresh numbers were slain by the fire of the pursuing *Portuguese*, who, among other prisoners of note, brought away the lady *Diana Ambura*, widow to the late king of *Adel*, or *Aden*, who quickly after turned Christian, and was married to a *Portuguese* chief, as we have formerly shewn^a.

The Moors
defeated
and routed.

AFTER this fresh victory, the *Portuguese*, whose name was become terrible all over those parts, and who had, by this time, so greatly improved the *Abissinian* soldiery in the art of war, had a fair opportunity to have established the emperor in all his dismembered dominions, and to have helped him to suppress, if not extirpate, all his invading enemies round about, had that been the main end and design of their and the patriarch's commission: whereas their order was to oblige the young monarch to make an open submission of himself, church, and people, to the see of *Rome*; a step which they now found him absolutely determined to ward off, as long as he could, by any means, and to amuse them, by fair promises and delays, till they had put him in a condition to give them an absolute denial. And hence arose that irreconcilable breach between them, which deprived him of all further assistance, and exposed him afresh to the attempts of the *Mohammedan* princes above-mentioned, as well as to the fresh inroads of the rebellious *Gallas*, *Gafates*, and other barbarous nations, within and about his dominions¹. But what hostilities ensued after this epocha, between the two former kingdoms and the *Abissinian* empire, or what other wars they waged against any other state, is as much beyond our power to guess, as it is to give any other particulars of their history. Could we indeed

^a See before, p. 242, & seq. & auct. sup. citat.
vid. sup. p. 39, & seq.

¹ De his

rely

rely on the report which some *Abissinians*, who were at *Rome* *an.* 1620, made to the pope and college, their master had, by that time, lately reconquered the greatest part of the *Adelito*-kingdom; and reduced the prince to so low a condition, that they were no longer in danger of him ^k. But it is too plain that they represented matters rather as suited with their interest, than as they really were; their business was to encourage his holiness, and other *European* powers, to send thither a strong supply of men and other assistance, in order to dispossess the *Mahammedans* of their conquests on that coast, that they might open a free commerce to the Christians into their empire, by representing that enterprize as easy and half completed; and to avoid saying any thing that might justify their delay and apparent reluctance to it.

HOWEVER that be, as the fatal breach between their emperor and the patriarch and his *Portuguese*, ended in the total expulsion of the *Portuguese*, from whom alone we have all this intelligence, out of the empire, and the shutting up all avenues into it against all the *Europeans*, with the utmost care and precaution; all further correspondence with those parts hath been so effectually stopped, that we have been ever since wholly in the dark about what is transacted in them. Only thus much we may add, with respect to the kings of *Adel* and *Aden*, and the *Turkish* *basna*, who commands along the coasts of the *Red Sea*, that the *Abissinian* monarchs have been obliged to pay them a kind of pension, in order to keep them more vigilant and severe against all strangers, who shall attempt to penetrate into any part of that empire, in any disguise, or under any pretence. In all which they have shewn themselves the more strict and careful, as they receive the same express commands from the grand signor, whose tributaries they are and under his protection. Those of *Adel* in particular have been, for a long time, in high favour at the Porte, and dignified with the title of saints, on account of, and as an encouragement to, their singular zeal, and frequent wars against the Christians. But that specious title hath not been able to save them from being stripped, by these sultans, of their most considerable ports and maritime towns on the *Red Sea*, and being confined by degrees, and closely shut up in the inland. So that they have now no port left in that kingdom, except that of *Zeila*, the rest being all in the hands of the *Turks*^l: by which means they not only keep the kings of *Adel* closely shut up on that side, but look up all

^k Lettres de COREAL, DAVITY Afric.

^l RAMUSES, FIGAFET, MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. sup. citat.

possible intelligence from coming from thence into *Europe*, but likewise all avenues through all those coasts into *Abissinia*, against the attempts of the *Roman* missionaries to re-enter into that empire. Here, therefore, we must be obliged to conclude our *Adelite* history, and shall only add a remark or two from what hath been said hitherto; *viz.* That the kings of *Adel* appear to have been the most powerful and formidable of all that belong to the territory of *Ajan*; seeing they could engage not only all the other princes of it into their wars against the *Abissinian* empire, but even to draw into their alliance the king of *Aden*, though situate at a greater distance, and on the opposite shore of the streights or gulph of *Babel-mandel* (E). But the main tie that unites all these inferior kingdoms so closely into one interest, is their religion, which, as we observed a little higher, being either *Mohammedism* or *Bedowism*, both equally averse to every branch of Christianity, must equally inspire each with a hostile zeal against so potent and extensive an empire as that of *Abissinia*, whose monarchs have been so long famed for their strict and firm adherence to their church, as well as from their equal zeal against idolatry and *Mohammedism*.

ADD to this, that the *Ottoman* court, under whose protection they live, is no less concerned, as well from motives of policy as religion, to suppress, as much as they can, the power and grandeur of the *Abissinian* monarchs; having, for that end, seized on all the sea-ports on that coast, and thereby shut up all these *Moorish* princes, their vassals, within their inland territories; not only encourage but oblige them to be continually at war with that empire, by furnishing them with all the necessary supplies of men, artillery, fire and other arms, and ammunition, without which, it would be next to impossible to stand out long against them, there being no way left for them to procure them by any other means.

(E) Having had occasion to mention that king as a zealous ally to that of *Adel* against the *Abissinians*, tho' situate in *Arabia Felix*, and separated from this by the gulph above-mentioned, it might not be deemed amiss to give our readers some farther account of that kingdom as we go along, tho' out of the limits of the *Ajanic* tract we are upon: especially as all the account we find concerning it in our *Arabic* and

other authors, is too inconsiderable to be made into a separate article, it chiefly relating to its famed ancient metropolis and mart, as well as its present state. But these and other curious particulars have been so amply described in our *Ancient History of Arabia Felix* (9), from the celebrated voyages of Mr. *La Roque*, into *Arabia Felix*, that we cannot add any thing more to it.

(9) See *Ant. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 357, et seq.

C H A P. VI.

S E C T. I.

The History of the Kingdom of Magadoxa, and the Republic of Brava ; with an Account of the fabulous Kingdom of Adea.

THE next considerable kingdom along these coasts of *Ajan*, is that of *Magadoxa*, or, as it is indifferently spelt, *The kingdom of* by other geographers, *Madagoxa*, and *Magadocho*, is contiguous to that of *Adel*, extending itself, according to our latest maps, from 5 degr. 40 min. of north latitude quite to the equinox, where the river or gulph *Jubo* divides the coast from that of *Zanguebar*, as that of *Magadoxa* doth from those of *Adel*^a. But how far it extends itself inwards, or west, is but mere conjecture ; though the generality of geographers scruple not to adjust its limits in their maps, on that side, rather as their fancy leads them, than upon any probable foundation. It hath its name from its capital, situate on a large bay, formed by the mouth of the river of the same name, which, we are told, is called by the *Arabs* the *Nile of Magadoxow*, by reason of its annual overflowing, like that of *Egypt*. *Its situation, length, &c.*

SOME authors tell us it has its spring head as far as the mountains of the kingdom of *Machidas* : others bring it down as high as from the *Mountains of the Moon*^b. The truth is, we are so little acquainted with those inland countries, that its head is as much unknown to us, as that of the *Nile* formerly was*. However that be, we cannot but suppose its course to be a very long one, though not, perhaps, so winding as the other, not only by its considerable chanel, which forms a large convenient bay a little below the capital, but likewise from its regular and extensive inundations, which fertilise that whole country to such a degree, by the numberless canals which are cut from it, that it produces a great quantity of wheat and barley, variety of fruits, and breeds great numbers of horses, oxen, sheep, and other animals, wild and tame. *Soil and produce.*

THE city of *Magadoxa* is a place of great commerce, and vast resort from the kingdoms of *Aden*, *Camboya*, and other parts ; whence their merchants bring cotton, silk, and

^a SANUT. *Afric. lib. ii. c. 12.* DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

^b D'HERBELOT, *Bibliot. Orient.*

* See *Anc. Hist. vol. i.*

Religion
and Go-
vernment.

other cloaths, spices, and variety of drugs, which they exchange with the inhabitants for gold, ivory, wax and other commodities^c. It is chiefly inhabited by *Mohammedans*, who came and settled there in the time of the khalifs^d. The rest of the inhabitants, for the most part, are become of the same religion; though there are yet a great number of *Bedouin Arabs*, who still follow their old heathenish superstitions; and further in the inlands a still greater, who are *Abissine* Christians, subject or tributary to that empire.

THE king and his court are *Mohammedans*; and yet are affirmed by some to be likewise tributary to it, and by others to be continually at war with it. However that be, his subjects, of what extract soever (for some of them are white, others tawny and olive, and others quite black) all speak the *Arabic* tongue: they are stout and warlike, and, among other weapons, use poisoned arrows and lances^e.

Cugna
the Por-
tuguese
admiral's
attempt
against
Maga-
doxa.

THE only remarkable piece of history we meet with concerning this kingdom, is the hostile attempt which the *Portuguese* fleet made upon its metropolis, under the command of admiral *Tristan de Cugna*, as he sailed along these coasts in his way to the *Indies*. He had already reduced several maritime places, some to tribute, and others to ashes, particularly the city of *Brava*, of which we shall speak in the next section, which he caused to be plundered and burnt, and had proceeded as far as this city of *Magadoxa*, which he caused to be summoned, as usual, to accept of peace and friendship, that is, in plainer terms, of subjection and tribute to *Portugal*. But here he found the inhabitants ready prepared to give him a suitable reception; great numbers of foot and cuirassiers were patrolling along the shore; the walls were covered with armed men, and a considerable body of troops were drawn up before the town, which made *Contingo*, the officer sent with the summons, afraid of going on shore; instead of which, he dispatched one of the *Bravan* captives to assure the *Magadoxans* that the *Portuguese* came not to denounce war, but to offer peace to them. But they, knowing what dreadful execution had been made at the city of *Brava*, fell furiously upon the messenger, and tore him in pieces; and threatened to serve *Contingo* in the same way, if he offered to land; which obliged him to return to his admiral, and acquaint him with his ill success, and the insolent menaces of the enemy. *Cugna*, upon this, was resolving, in a great rage, to bombard and storm the place, but was happily di-

Is bravely
repulsed.
)

^c RAMUS. DAVITY, & al. ub. sup. ^d D'HERBELOT, ubi sup.

^e SANUT, DAVITY, OSOR. Portug. conq. vol. i. & al. ub. sup.

verted from his bloody design, by the persuasion of his officers and pilots ; the former of whom representing to him the natural strength of the place, numerousness of the garrison, plenty of ammunition, and the valour and resolution of the inhabitants ; and the others, the extreme danger of the ships, both from the fire of the town, and boisterousness of the sea, especially as winter was then coming on, and the season for sailing nearly expired ; so that, if his troops should miscarry in their attempt against the place, their fleet and army must inevitably perish : upon which he gave immediate orders for sailing to the island of *Socotora*, where he arrived soon after with all his ships, leaving the brave *Magadoxans* to rejoice at their deliverance. This is the account which their countryman, *Ossorio*, bishop of *Sylves*, gives of this transaction^f ; from which we may conclude, that this kingdom cannot be tributary to *Abissinia*, as some pretend ; seeing if it had been so, neither would the *Portuguese* have attempted its metropolis in that hostile manner, nor the inhabitants have repulsed them with such noble resentment.

S E C T. II.

The Republic of Brava.

WITHIN the kingdom of *Magadoxa*, and on the southern verge of it, was formerly founded this republican *Republic of Brava*, state, the only one we know of that kind in all *Africa*, by seven *Arabian* brethren, who fled hither from the tyranny of their king *Lacab*, one of the petty monarchs of *Arabia Felix*. Here they found a most convenient and delightful situation on the same coast, being bounded on each side by a river ; upon which account *Sanut* affirms it to be an island^{*} ; and properly enough might he have styled it such, if the two rivers, which bound it on each side, were really no other than two branches of the *Kilmanci*, as some affirm, though at random[‡], as we think ; that river running a quite contrary way out, far enough from this coast, as we have lately shewn. However that be, whether they be two distinct rivers, or only branches of one, it is likely that this republic doth not extend itself far into the inland ; its chief dependance being on the great commerce of its capital of the same name, which is conveniently situated on a bay, formed by the

^f OSSOR. conq. Port. vol. i. p. 286, & seq. Eng. edit, * Ubi sup.

[‡] RAMUS. vol. xiii. 3d edit. LA CROIX' Afric. part iii. sect. 10.

Situation. mouth of the northern branch of that river, about the distance of one degree, according to our newest maps, from the equator.

Capital. THIS city, the only one we know belonging to this republic, is large and well peopled, chiefly by rich merchants, the descendants of the seven *Arabs* lately mentioned, whose main traffic consists in gold, silver, silk, cotton, and other clothes, elephants teeth, gums, and other drugs, particularly amber-

Vast pieces of amber-grise. grise, with which this coast abounds; and, if we may credit our authors^b, some pieces have been found here of such extraordinary bigness, that if a man stood on one side, he could not see a camel that stood on the other. The houses

Great Commerce. here are large and well built, after the *Moresco* stile, and the town strong and well fortified, and accounted one of the most celebrated and frequented marts in the whole *Habessin* coast. Both the city and republic is governed by 12 cheiks, or magistrates, chosen (but whether annually, or how, we are not told) out of the principal families of their seven

Government. founders above-mentioned, and to whom the administration of justice and the management of all public affairs is committed. The people are mostly *Mohammedans*, but under

Religion. the protection of the kings of *Portugal*, to whom they annually pay a small tribute of 500 mittigates, amounting to about 400 *French livres*ⁱ. This, however, they did not submit to, till after they had undergone a severe execution from

Tributary to Portugal. the *Portuguese* fleet, bound for *India*, of which the same bishop, *Ossorio*, gives us the following account^k: *Trifran de Cugna*, admiral of that fleet, having set on shore at *Melinda* three ambassadors, sent by king *Emanuel* to the emperor of *Abissinia*, and recommended them to the care and protection of the king of it, continued his course northward

Cugna's attempt against Brava. along the coast, till he came to the city of *Brava* (situate about 200 leagues from that of *Melinda*), and cast anchor at the port. Here he dispatched, according to the *Portuguese* custom, one of his officers, named *Lionel Codingo*, to wait on the heads of the republic, and offer them peace, and the friendship and alliance of the king his master. To this the cheiks answered, that they had no objection against entering into such a treaty: but, says our author, this was only a piece of dissimulation, calculated to detain our people; the season being then almost at hand, when such boisterous winds usually blew in these parts, as would dash in pieces all their

^b TEXEIRA, RAMUS. DAVITY, LA CROIX, & al. sup. cit. DAPPER *Afric.* ⁱ Id. ub. sup. ^k OSSOR. *hist. Port. conq.* Eng. edit. vol. i. p. 285, & seq.

ships, even in the very harbour. *Cugna*, having discovered this artifice, resolved immediately to assault the city; and, before day-break, had drawn up his men on the shore, and formed them into two lines, the first whereof consisted of 600 men, the command of which he gave to *Alphonso Albuquerque*, whilst he reserved to himself the command of the others, which consisted of about 600 soldiers.

*Causes it
be assault-
ed, plun-
dered, and
burnt.*

B R A V A was then garrisoned by 4000 men, half of whom immediately sallied out against them. The conflict was severe on both sides; but the *Portuguese* charged them with such fury, that they found themselves obliged to give ground, yet made a very regular retreat into the city; after which the gates were shut up against the enemy. These immediately surrounded the place, examining, with the utmost diligence, where they could best force an entrance; but were all that time terribly annoyed from within with burning torches, and other missile weapons. In the mean time, *Albuquerque*, having discovered a weak part in the wall, began his attack there; but was quickly opposed by the besieged, who flocked thither with all speed, and defended it with surprizing intrepidity. The contest was kept up with very great fury on both sides; when, luckily for *Albuquerque*, the admiral came up, at whose approach the *Moors* were struck with such a panic, that they fled with the greatest precipitation; whilst the *Portuguese* soldiers, eager for their prey, would have pursued them into the city, but were restrained by their commanders. The city was presently after entered, and plundered of a vast and valuable booty, which was conveyed on board their ships. Great numbers of the besieged were slain and wounded, and many of them taken prisoners, but most of these were released quickly after. The *Portuguese* had about 50 of their men killed, and many dangerously wounded, besides eighteen others who perished in the long-boat, which, through their insatiable avarice, they had loaded so immoderately, that it overfet with them, Nay, such and so enormous was the inhumanity of the *Portuguese* soldiers and sailors, and their eagerness after spoil, that they cut off the arms of seven women, to come at their rings and bracelets the more readily. But *Cugna*, having severely punished the authors of this cruelty, thereby deterred the rest from the like barbarity. The city being thus plundered, *Cugna* ordered it to be set on fire; and it was quickly reduced to ashes, in sight of the inhabitants, who stood at a small distance, beholding the dismal spectacle. Thus far *Offorio's* account of the catastrophe of this capital; which, by what appears in the sequel, was forced to become tribu-

*Cruelties
committed
by the Por-
tuguese.*

tary to its destroyers, before it could recover its pristine grandeur and liberties. But when, how, and by what means, those noble *Bravans* were brought to submit to those harsh terms, we can no-where find: for *Cugna*, having set it in flames, is said to have sailed immediately to *Magadoxa*, upon the same errand as we have shewn in the last section.

S E C T. III.

A Confutation of the pretended Kingdom of Adea.

The kingdom of Adea imaginary;

THE generality of geographers unanimously add a third kingdom, which they call *Adea*, upon this coast of *Ajan*, or *Habash*, and commonly place it, with its pretended capital of the same name, between those of *Adel* and *Magadoxa*; whilst some make this last to be a part of it, and the name of its capital; though *Barraboa* be said to be the chief place of the king's residence^a: which word is of *Portuguese* extract, and signifies *a good coast*, situated between the two branches of the *Kilmanzi*. They add, that, though a *Mohammedan*, he is tributary to the negut, or emperor, of *Abissinia*. One of them in particular not only affirms positively that there is such a kingdom, and situated and subject as above, but is more explicit in his description of it than the rest^b.

and mistaken for the tract of Ajan.

THE chief cities belonging to it, according to him, or according to *Sanfon's* maps, by which he steers, are *Zachet*, *Orgabra*, *Baraboa*, *Quilmunca*, seated at the mouth of the river of that name; the lake and isle of *Monks*, situate more towards the north; *Hugel* and *Bandel*, situate on the coast; *Magadoxa*, a large city, formerly taken and plundered by the *Portuguese*, the metropolis of the whole kingdom of *Adea*, and the residence of the kings of it; having a large haven, and a fortress at the mouth of the river of its name, &c. He then goes on, describing its great concourse of merchants, commerce, inhabitants, and religion, in the same manner which we have done, in the second section of this chapter, and proceeds to the city and republic of *Brava*, which he places between *Magadoxa* and *Barraboa*, and describes as we have done in other respects. He quotes likewise abundance of authors for what he writes, more particularly *Sanfon*

^a De his, vid. RAMUS. ubi sup. p. 249. 3d edit. LA MARTINIERE, sub voc. Adea. LA CROIX Afric. part vi. cap. 9. sect. 10. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. ^b LUYTS's introduct. ad geogr. p. 608. and

and *Robe*; but, upon the whole, he seems to have confounded the greatest part of this territory of *Ajan* into one kingdom, under the name of *Adea*.

ANOTHER author, already quoted ^c, adds, from some of the authors quoted by *Luyts*, another city, a little above the port of *Kilmanci*, which, he says, is called *Oby*, and gives its name to that river from thence upwards. He mentions also the lordship of *Granza*, situate more towards the inland, and contiguous to the kingdoms of *Ogia*, *Xoa*, and *Goraga*; that is, as we more properly write it, *Ogge*, *Xaoa*, and *Guragna*, belonging to the *Abissinian* empire, but all of them at an immense distance from these coasts; and yet this author makes it reach to them, and to the sea-port of *Barraboa*, adds another, called in the same language, *Barramaa*, or the *bad coast*. This he places at the mouth of another river, which he names *Sabala*, and whose coast is difficult of access. Lastly, he tells us that this *Adean* kingdom extends itself westward to that of *Agaboa*; which still more confirms us, that he, as well as those other authors we have mentioned before, confounded the large tract of *Ajan* with this imaginary one of *Adea*, who have bounded, divided, and described it, according to the best memoirs they had; and, where those failed, have supplied the rest according to their fancy.

IF it be asked, why we insert such a long descant on a *Remarks* kingdom which exists only in geographical books, and maps *on the in-* inaccurately concerted? we answer, that, though it doth not *accuracy* exist under the name and title they have given to it, yet it *of some* doth really so, at least for the greatest part, under the description *authors.* we have given of the territory of *Ajan*, at the beginning of this chapter. But besides all this, our readers will be the better able to judge of the origin of this mistake, from what a learned author, well acquainted with those parts, hath published about it ^d, in these words: *The inhabitants of the kingdom of Cambat call themselves Seb-a-hadja, or Hadians: hence it is, that Adea, or Hadea, is inserted in maps for a kingdom. Adea far from this coast.* It is the last kingdom belonging to *Abissinia* on the south, and not far distant from that of *Enarea*. The king of it is a *Christian*, and his subjects partly the same, and partly *Mohammedans* and *Pagans*. Accordingly, the said author hath observed the same thing in his map of *Ethiopia*, where, under the word *Cambat*, he adds, *Cujus incolæ vocantur Seb-a-Hedya, male Adea*. And that not without good reason, see-

^c LA CROIX, ub. sup.
6. 3. p. 13.

^d LUDOLPH, hist. Ethiop. l. i.

ing it is several hundreds of miles from *Magadoxa*, and the coast of *Ajan*. This may serve to shew the danger of following authors, though ever so unanimous, in subjects of this nature, too implicitly; seeing they only copy one another's errors, which it should have been their study and business to discover and correct. Thus we meet likewise with the name of the city of *Adea* on the coast of *Zanguebar*, which the author^e styles one of the most celebrated in all *Africa*; though, for aught we can find, it hath no better foundation than the imaginary kingdom we have been speaking of. Here, therefore, we shall conclude this chapter, without ven-

*The inland
still more
unknown.*

turing to penetrate farther into the inland kingdoms; for if our knowledge of the coasts, the most obvious and frequented by *Europeans*, is so small and precarious, we doubt not being dispensed with by our readers from giving a worse description of this extensive nature, of wild countries and kingdoms, concerning which we cannot inform them of any thing with the least tolerable certainty. Those whose curiosity cannot be confined within these rules, may have recourse to a sufficient variety of maps and geographical books, to answer their purpose; whilst we closely pursue our own, of inserting nothing here without sufficient authority.

C H A P. VII.

The History of the principal Kingdoms on the Coast of Zanguebar.

*The coast
of Zan-
guebar;*

*whence so
called.*

THIS coast, supposed the *Agisimba* of *Ptolemy*, is, by the *Arabs*, called *Zanguebar*, and corruptly, by *M. Paulo the Venetian*, *Zengobar*, from the *Arabic* word *Zengue*, or *Zengui*, or, as *Leo Africanus* writes it, page 5. *Zahangi*; which word signifies black or negro; so that the word *Zanguebar* properly imports the coast of the Blacks, or Negroes; all its inhabitants being of that colour, and having curled or woolly hair. Its northern boundary is variously fixed by authors; by some, at the mouth of the river *Kilmanci*, or *Quillmanci*^a, of which we shall speak in the sequel; and others^b as high as the cape of *Guardafui*, in the kingdom of *Adel*, mentioned in the foregoing chapter; by which he would seem to comprehend all the other long

^a BAUDRAND Dict. sub. voc.
ub. sup. p. 386.

^a SANUT, lib. xii. RAMUS.
^b MARMOL. Afric. l. c.

tract

tract of *Ajan* under the same general name. Whereas we have there observed its inhabitants were a mixture of white, tawny, and olive, till we come almost under the equator, where, therefore, we have fixed the boundaries between them with greater reason, as well as from better authority; this coast being much better known than it was in the time of *Sanut*, and other authors above quoted: and we find it now fixed between the river and kingdom of *Jubo*, about half a degree above the equinoctial line, to the kingdom of *Mauruca*, or river of *Fernao Velozo*, according to *D'Anville*, scarcely known in other maps, or that more considerable one of *Cuama*, the boundary of that kingdom, according to *Dapper* and others.

ACCORDING to this dimension the coast of *Zanguebar* will contain the following kingdoms, rivers, bays, and other remarkable places, as the reader will find them ranged in *D'Anville's* map, agreeably to the latest discoveries. 1. The kingdom and river of *Jubo*. 2. The kingdom of the *Abasquas*. 3. The bay of *Fernosa*. 4. The kingdom of *Sio*. 5. *Ampata*. 6. The river of *Lamo*. 7. The kingdom and city of *Melinda*. 8. The town or fort of *Quilmanca*. 9. The river and kingdom of *Quilifo*. 10. *Amaxambas de Motuapa*, a town. 11. The river of *Monbaca*. 12. *Ancinche*. 13. Of *Langan*. 14. The country of *Maraugalo*. 15. Of *Atundo*. 16. The territory of *Rafade*. 17, 18, 19. The rivers called *Los tres Hermanos*, or three Brethren. 20. *Cabo falso*, or the deceitful Cape. 21. The river of *Enabo*, or *Cuavo*. 22. Of *Quizimajugo*. 23. The kingdom of *Quiloa*. 24. Country of *Mongedo*. 25. The river of *Mongalla*. 26. *Cabo Delgada*. 27. The town of *Changa*. 28. The country of *Macuas*. 29. The town of *Querimba*. 30. Of *Ato*. 31. The river of *Pembo*. 32. The town and river of *Sirano Capa*. 33. The river *Sangaya*. 34. The country of the *Pices*. 35. River *Famovo*. 36. *Frayaseland*. 37. The river *Pinda*. 38. *Fernao Velozo*.

THE principal islands and kingdoms situate upon the *Zanguebar* coast, are as follow, according to the same author. 1. The island of *Mandra*. 2. The isle and kingdom of *Pute*. 3. The isle of *Illbeos*. 4. Isle and kingdom of *Lamo*. 5. Isle and city of *Monbaca*. 6. Isle and kingdom of *Pemba*. 7. Of *Zanzebar*. 8. Isle of *Cobra*. 9. The shallows of *St. Roch*. 10. Isle of *Monfia*. 11. Isle and city of *Quiloa*. 12. Isles of *Cabo Delgado*. 13. Of *Melinda*. 14. *Changa*. 15. Of *Macoloe*. 16. Of *Materno*. 17. Of *Obi*. 18. Island and town of *Querimba*. 19. Isles of *Fumbo*. 20. Of *Cabras*. 21. The flats of *Pindar*.

tion of these coasts, for which we are chiefly indebted to the discoveries, conquests, and ravages which the *Portuguese* have made on them. As for the further account of the several places above-mentioned, we shall postpone it till we come to speak of the several kingdoms to which they belong, and therein confine ourselves only to the most remarkable and useful, and such of which we have the most authentic account^d.

*Inland
parts,
why so
little
known.*

As to those belonging to the inland parts, such as towns, rivers, mountains, lakes, &c. we are still more unacquainted with them; this only we know in general, that this whole tract is barren and unhealthy, the lands lying low, and intersected with rivers, lakes, thick woods, forests, and marshy grounds; the fruits of it are very unwholesome; their rivers, for the most part, covered or choaked up with weeds, bushes, and thickets; all which so stagnate the air, and corrupt the product of the earth, and render the inhabitants so sickly and indolent, that they receive little or no benefit from its produce. The *Bedowin Arabs* are the only ones that do; and that chiefly by breeding multitudes of cattle, and living mostly upon their flesh and milk; whilst the Negroes, or *Zanges*, content themselves with feeding upon wild beasts and fowl, which swarm all over those parts.

*The air
unwhol-
some.*

To supply the want of corn, pulse, roots, and other wholesome food, of which they are destitute, the Divine Providence hath interspersed that whole country with mines of gold, easily got, by the help of which they can purchase all the necessaries and conveniencies of life from other parts. But this is the very thing that makes them so extremely jealous of letting any strangers penetrate into the inland; and more especially since the *Portuguese* have made themselves masters of such a number of places along this coast; inso-much, that they make no scruple to murder all they catch attempting it^e. Hence it is that we have gained so small an insight into the interior intelligence of those parts. Nor can we justly blame those natives, if, apprised as they are, by long experience, what labours and hazards they will expose themselves to, and what outrages and cruelties they will not scruple to commit, to dispossess the natural proprietors of that precious and bewitching metal, they are so jealous and watchful to shut up all avenues to their mines against all strangers.

*The peo-
ple jea-
lous of the
Portu-
guese.*

^d D'ANVILLE, MARTINIERE, SANUT, & al.
^e ubi sup. DAPPER, Afric. & al. sup. cit.

• RAMUS.

THEY

THEY are, moreover, in their nature fierce and stout, Caffers, ignorant and brutish, and without any religion, especially the *why so* Negroes; upon which last account they have the name of *called*. *Caffers* given to them. As for the *Bedowins*, they have some kind of religion, or, rather, observe a variety of superstitious rites, as has been already observed, but are no less ignorant and uncivilized than the *Caffers*; yet they chiefly herd among themselves, and live at a greater distance from the coasts, and by the sides of lakes and rivers for the convenience of pasture for their numerous herds. They go all naked *Dress of* both *Caffers* and *Arabs*; excepting that they wrap a piece of *the na-* cotton cloth round their middle, which descends a little *tives.* below the knee; but those who live along the coasts, and are somewhat more civilized, affect a little more finery in their dresses, and, instead of cotton cloth, cover themselves with the skins of wild beasts, more or less rich, according to their rank, and with animals tails trailing behind on the ground. They likewise adorn their necks, arms, and legs, with variety of beads, bugles, and other trinkets, of amber, jett, glass, *skins of* and other materials, which they exchange with the merchants for their gold, furs, ivory, and other commodities of their country. There are among these coasters a great number of *Mohammedans*, but a much greater number still among the islanders along this coast; they being, for the most part, descended from those *Arabs* who were banished out of their country, on account of their adherence to the sect of *Ali*^f, of which they still are zealous professors. *wild beasts the finest dress.*

THIS is all we know, or can infer with any certainty, concerning this long tract of *Zanguebar*^g; to which we have only to add the description of the river *Kilmanci*, or, as the *Portuguese*, who have given it that name, from a fort and town built at the mouth of it, write it, *Quilmanca*, or *Quilmanci*: for though, in the list of remarkable places along this coast, which we have given a little higher, we have had occasion to mention several other rivers; yet is this the only one concerning which we can mention any thing worth our reader's notice, and that chiefly consists in the few following particulars. It hath its source near the mountain of *Gravo*, in the kingdom of *Narea*, subject to the *Abissinian* empire, *Its source,* and near a village called *Bochia*, or *Boxa*, and is one of the *course, &c.* most considerable in all this part of *Africa*, especially on account of the length and vast winding of its course, it making a kind of circle toward the north and east, as it were to

^f De hac, vid. sup. vol. i. p. 277, & seq. ^g JUAN DE BARROS, l. viii. c. 4. RAMUS. & al. pass. SANUT. l. xi. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

*Mouth
and fort.*

inclose into a kind of peninsula the kingdom of *Gingiro*, and divides the wild *Gallas* settlement from *Abissinia*; and thus far that river is called by the name of *Zebea*. It then winds its course through the country of the *Makorites*, and leaves it on the east side, crosses the equinoctial line, through those of the *Messagag Caffers*, a barbarous nation, and thence continuing its course along the coasts of *Zanguebar*, discharges itself into the ocean in the kingdom of *Melinda*, on the south side of the fort or town, which gives it its new name of *Quilman*, and is by most authors supposed to be the *Rapte*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* in his description of this coast. Thus far the account which *De Lisle* gives us of the course of that river, from the *Portuguese* books and maps; yet so far are they from being agreed in it, that several of them affirm the mouth of it to be but about a mile southward of the city of *Melinda*^b. To this we shall only add what the last quoted author, and some others say, that the *Abissinians* give that river the name of *Obeg* through some parts of its course along their territories^c, from a town of that name situate on it banks, as we have lately seen in a preceding chapter.

*Kingdoms
of Zan-
guebar,*

*many of
them un-
known.*

IT is time now to speak of the several kingdoms we have given in the list of above, as belonging to this tract of *Zanguebar*; and therein shall confine ourselves within the limits of our system; which being chiefly historical, will of course excuse us from entering into a particular detail not only of such of which we know nothing more than the bare geography, without any other particular relating to their history; but much more of those concerning which we know little else than their names and situation, or perhaps some few other particulars; but neither essential enough, nor so certainly known, as to deserve a place in a work like this: of which nature are a great part of those contained in the above-mentioned list, which the reader will find distinguished from the rest in *Italic* character; that he may, if he pleases, consult the many books of travels where they are more particularly described, but on such authorities as we can neither vouch for nor depend upon. Those therefore which we intend to speak of in this chapter, are those that follow. 1. The kingdom and city of *Melinda*.

^b De his, vid. RAMUS, ubi sup. DAPPER, ub. sup. ^c DAPPER, ub. sup. LA CROIX, ubi sup. pt. iii. c. 9. sect. 1.

S E C T. I.

The History of the Kingdom of Melinda.

THIS kingdom, according to the generality of the geographers^a, lies under the equinoctial line, and extends itself from the northern boundaries of that of *Mombaso*, which they place about the 2d deg. south of the river *Quilmanzi* lately described, whose course extends itself from the north side of it; though its mouth, according to the latest observations, is placed between the 3d and 4th deg. south; we have already taken notice of the difference of authors about that point. We are no less uncertain about its extent westward into the inland, and are only told, that it is bounded on that side by the country of the *Moffegayts*, a barbarous race of *Cassers*; and on the east it has the western ocean for its boundary; about the extent of which we meet with no less disagreement between authors, seeing some of them, who include the kingdom of *Mombaso* as part of that of *Melinda*, extend the sea-coasts of it quite to the *Cape of Gada*, which they place in the 10th deg. of south lat^b. So little exactness is there in these accounts of this kingdom, even among the *Portuguese*, notwithstanding their having carried on so constant a commerce with it ever since their first discovery of it, that is since *an.* 1520, as we shall see in the sequel. We shall not therefore take upon us to assert any thing upon that subject, but leave it to time and opportunity for farther and more exact discoveries concerning it.

The kingdom of Melinda,

its boundaries different.

Dangerous coasts.

Kingdom and isle of Lamo.

HOWEVER that be, it is agreed on all hands, that these coasts, especially near the capital of *Melinda*, are exceedingly dangerous and difficult of access; being full of rocks and shelves, and the sea thereabouts very often tempestuous at certain seasons^c. At a small distance from the mouth of the river above-mentioned, is the island, kingdom, and city of *Lamo*; whose king, a *Mohammedan*, was beheaded by the *Portuguese*; *an.* 1589. His name was *Panebaxita*, and his crime, whether real or pretended, his having basely betrayed *Rock Britto*, governor of the *Melindan* coast; for which he was seized, with four other of his *Mohammedan* subjects, in his capital, by their admiral *Souza Contingo*, and carried to the

^a ORTEL, RAMUS. ubi sup. PIGAFET. DAVITY, DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al.

^b DE LISLE Atlas, MARTINIERE, sub voc. MELINDA.

^c OSSORIO, & al. sup. citat.

next

*The king
bebraded
by the
Portu-
guese.*

next island and kingdom of *Pate*, and there publicly executed in presence of that and some other petty kings of the neighbouring islands; from which time, that of *Lamo* hath continued tributary to *Portugal*^d, as are also most of those on this coast.

*The soil
and pro-
duct of
Melinda.*

THE kingdom of *Melinda* is for the most part rich and fertile, producing almost all the necessaries of life, except wheat and rice, both which are brought thither from *Cambaya* and other parts; and those who cannot purchase them, make use of potatoes in their stead, which are here fine, large, and in great plenty. They likewise abound with great variety of fruit-trees, roots, plants and other esculents, and with melons of exquisite taste. The country is covered with citron-trees, with whose odoriferous smell the air is agreeably perfumed almost all the year. They have also great plenty of venison, game, oxen, sheep, geese, hens, and other poultry, &c. and one breed of sheep, whose tails are like some of those we have already spoken of, commonly weighing between 20 and 30 pounds^e.

*City of
Melinda
described.*

THE city of *Melinda* is pleasantly situated on a beautiful plain, surrounded with a great variety of fine gardens and orchards, stored with all sorts of fruit-trees, especially citrons and oranges. The houses are built of square stone, and for the most part stately, and some even magnificent, and all of them richly furnished, being inhabited chiefly by rich merchants, and much resorted to by foreigners, who drive a great commerce with it in gold, copper, quicksilver, ivory, wax, drugs, &c. which are here exchanged for silks, cottons, and other cloths, corn, and other commodities. The only inconvenience attending this metropolis is, that the anchorage stands at some distance from it, on account of the rocks and shelves which surround it towards the sea side, which render the access to it difficult and dangerous^f. This city is supposed by the learned to be the *Mondel* mentioned by *Avicenna*, as the place whence they had their aloes^g.

*Dress of
men and
women.*

THE inhabitants of this city are a mixture of blacks, swarthy, tawny, and white. This last chiefly among the women, who are mostly of that, or of an olive complexion. Their dress is no less taking than their complexion; for they never stir out but in fine silks, girt about with a rich gold or silver girdle, a collar and bracelet of the same, or

^d ODVÆR BARBOS, RAMUS. DAVITY, & al.

BARBOS. OSSORTIO, DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al.

^e SCALIG. ad lib. iv. MANIL. DAVITY, & al. sup. citat.

^f SANUT,

^g *Ibid. ibid.*

some.

something still more valuable, and their heads covered with a veil. The men go not bare-headed, as in many other parts of *Africa*, but wear a kind of turban on their heads. In other respects, their dress is much the same; that is, a piece of cotton wrapped about their middle, and descending a little below their knees; their legs, feet, and the rest of the body, quite bare^h. As to the meaner sort, as well as those who live farther from the coasts, they wear little else than a piece of cloth about their middle; if we except their shield and weapons, which are the bow and arrows, the scymiter and the javelin, at all which they are very expert, being reckoned the best and stoutest soldiers in all that coast. They go to war with undaunted spirit, and maintain their ground with greater intrepidity than any of their neighbours; yet we are told, those of the adjoining kingdom of *Monbasa* would have proved too strong for them, had they not been assisted by the *Portuguese*, to bring them into subjectionⁱ. In other respects, the *Melindans*, at least the coasters (for we are not so well acquainted with the inlanders) are said to be very courteous and obliging, free from fraud or flattery; and live very friendly with the *Portuguese*, who commonly are buried amongst them, without any other mark of distinction than that of a cross over their tomb^k. Their language, as far as we can judge from the Lord's prayer in it, which *Grammay* hath given us in his curious collection, seems far enough from barbarous or disagreeable. The reader may see the specimen in the margin (A).

THEIR religion is variously described by authors; some representing the people as altogether *Mohammedans*, and others as idolaters. The truth is, as *Linschot* rightly observes, there are some of both religions. The *Bedowans*, as we have formerly hinted, are a superstitious and ignorant race of idolaters; the Negroes are for the most part *Mohammedans*, but of the *Emorawidic* sect, which reject some parts of the *Koran*^l, following the doctrine of *Zeyd* the son of *Hosheim*^m;

^h OSSOR, lib. i. OD. BARBOSA, PIGAPET, DAVITY, DAPPER. ⁱ Ibid. ^k TURS. in vit. XAVER. ^l OSSOR, ub. sub. LINSCHOT, lib. i. c. 16. ^m Vid. RAMUS: DAVITY, & auct. ab eo citat.

(A) *Aban ladi fissan awari, fasona agrona fili angme agfar
et cades esmoctacii mala cutoca lena catajano nagfar cman leng
tacuna mafitoca cboma fissa, me galiaca wato tadebol nal laga-
chibdaleca, ghlalandi cobzano che-rabe, lache nagna min fci ratrri* *

* Vid Chamberlain Orat. Dominic, in C. ling.

a sect

a sect not unlike that of the *Sadducees* among the *Jews*, of which, notwithstanding, some of the *Khalifs* of *Babylon* have made open profession°. As for the *Roman-catholics*, they have been settled almost ever since the *Portuguese* came thither. We do not however hear of any proselytes they have made to their faith among the natives, as they have at *Congo*, *Angola*, and other *African* parts; but content themselves with the free exercise of it, and are so numerous in the city of *McRoman-catholics numerous. Their churches.* *kinda*, that they have built no less than seventeen churches and chapels in it, and have erected a stately cross of gilt marble before one of them; and we hear moreover, that in the year 1602, three ladies, relations to the king, were publicly baptized^p.

The government.

High regard to their kings.

THE government is monarchical; and in such veneration is the king held by his subjects, that whenever he stirs out of his palace, he is always carried in a sedan, on the shoulders of four or more of the greatest nobles of the kingdom; and incense and other perfumes are burned before him as he goes along the streets of any city, by a great number of ladies, who come to welcome him with songs in his praise, accompanied with several kinds of musical instruments; which, though not of the most harmonious kind, they touch with much dexterity and cadence. If he sets out upon any expedition, whether civil or military, he then appears mounted

Vast retinue.

on a stately horse, richly caparisoned, and with a numerous retinue, attended with great crowds of his subjects, who fill the air with their loud huzzas and loyal acclamations.

Superstitious ceremonies.

His labis or priests meet him at his setting out with a deer, recently sacrificed, and still reaking; over which, he and his horse take three leaps; which is no sooner done, than these pretended conjurers set about examining the entrails of the creature, and from them pretend to foretell whether his expedition will be prosperous or not^q.

Reception of ambassadors.

THE same kind of superstitious ceremonies are also to be used when any prince, or ambassador from a prince, comes to his court, in order to know whether the visit or negotiation will be attended with good or bad success. Upon this occasion also the prince or ambassador is accompanied by a great number of ladies along the streets, some burning perfumes before him, others singing or playing on instruments. These monarchs are in some measure obliged to submit to

° De hac, vid. sup. vol. 2. p. 234. ^p CAMERAR. de reb. Turcic. TURSEIL, in vit. XAVER. DAVITY, Afric. ^q OSSOR. RAMUS. DAVITY, DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. ub. sub.

the superstitious ceremonies above-mentioned, and to regulate their resolutions according to the report of those jugglers, whether it be for peace or war, or any other exigence, and whether they give any credit to them or not; for on this chiefly depends the allegiance and honour they pay to, and the affection and veneration they have for them; which would, upon their non-compliance, quickly degenerate into hatred and contempt, if not in downright disloyalty, or open rebellion, through the uncontrollable influence which those juggling miscreants have over the people.

BUT besides this absurd and ill-placed confidence, for such it cannot but be deemed by men of sense, (unless we will suppose that their pretended predictions, calculated only to amuse the subjects, are privately directed by the prince, which is far from improbable; and the only way perhaps those cheats have of saving themselves from the dangers that would attend a contrary event) the *Melindan* kings have, we are told, a much surer way of securing their subjects loyalty and affection; namely, by their constant application to public affairs, their vigilance over their ministers, governors, and other magistrates, by their assiduity and attention in receiving and hearing the complaints of their subjects; and their strict and severe administration of justice on all delinquents of what rank or degree of favour soever with them; but more particularly on such as attempt to impose upon or mislead them by fraud or artifice.

THEIR method of proceeding in cases of this nature is as follows. When any complaint or appeal is presented to them, they cause the plaintiff to be detained, till the defendant, who is immediately summoned to appear before them and their council, hath heard his accusation, and made his defence. If it be made by an inferior against a governor or minister of state, or other grandees, he is no less obliged to appear; and with this difference, that on his approach to the court, he causes the horn or trumpet to be blown, to give notice of his coming; upon which some of the king's officers come to receive him into their custody; who having dismissed his retinue, conduct him to the hall of justice. In such cases the accuser must be provided with sufficient evidence, or else he is condemned to death, and executed out of hand: but if the accusation be fully proved, the defendant is condemned to make restitution suitable to the wrong done, and moreover to be fined, and suffer corporal punishment; which, if the offender be a person of rank or merit, is com-

• *Ibid.*

monly

monly a bastonade more or less severe, as well as a fine according to the nature of the offence, the dignity and merit of the offender; and this bastonade is then inflicted by the king himself.

*Punishment.
born in-
flicted.*

THE sentence is no sooner pronounced, than the offender is led out of the hall into another chamber, where he is obliged to acknowledge his fault, and the justice as well as lenity of his punishment, in the humblest terms and posture; after which, he is stripped of his clothes, and laid flat on his face on the ground. The king then takes his staff of justice in his hand, and gives him as many strokes as he thinks fit; and having received his best thanks for his kind correction, bids him get up and put on his clothes again; which having done, and kissed his majesty's feet, he accompanies him, with the rest of the attendants, into the hall, with a serene countenance, and without betraying the least grief or discontent: there the king graciously dismisses him before the whole court, with a fresh charge to be careful to administer justice to his subjects; then causes him to be accompanied with the usual honours and perfumes to the gates of the city; and the whole matter is hushed as if nothing had happened; the people without being wholly ignorant of what hath been transacting within. The fine and charges of the suit are levied out of the offender's estate; or, if a favourite, out of the king's coffers*.

*Great respect for
the king of
Portugal.*

THE Portuguese boast much of the good understanding there hath ever been between the kings of *Melinda* and those of *Portugal*, ever since the subjects of the latter were admitted into their dominions; and more particularly of the vast respect which the former of those monarchs pays to the latter; as a singular instance of which, we are told[†], that the head factor of the king of *Portugal* in this kingdom having some occasion to visit that of *Melinda*, the latter ordered all the nobles of his court to meet him; and that before he arrived at the royal palace with his retinue, a number of women met him also with their incensers, and perfumed him all the way thither. We should have been much better pleased to have met with something more worthy our reader's knowledge concerning those *African* princes, either relating to their extract, antiquity, whether hereditary or elective, their laws, power, riches, army, fleet, history, wars, and the like, concerning which they are altogether silent; and which, by the way, is no great mark of that good understanding and affec-

* OSSOR. & al. sup. citat. † OD. BARBOSA, ub. sup. PEDRO ALVARES Navigat. ap. RAMUS. DAVITY, & al.

tion between those two crowns, and their subjects, as is said above, to reign between them.

HOWEVER, since this is all that we can find in them concerning this kingdom, we shall now proceed to the only point of history relating to it, viz. the Portuguese obtaining their first entrance into it, under the conduct of their famed admiral *Vasco de Gama*, and what hath passed since their settlement in these parts; wherein we shall give the best account of both that we can from their writers, but more particularly from their celebrated bishop *Ossorio's* history of their conquests, which (whatever pains that good prelate's charity for his own countrymen, and the honour of his nation, may have induced him to take through the course of it to palliate their illicit invasions and dreadful ravages, both on this and the other *African* coasts, and elsewhere, some of which have been already taken notice of in the preceding chapters *) is nevertheless justly esteemed the most exact, impartial †, and authentic in all other respects. And here referring our readers to what hath been said in a former volume, concerning the original designs, as well as the success of the discovery of the *African* coasts, in order to find out a way into the *East Indies* by sea ‡, and to what will be farther related in the history of *Portugal*, we shall beg leave to look back for the course of this expedition a little higher, in order to apprise our readers by what steps *Gama* and his fleet were brought to this coast and kingdom, after he had doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Portu-
guese how
admitted
into Me-
linda.

Begun
1497.

THE first considerable coast that fell under his observation, was that of the island and kingdom of *Mozambique*, of which we shall speak more fully in a subsequent section. The bad condition his men and fleet were then in made him extremely desirous to cast anchor there for some days at least, to give them some rest and refreshments. Having therefore informed himself about the island and its inhabitants, particularly about the governor, who commanded in it under the king of *Kilda*, or *Kiloa*, as well as amply rewarded his informants, he sent them out of hand to him with his best compliments, accompanied with some valuable presents; with which he was so highly pleased, that he made him the most acceptable return he could wish, and came soon after in a sumptuous dress, attended by grand retinue, to pay him a visit on board his ship.

Vasco de
Gama
sent to find
a passage
to India.
Adventure
at Mo-
zambique.
Reception
from the
governor,
who comes
on board
to visit
him.

* See the beginning of vol. xiv. † See a proof of this, vol. i. p 29, & seq. of his history, Eng. edit. ‡ See vol. ix. p 170, & seq. see also OSSORIO, l. i. MARMOL. Afric. lib. ix. c. 27, & seq. JARRIC, OD. BARBOSA, & al. sup. citat.

Reception
of him.

ZACOCIA, that was the noble governor's name, was a zealous *Mohammedan*, and highly delighted at the gallant entertainment which *Gama* had prepared for him, and amongst other questions, asked him, whether he and his men were *Moors* or *Turks*, what arms they used, and what books he had which treated of *Mohammedism*, not doubting, but he was of that religion. To these *Gama* answered in general, that he came from the west; that their arms were the same as he saw on his men; but that they had moreover some warlike machines, with which they could destroy whole armies, and batter the strongest fortresses to the ground. As for the books of their religion, he told him, he would shew them to him with the greatest pleasure, after he and his men had had a few days respite and refreshment. He added, that as he was now bound for the *East-Indies*, he should be highly obliged to him if he could supply him with some expert navigators to conduct him thither; and he accordingly brought to him on the next day two pilots to steer him into *Calicut*.

Discovers him to
be a Christian;
lays sundry
schemes
to destroy
his fleet.

HITHERTO both sides were well satisfied with each other, and might have continued so much longer, had not *Gama* inadvertently given *Zacocia* to understand that he and his men were *Christians*, and by that untimely discovery, exasperated that zealous *Moslem* into a quite contrary behaviour; so that from that very moment he began to treat him and his men with the utmost spight and contempt, and to lay schemes to destroy him and his ships. One of the pilots, whom the governor had brought with him, perceiving the sudden change, got away, and was heard of no more; whilst some of the *Portuguese*, endeavouring to go on shore to get some wood and water, narrowly escaped being massacred by the people. *Gama*, not daring to stay longer there, set sail for *Quiloa*, but was driven by contrary winds to another island, where he fortunately took up an *Arabian* and his son going to *Mecca*; and finding him to be expert in navigation, resolved to get what instructions and assistance he could from him, for completing of his course*.

Gama's
happy
escape to
Mon-
bazo.

HE then made a fresh attempt to reach *Quiloa*; but was, whether through the ignorance, or more probably, treachery, of the *Mozambic* pilot, steered for *Monbazo*, which he made him believe was inhabited by *Christians*, and would give him and his sick men all necessary assistance. We shall have occasion to speak more fully of that city and kingdom in the sequel; at present, we shall only say, that *Gama*, whether

* OSSORIO, RAMUS. Navig. vol. i. edit. 3.

persuaded or necessitated to it, complied with his advice; but had hardly cast anchor, when he spied a galley, with about a hundred armed men, rowing towards his own ship, and expressing a strong desire to come on board of it, but which he absolutely forbid. Observing however four of them, who appeared to be above the common rank, he permitted them to come on board, on condition they left their arms behind. *Runs a* To this they not only consented, but highly commended *much* that admiral for insisting on it; and withal told him, that *greater* their king, being agreeably informed of the arrival of the *risk.* *Portuguese*, was desirous of entering into a friendly alliance with them; and accordingly sent deputies to treat about it *Invited to* in his name, on the following day. These, at their interview *land, re-* with him, forgot not one topic they thought would induce *suses it.* *Gama* to come to anchorage at their harbour, that his majesty might the more conveniently, as was pretended, treat with them about settling such a commerce with them, as would prove more advantageous to them than any they could hope for from *India*, without being attended with the like tediousness and hazard. Several other civilities passed between the king and admiral equally inviting; and such ample promises from the former to the latter, as began to excite the suspicions of our jealous *Portuguese*, that all was *Suspicious* mere dissimulation, and a hellish plot against them. What *of their* confirmed his fear was, the danger which his ship ran, in *ill designs.* approaching the harbour, of being driven a-ground by the violence of the waves; which obliged him to furl her sails, and to drop her anchor, and to order his other ships to do the same: at sight of which, his two *Mozambic* pilots jumped into the sea and swam away, being conscious of *His pilots* their treachery in steering them to this port. *Gama* called *for fake* aloud to the men in the boats to bring them back, but in *him.* vain; for the king, having been apprised of what had passed at *Mozambico*, had laid his scheme to decoy them thither, in *Discovers* order to destroy them and their ships. Finding therefore *the treach-* his plot defeated, he sent some boats out in the night to cut *ery laid* their cables; but these were likewise prevented from their *against* design by the vigilance of the admiral; so that he was enabled *him.* to get clear of that bay in about two days after, and to steer his course to the port of *Melinda*, where he met with *Sails to* a much kinder reception from the king, as we shall see *Melinda.* presently; and at the same time a fair opportunity of being revenged on that of *Mombazo*, by the timely assistance he

7 OSSOR. ub. sub. RAUS. MARMOL, lib. ix. ub. sub. JAR-
RIC, BARBOSA, & al. ib.

gave that of *Melinda* against him. And here we must observe that these two kingdoms were often at war with each other; that of *Melinda* bred the best and stoutest soldiers; that of *Quiloa*, to which *Mombazo* was then subject, had the largest dominions, and probably a more numerous army, or had gained some advantages over the other. And hence we may probably account for the kind welcome which the old *Melindan* monarch gave at this juncture to the *Portuguese* admiral, which he might not at another; that nation being by this time become odious and dreadful all over these coasts, not only on account of their religion, but much more of their superiority, conquests, and depredations.

HOWEVER that be, *Gama* having so happily escaped the snares of the *Mombasan* governor, and gained the coast of *Melinda*, cast anchor at some distance from that capital, not only on account of the shelves and tempestuousness of that coast, but out of mistrust of meeting with the same treacherous treatment here. Having communicated his fear to the *Meccan Arab* whom he had taken on board, the man, in gratitude, offered to go on shore, and found the king's inclinations, and was accordingly landed on an island opposite to the city, from which he went thither in a boat, and was immediately after introduced to the king. The account he gave that monarch of the *Portuguese*, and of their motives for being so desirous of entering into a friendly alliance with him, were so advantageous, and so well relished by the good old monarch, who, it seems, was of an affable disposition, and, as we hinted above, might then stand in need of their help, that he dispatched a person to welcome them in his name, and to present them with sheep, fruit, and other refreshments. The admiral on his side, having made him such returns, as convinced him of his politeness and generosity, advanced nearer to the shore, whence he invited the *Indian Christians* to come on board; who seemed so transported with what they saw, and the reception he gave them, that they gratified him in their turn with several useful instructions, and made their report at their return greatly to their advantage; insomuch, that the old king was very desirous of paying the admiral a visit in person; but his age and infirmities not permitting it, he sent his son thither, on whom he had devolved the supreme authority, attended with a splendid retinue of the nobles of his court².

*Visited by
the king's
son.*

² OSSOR, RAMUS. MARMOL, & al. sup. cit.

THIS prince came magnificently dressed, and the galley in which he was rowed resounded with the music of variety of warlike instruments, as drums, trumpets, &c. *Gama*, on the other hand, came to meet him in a long-boat; which the prince had no sooner reached, than he jumped into it and embraced the welcome stranger, and afterwards conversed with him with as much freedom and familiarity as if they had been intimate friends. His behaviour was polite, and his converse full of good sense. He greatly admired his new guest, and attentively observed every part of his ship, and expressed a singular regard for his nation. *Gama*, at the same time, made him a present of his *Saracen* prisoners, which were accepted by him as a mark of high regard. The prince then invited him to court, and to pay a visit to the king, offering to leave his two sons as pledges for his return. But *Gama*, whether out of mistrust of some hidden treachery, or fear of exceeding his orders, declined the invitation in the civilest manner, and only consented to let two of his men go on shore, at his earnest request. On the next day *Gama* came nearer the city in his long-boat, to take a fuller view of it, and its pleasant situation; and was again honoured with a visit from the prince, who brought to him an expert pilot, to assist him in the course of his voyage; and, not being able to prevail upon him to land, obtained a solemn promise from him, that, at his return, he would take *Melinda* in his way, and receive the ambassador on board, which his father was desirous to send to the king his master. He accordingly set sail on the 22d of *April*, and proceeded on his voyage, leaving the *Melindan* court in great expectation of the proposed alliance with that of *Portugal*, from which they expected to reap no small advantage, as well from their assistance as commerce.

How the *Portuguese* admiral performed his promise, we shall see in the following section. In the mean time it will not be foreign to our design, before we quit this country of *Melinda*, to say something of the chief islands which lie along the coast of it, and of the kingdoms belonging to it; which are as follow, according to *De Lisle*.

1. The isle of *Pate*, with the kingdom of *Ambasa*.
2. The isle and kingdom of *Lamo*, mentioned a little higher.
3. The island and kingdom of *Mombaso*, then the residence of the king of *Melinda*, and of the *Portuguese* governor of that coast, which shall be described in the next section.
4. The island and kingdom of *Pemba*.
5. The island and kingdom of *Zanzibar*.

*Isles and
kingdoms
on the coast
of Melinda.*

6. The

C c 3

6. The isle and kingdom of *Quilca*.

*Pate de-
scribed.*

1. THE isle and kingdom of *Pate* take their name from their capital, situate on a small island, at the mouth of a commodious bay, called by the *Portuguese* *Baya Formosa*, about one degree of south latitude. It is a large town, well built and peopled, hath a good convenient port, and drives a great commerce with the neighbouring kingdoms and islands, particularly those of *Lamo*, *Ampasa*, *Sian*, and *Chelichia*, which surround it at a small distance, and have likewise their names from their respective capitals, none of them considerable enough to require a farther description^a. The king of *Pate* is a *Mohammedan*, and so are most of his subjects, tributary however to the *Portuguese*, who have a fort in it, under their governor of these coasts, who is little better than a tyrant over them, as we may judge by what we lately mentioned concerning the shameful execution of the king of *Lamo* in his capital. *Pate* has another town and port, named *Moudra*, but which was since taken and rased by *Thomas de Sousa*, the *Portuguese* admiral, for refusing, or, perhaps, only neglecting, to pay the usual tribute^b.

*Tributary
to Portu-
gal.*

*Kingdom
and capi-
tal of La-
mo.*

2. THE isle and kingdom of *Lamo* hath been already spoken of in part; and all that needs be added is, that the capital of its name hath a good port, and is well walled and fortified. The king and government being *Mohammedans*, are often assaulted and at war with the rest of the inhabitants, who are idolaters, though the whole island, as has been already mentioned, is tributary to *Portugal*, like the rest of this small archipelago^c.

3. THE kingdom of *Mombaso* will be the subject of the next section.

*Kingdom
of Pemba.*

4. THE isle and kingdom of *Pemba* is situate over-against the bay of *St. Raphael*, in the kingdom of *Melinda*. *De Lisle* gives it 4 deg. 50 min. latitude, and places it just over against the city of *Mombaso*. It is small and inconsiderable, though the princes of it assume the title of kings^d, like those of *Mombaso* and *Melinda*, if the *Portuguese* governor, under whom they live, do not bestow it upon them either through favour, bribery, or for the grandeur of the king their master. We shall see, in the following section, a more pregnant instance of this presumption.

*Kingdom
of Zanzi-
bar.*

5. THE isle and kingdom of *Zanzibar* is likewise situate over-against the bay of *St. Raphael*, between those of *Pemba*

^a JARRIC, lib. iii. c. 13. SANUT, lib. xii. OD. BARBOS. DAVITY, DAPPER, &c. ^b DAPPER, & al. ub. sup. ^c JARRIC, BARBOS. & al. ub. sup. ^d Id. ibid.

and

and *Momfia*, about 8 or 9 leagues from the land ^e. It hath been tributary to *Portugal* ever since their fleet appeared *Tributary* on this coast, the king of it submitting to pay them the annual *to Portu-* weight of gold, which *Sanut* says amounts to 100 mitigals of gal. gold, and thirty sheep ^f. This island produces plenty of rice, millet, and sugar-cane; it hath whole forests of orange *Produce* and citron trees, the latter of extraordinary height, and most *and com-* odoriferous smell; it likewise abounds with rivers of excel- *merce.* lent water, and drives a very considerable commerce with the adjacent kingdoms; insomuch that *R. Vasco*, during his short cruise of two months near its coasts, took no less than fourteen vessels from those islanders, richly laden with variety of merchandize, and mounting some pieces of cannon. There is between this island and the *Terra firma* a channel, or rather streight, so narrow, that no ship can pass it without being seen by both sides ^g.

6. THE other islands of *Quirimba*, *Amsia*, *Anisa*, &c. have *Other* little else worth notice except that they breed great quantities *islands.* of large and small cattle, besides abounding with grain and fruits like those already mentioned; all which, except what is consumed among them, is conveyed to the inhabitants of *Terra firma*, within the *African* coast, and a great advantage is reaped from the commerce. That of *Quirimba* abounds with a coarser kind of manna, of greyish-red, and difficult to dissolve, though, in other respects, equally purgative with the *Vast herds of cattle.* best ^h. *A coarse sort of manna.*

THE inhabitants are weakly, slender, and meagre, though great feeders; their dress is much the same with that of the *Melindans*, both males and females, and the latter are equally fond of adorning themselves with gold and silver chains, bracelets, and other gaudy trifles, which, with the cotton stuffs, wherewith they cover their bodies from the waist downwards, they have from *Mombasa*, *Melinda*, and other parts of that coast, in exchange for their rice, sugar, fruits, and cattle. *Rice; fruits;* The men in general give themselves up to agriculture and commerce, for which they are better formed than for war. Their trading vessels are slightly made, and the timber fastened together by ropes, made of flags, instead of nails, and *trading vessels.* their sails are made of mats. Those only of *Zanzibar* are more strongly and better built, and have some cannon, as they commonly carry the richest merchandizes of that coast;

^e DE LISLE. ^f SANUT, lib. xii. ubi sup. OSSORIO, DAVITY, & al. ub. sup. Gen. Pers. lib. i. c. 7.

^g Vid. RAMUS. ^h TEIXEIR.

whereas the greatest part of the rest are only laden with rice, fruits, and cattleⁱ.

S E C T. II.

The History of the Kingdom and Islands of Mombasa and Quiloa.

Islands and kingdom of Mombaso.

WE join here these two islands together, because they were under the government of one monarch, when the *Portuguese* first sailed to these coasts; and though they have been severed, yet the manner of their being so, and other circumstances relating to the catastrophe, are so linked and interwoven, as we shall see in their subsequent history, that they could not be easily divided, without continual repetitions; an inconvenience which ought by all means to be avoided in a work like this. We have already observed, in the last section, that that of *Mombaso* is contiguous to that of *Melinda*, and only severed from it by the *Zebbeon Quilmanci*, a river we have described in its proper place^a, on the north sides. Its extent towards the south is not so unanimously fixed by geographers, some stretching its coast no farther than the mouth of the river of its name, where the island and city, which give that name to the rest, are situate^b; whilst others have extended it as far as the *Cape del Gada*, in the 10th degree of south latitude, according to *De Lisle*; but in this latter sense he includes likewise that of *Quiloa* with it, as being once both subject to the same monarch, as lately hinted^c.

Its situation.

Products.

As to the island of *Mombaso*, it is situate under the 4th degr. 5 min. of south latitude, in a convenient bay, made by the river above-mentioned, and is reckoned about 12 miles in circuit. The soil is exceedingly fruitful, and produces rice, millet, and other grain, variety of fruit-trees, and other vegetables and esculents; here are also bred vast quantities of cattle, and variety of poultry; and the island abounds with excellent springs of fresh water. The climate is temperate, the air healthy, whatever the *Portuguese* might pretend to the contrary, when obliged to abandon the city. The inhabitants live long, and at their ease, in the capital especially, where they enjoy great plenty, with taste and elegance.

ⁱ De his, vid. *MAFFE*, lib. viii. *PIGAFET.* lib. vi. & al. *SANUT*, & al. ub. sup. ^a Page 393, & seq. ^b *DE LISLE* Atlas. ^c *SANUT*, *MARMOL*, *OSSORIO*, & al. *RAMUS.* & al. sup. citat.

Their

Their bread, which is either of rice or millet, is made into flat cakes, and mixed with sugar, herbs, and other ingredients, to give it a more agreeable taste. Their drink is a kind of beer, either made of rice, honey, or some sort of fruits, which are here excellent, particularly their oranges, some of which are very large, and of exquisite taste and flavour, even to the very rind, which might be eaten with pleasure. Those liquors they chiefly keep in vessels of different sorts and sizes, neatly made of bullocks horns, as being less apt to break or burst; and of the same materials are their drinking cups and other household utensils made; that commodity being there in great plenty, as are also the artists, who work it with great skill and neatness. Their cattle are also well fed and tasted, their pasture being in great plenty, and well watered; and some of their sheep have those large tails, frequently mentioned to weigh between 20 and 30 pounds; so that there is plenty of every necessary of life, as well as of people, whether natives or strangers who resort thither for commerce, by all whom it is as profusely consumed †.

THE city was once a peninsula, but hath been since turned into an island, by cutting a canal through the isthmus, in such a manner, that one nook of it covers the city, so that it is not seen till one enters the port ^d. The houses are built after the *Italian* manner, of stone cemented with mortar, and embellished with curious paintings and other ornaments; the streets strait, though narrow; and the houses contiguous, and terraced on the tops, so that one may walk upon them from one end to the other, without interruption; of which we take notice, because it was from thence that the inhabitants mostly annoyed the *Portuguese*, when they made their hostile entry into the place, as we shall see in the sequel. The city is defended by a stout citadel, into which the *Portuguese* afterwards retired, when they could hold the town no longer: they were afterwards driven out of this last retreat, *an.* 1631, by an *Arabian* cheyk, who made it afterwards the place of his residence, and where the inhabitants of *Mombaso*, as well as other trading merchants, applied to him for the liberty of commerce ^e.

BEFORE the town is formed by the sea a most commodious bay, which opens in the form of a cockle-shell, into which the trading vessels have all the depth and room to sail and

† RAMUS. MARM. SANUT, OSSOR. DAVIT. & al. ^d MARMOL, ub. sup. lib. x. c. 2. ^e MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER, OSSOR. LA CROIX, & al. ub. sup.

tack about that they can wish, the chanel being wide enough for the largest of them to enter with all their sails displayed. Within this inclosure, on the farther side, is a dyke, or causeway, built of stone, which runs across the chanel, over which one may pass from one side to the other, at low water. Besides the chanel, which surrounds the town, there are several other navigable ones, which run into the land ; that which the city chiefly makes use of hath scarcely the breadth of a bow-shot in some places, and the entrance into the bay is defended by a stout bulwark, which the inhabitants raised soon after the arrival of *Vasco de Gama* into the bay, *an.* 1497, and was likely to have been destroyed with his fleet, through his over-confidence in venturing into it, at the invitation of the governor, as hath been already observed in the last section ^f. So that, upon the whole, this port carries on as great a commerce with the islands and kingdoms adjacent, as any upon this coast.

*Various
inhabi-
tants.*

Religions.

HERE is great variety of inhabitants, some black, some white, olive, swarthy, &c. but most of them dress after the *Arabian* manner, and the richer sort very sumptuously, chiefly with the richest stuffs and silk, whilst gold and silver tissue, and such costly cloaths, is that of the women. The furniture of their houses is no less elegant, consisting in rich carpets, paintings, hangings, and variety of utensils and ornaments, all which are imported from *Cambaya*, *Perfu*, and other countries. The people are said to be all more affable and civil to strangers than any on this coast, though consisting of so many nations, complexions, and religions, as *Mohammedans*, *Idolaters*, and *Christians*. They were formerly all *Pagans*, addicted to the grossest superstitions of the *Bedowin* sect. The *Portuguese* made a small number of converts upon their settling in this kingdom. The far greater part afterwards either returned to their old paganism, or turned *Mohammedans*, after the example of one of their monarchs, who, in the year 1631, had espoused a Christian, as he had been brought up in that religion ; but then falling out with the *Portuguese* governor, on account of some injustice or oppression, drove him out of the citadel, massacred all that fell into his hands, and turned *Mohammedan*, in order to be protected by the *Turks* ^g.

*Imbis, a
barbarous*

BUT of all the various nations which have settled themselves in the inland part of this kingdom, and made the most

^f See before, p. 303, & seq. & MARM. lib. x. c. 2. ^g JARRIC, lib. iii. c. 13. MARM. OSOR. RAMUS. DAVITY, & al. ubi sup.

terrible

terrible figure in its wars, that of the *Imbis*, as they are called, *people, described.* is one of the most fierce, barbarous, and impious, of any upon these coasts, if not of any upon the whole globe. The reader will see in the margin (B) the best account we can find concerning their extract and spreading themselves into divers parts of *Africa*, in prodigious colonies. They have been so powerful formerly in this kingdom, that their monarchs could raise and lead an army of 80,000 men into the field. When these are upon the point of engaging the enemy, their custom is to cause whole herds of cattle to march at the head of their ranks. These are followed by a number of men who carry fire before them; a dreadful emblem this, signifying no less, than that all who are made prisoners must expect to be roasted and devoured by those canibals. After these fire-bearers come the king's life-guard, armed cap à pied, and he in the center; after whom follows the body of the army. Dreadful is the fate of those who fall into his merciless hands, and the country through which he passes, where every man, wo-

*Way of fighting.**Cruelty to their captives.*

(B) This monstrous generation is supposed to be the cursed spawn of some of those barbarous canibals that are settled in the neighbourhood of the *Cape of Good Hope*, being, like them, tall and well set, fierce and warlike, living altogether upon rapine and plunder, and feeding on the flesh of their captives, and even of their own kindred, dispatching those that are sick, in order to fit them for the shambles. Their drink is chiefly human blood, and their drinking-vessels are made of mens skulls. Their weapons are poisoned arrows, and long poles burned at each end (4).

This kingdom is not the only one into which they have dispersed their infernal colonies; they have formerly overrun not only a great part of the eastern coast of *Africa*, but have penetrated even as far as *Arabia*, and committed the most horrid

ravages, butcheries, and devastations, in some parts of it. And though they were either happily destroyed or driven out, yet we shall find them swarming in many other parts of *Africa*, though under other names; as the *Gallas*, and *Agans*, which infect the empire of *Abissinia*, the *Jaggi*, or *Jaggos*, in the kingdom of *Metamba*, and other parts of *Afric*, under that compound one of *Jambagottas*. But under whatever names we chance to meet with them in the sequel, they retain their accursed customs, and are justly looked upon as a most dreadful scourge from heaven, and by none more than by the *Abissinians*, where they have settled themselves in several frontier provinces, and from thence make the most horrid incursions into others, as we shall shew in the sequel of this history.

(4) *Jarric, Trés. Ind. lib. iii. c. 13. Purchas Relat. lib. vii. c. 18. Davity, &c. al.*

man, and beast, are alike doomed to the most shocking and inhuman death and destruction, and every place to plunder, fire, and sword.

Impious monarchs. THESE hellish monarchs are, by their diabolical subjects, worshipped as gods, and assume the title of emperors of the whole terrestrial, as the *Portuguese* kings do over the aqueous globe; and that all the inhabitants of the earth ought to submit to their yoke, and obey their commands. They carry their impiety still farther, even against the Deity itself; and whenever annoyed either by rain or sunshine, arrogantly bend their bow against heaven, and, in revenge, let fly their impotent arrows and curses against the sun and skies ^b. And such is the terror they spread where-ever they come, that the affrighted inhabitants chuse to abandon their native dwelling, and throw themselves under the protection of either the *Turks* or *Portuguese*, rather than run the risk of encountering such a host of incarnate furies. The former of these

The Turks their greatest enemies. have indeed been ever zealous either to convert them to *Mohammedism*, or to extirpate such as refuse it; but as that vermin is naturally of an unsettled and wandering nature, all they could do was only to drive them farther into the inland country, where themselves have not yet been able to penetrate, and where they still occupy vast regions unmolested, and practise the most detestable and bloody customs, even amongst themselves, as well as cruel ravages and butcheries in their excursions; of both which we shall have occasion to give some dreadful instances in the sequel. And thus much shall suffice at present for the description and history of this kingdom of *Mombasa*. We shall resume the latter after we have gone through our next article, with which it is too closely connected and interwoven, as was lately hinted, to be severed from it.

They are dispersed over Afric.

ARTICLE II.

The Description and History of the Island and Kingdom of Quiloa, al. Xiloa.

The isle and kingdom of THIS island is situate, according to most geographers, near or upon the mouth of the river *Cuava*, or *Cuabo* and *Quisimajugo*, under 8 degr. 20 min. of south lati-

^b De his vid. JARRIC Thesaur. Ind. lib. iii. c. 13. PURCHAS Relat. lib. vii. c. 2. § 3. OSSORIO, lib. i. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

tude,

tudeⁱ (C), and was first discovered by the *Portuguese*, an. Quiloa. 1498. It hath its name from its capital, a large opulent city, of which we shall say more in the sequel. The kingdom which likewise bears its name, lieth on the continent over- *Its extent.* against it, and extends itself about 200 miles along the coast, from north to south (D); but how far towards the west, or inland, is not known. It is divided from the island by a narrow chanel, and the soil of both so near the same for goodness and fertility, that they are thought to have been for-

ⁱ FITAU Hist. Conq. of the Portug. tom. i. p. 11. DAVITY, LA CROIX, & al.

(C) This to us seems a great mistake of Father *Fitau*, and those who have followed him (5); the mouth of the *Cuabo*, according to the latest discoveries, lying under the 17th and not the 8th degr. of south latitude, unless we will suppose two rivers of the same name. *D'Anville* places the mouth of one, to which he gives the name of *King*, near the town of *Quiloa*, which bids fair to be that on which the island lies, and answers well enough to the 8th degree of latitude above-mentioned (6).

(D) We are told, however, (7) that the king of *Quiloa* was master of a great number of islands, very fruitful and well peopled; inasmuch that his dominions along this coast are said to have extended near 300 leagues in length, when the *Portuguese* appeared first in these parts; who had not been long acquainted with them before they stripped him of a considerable number of them. For at that time, we are told, that he reigned over the kingdoms of *Sofala*, *Cuama*, *Angos*, and *Mozambico* (8); though long since

reduced to that only one of *Quiloa*, which is reckoned 400 miles from that of *Mozambico*.

Linschbot moreover tells us that, in his time, the *Quilooan* king was tributary to the emperor of *Monoemugi*, and that his whole kingdom was confined to that one island: if so, his case is still much worse, having been probably deprived by that potent prince, of his inland dominions, as he hath been of all his other islands on the coast; and, with this double aggravation to his misfortunes, his being become tributary to the one, and deprived by the other of a considerable branch of his former commerce with the kingdom of *Sofala*, which those invaders have engrossed to themselves; so that at present there are but few vessels that go from the one to the other, and the traffic dwindled to little or nothing, in comparison of what it was when the *Quilooan* monarchs used to send their fleets thither, and brought thence vast quantities of gold, amber, and other valuable commodities, amounting to an immense value.

(5) *Fitau Conquest. des Portugais*, *Davity*, *Dapper*, *Martiniere*, *La Croix*, & al.

(6) See his map of Africa.

part ii. c. 4. *Offer. l. i. Davity*, & al. *Ramus. sub Xiloa*, & al. plur.

(7) *Vincent Le Blanc World surveyed*.

(8) *Od. Barbof. Linschbot. Guin. c. 3.*

merly

Inhabitants.

Language.

Elegant living and dress.

Manner of mourning.

merly contiguous. The king and his subjects are *Mohammedans*, and the latter partly black and partly tawny. They all speak the *Arabic* and several other languages, which they learn from the nations they traffic with. Their dress is that of the *Arabian Turks*, and much the same with that of *Mombasa*, lately described; neither do they come behind-hand with them either in the finery and richness of it, or in the elegance of living, as they enjoy the same plenty of all necessaries here as well as there^k; the women especially affect to go fine and gay, and with variety of ornaments about their necks, arms, wrists, and ankles; one sort in particular; *viz.* bracelets, made of ivory, curiously wrought, which, upon the death of a parent, husband, or near relation, they break in pieces, in token of sorrow; whilst the men express theirs by shaving their hair, and abstinence from food^l.

We cannot give any certain dimensions of this island, but have a much better account of its metropolis, which is large, rich, and well built. The houses are of stone and mortar, handsome, and after the *Spanish* manner. They are several stories high, and have each a pleasant garden behind, well watered and cultivated, here-being plenty of springs of fresh water; though that which they are forced to draw in some parts of the island is not near so pleasant or wholesome, which is owing to the lowness of the land about it. The houses are finely furnished within, and terraced on the top with a hard kind of clay; and the streets so narrow, like those we spoke of in the last article, or, indeed, of most cities on this coast, that one may easily go from one side to the other from the top. On one side of the town is the citadel, where resides the *Mohammedan* prince. It is adorned with stately towers, and surrounded with a flat-bottom ditch, and other fortifications. It hath two gates, one towards the port, whence one may see the ships sailing in and out; and the other looking towards the wide sea.

Fertile soil and climate.

THE country about *Quiloa*, though low, is yet very pleasant, and fertile in rice and millet, fruits and good pasture; so that they breed abundance of cattle, besides poultry of all sorts, both wild and tame. They have fish likewise in great plenty, and very good^m. The climate is likewise affirmed by most travellers to be very temperate and healthy; *Sanut* being the only author we know of who hath ventured to assert the contrary in all these respects; though this was probably done to excuse the *Portuguese* abandoning itⁿ.

^k Id. ib. OSSORIO, lib. i. RAMUS. & al.
BLANC Travels, pt. ii. c. 4.

^l VINC. LE MARMOL, OSSORIO, DAVITY, & al. ub. sup. ^m Lib. xii.

WE read of another *Quiloa* on the continent, which some authors will have to be the same with the *Repta* of *Ptolemy*, because distinguished by the name of the old city ^{City when}. It was built about 100 years ago, by the celebrated *Hali*, the son of ^{built.} *Hofbein*, Soltan of *Shiraz*, or *Persia*, who afterwards made it his residence. It is parted from that on the island by the river *Guabo*, and a narrow arm of the sea, on the south of which it stands. That prince, being come into these parts, pitched upon that spot to build and fortify it, that it might be a kind of bulwark against the insults of the *Cassers*: but ^{Bay and} whatever it might be in his and his successor's time, it is since gone to decay, and is now but an inconsiderable place, and of no great commerce abroad; whereas this in the island, being chiefly inhabited by rich merchants, who traffic with the ^{Opulence.} neighbouring kingdoms, and adjacent islands, for gold, ambergrise, pearls, musk, and other rich commodities, renders it one of the most opulent, as well agreeable cities on this coast ^{P.} Their trading vessels are built much after the same ^{Trading} manner as those of *Mombaso*; only with this peculiarity, we ^{vessels.} are told ^q that they are laid over, inside and outside, with a thick varnish, made of frankincense instead of pitch.

IT is time now to come to the historical part of these two ^{The history} kingdoms; and, that we may proceed in such order as ^{of Quiloa.} to avoid all needless repetitions, and yet omit nothing worth our reader's notice, we shall begin with the foundation of the old city and kingdom of *Quiloa*, by the *Persian* prince above-mentioned; that being the oldest transaction of moment we find concerning them. *Hofbein*, who reigned in *Shiraz*, as we hinted above, left seven sons behind him at his death; one of whom, named *Ali*, or *Hali*, being born of an *Abissinian* ^{Hali, the} slave, and finding himself despised by the rest of his brethren, ^{first found,} resolved to leave that kingdom, and to go seek his fortune ^{der, buys} elsewhere. As he was a prince of great prudence as well as ^{it of the} courage, he quickly made choice of the coast of *Zanguebar* ^{Cassers.} for the first trial, it being known to be a rich one, on account of its vast commerce, as well as of the gold mines on the continent. He accordingly embarked at *Hormuz*, with his small company of friends and other adventurers, in two vessels, and arrived soon after at *Magadoxa*, and thence proceeded to *Brava*, both which have been already described in this chapter; but finding them already inhabited, he was obliged to proceed farther, and in quest of some settlement

* *MAFFE*, Hist. Ind. lib. i. P *MARMOL*, OSSOR. SANUT, RAMUS. DAVITY, & al. sup. citat. q *OSSORIO*, ibid. P page 383, 385, & seq.

where

Conquers
some other
islands.
Assumes
the royal
title.

A list of
his succes-
sors drawn
to the ar-
rival of
the Portu-
guese.

A. D.
1500.

where he might be sole master. He came at length to the bay of *Quiloa*, and having examined the advantageous situation of that peninsula, and consulted in what manner he might best secure himself and his small colony against the attempts of the *Cassers*, he easily obtained leave of them, by means of some presents, to settle and fortify himself in it against the insults of the *Arabs*, who were masters of *Songo*, *Changa*, and other islands in that neighbourhood. It was not long before he had made his new settlement so strong, and the harbour so convenient, as to be able to attempt the reduction of *Monfia*, and some other adjacent islands, by the assistance of his martial son; after which he assumed the title of king of *Quiloa*, and gave that name to this little state.

His first successor *Hali*, surnamed *Bumalo*, reigned 40 years; and, for want of children, left the kingdom to his nephew, named *Hali Buseloquefe*, who reigned only four years and a half, and was succeeded by his son *David*. This last had not reigned above four years before he was driven out of his kingdom by the king of *Changa*, and retired to *Monfia*, which was one of the founder's first conquests, where he died. The king of *Changa*, now master of *Quilka*, sent one of his nephews, named *Hali Boubuquer*, to be governor of it. He was two years after expelled by the inhabitants, who set up in his room *Hofbein Solyman*, who was nephew to *David* the late dispossessed king, and reigned sixteen years. He was succeeded by another of *David's* nephews, named *Hali Bendawd*, who, after a long reign of sixty years, left the kingdom to his grandson of the same name. This last had not reigned above six years before his subjects dethroned him for his tyranny, and set up his brother *Hofbein Ben David* on the throne, who reigned twenty-four years. He was succeeded by *Soleyman*, a prince of the same family, who, after a two years reign, was beheaded by order of his subjects, who raised one of his sons, named *David*, to the throne. *David* reigned 40 years, and was succeeded by his son *Soleyman Hofbein*, a warlike prince, who subdued the greatest part of the coast of *Zanguebar*, and seized on the gold mines of *Sofala*, and of the islands of *Monfia*, *Pemba*, and *Zanzibar*. It was this prince who first raised the city of *Quiloa* to its greatest splendor and opulence, and fortified it with a stout citadel, built of square stone, flanked it with towers, and surrounded it with a ditch. He built also some handsome palaces, and other stately fabricks in the city, where most of the buildings were before of timber only. All which was completed within the space of eighteen years, which was that of his reign. His son and successor reigned only two years,

years, and left the kingdom to his brother *Tahid*, who enjoyed it but one year, and left it to a third brother, named *Hasben*, who reigned 25 years, and was succeeded by a fourth brother, named *Bonji Soleyman*; who, during the 10 years of his reign, proved the most successful of all his brethren, and was most prosperous in all his enterprises.

AFTER his death the crown fell to his nephew *Hali David*, who, after four years reign, left it to another prince, who held it 14 years, and left it to his grandson *Hasben*. This prince proved likewise very successful during the 18 years of his reign, and was moreover an excellent prince. His son *Soleyman* reigned 14 years, and was treacherously murdered as he was coming out of the mosk. By his death the crown devolved on his eldest son *Hasben*, who being then at *Mecca*, his brother *David* took the reins of government, and held them till his return, which was not till two years after, when he resigned them to him again. *Hasben* reigned 24 years, and left no issue, and, after his death, *David* resumed the government, and enjoyed it the same number of years, and was succeeded by his son *Soleyman*, who was dethroned by his uncle *Hasben*, 20 days after his coming to the crown. *Hasben* died six years and a half after, and left it to his nephew *Taluf*, brother to the deposed *Soleyman*.

TALUF reigned only one year, and after him another *Soleyman* reigned two years and four months, and was dethroned by an uncle of his name. This last reigned 24 years 4 months and 20 days, and was succeeded by his son *Hasben*, who reigned likewise 24 years, and left the throne to one of his brothers named *Mahamad*, who, after nine years, was succeeded by his son *Soleyman*, who reigned 22 years, and after him his uncle *Isbmael Ben-Hasben* 14 years. His successor, who was prime minister, and raised to the throne by the people, had not reigned above a year before they deposed him, and chose one of the royal blood named *Mahmud*, but then reduced to extreme poverty, and whose reign proved as short-lived, they having raised the old minister *Hasban* to it, who reigned 10 years, and after him his son *Zayd* 10 more.

ZAYD was no sooner dead than the prime minister seized on the throne, and held it one year. Upon his mounting it, he had substituted in his place of prime minister, one of his brothers named *Mahmud*, who had three brave sons, against whom he conceived such jealousy, that he removed them as far as he could from his capital, under pretence of promoting them to some government; one of whom, named *Jusef*, was lord of *Sofala*. *Anaga*, who came to erect a fortress there, was slain, and the people chose *Abd'alla*, the brother of

the late king *Zayd*, for their king. He reigned about a year and a half, and another brother of his spent as long; after whose death the prime minister attempted to raise *Haytham*, the son of the late prime minister of the same name to the throne. but was opposed by the people, who chose in his room: prince of the royal family, named *Chanda*; but who was on the next year deposed, and *Haytham* again raised to the throne. Four years after he was again deposed in favour of *Braban*, or *Brasin*, the son of the late sultan *Mahmud*. *Brasin* did not hold the reins above two years before he was deposed in favour of his nephew *Afendal*, whose reign proving but short, *Emir Braban*, the prime minister, declared making a fresh election of a king, but laid claim to the throne as being the son of the late *Sulymen*, and first cousin to *Afendal*. However, tho' *Braban* was then master of the metropolis, the people never vouchsafed to give him the royal title, but only that of governor. And what helped to keep him up against them, was the conflicts which arose between the *Quilox* and the *Portuguese* admirals. However we find that the *Afendal* above-mentioned had left a son behind, whom he had by an *Abyssinian* slave, who reigned afterwards in *Quilox*, at the time when the kingdom was become tributary to that of *Portugal*, as we shall see in the sequel of this history. We hope, in the mean time, our readers will not be displeased to have seen such a long series of monarchs preserved, and transmitted to us, through so many centuries, though little more can be found in it than their lineal descent from their first founder, and the length of their reigns, as they have been conveyed to us by the *African* historian, often quoted in this part of the work * (E).

IT

* MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 38.

(E) It is plain however, by the short sketch which that author hath communicated to us, that those *Arabs* had a very regular method of preserving their records; and that the list above-mentioned is only an epitome of what was more fully deposited in them. We shall find in the sequel of this history that, at the time of *Almeid* the *Portuguese* admiral's reducing the city of *Quilox* under tribute, there was a person in it eminent in power and learning, named

Mahmud Acra, on whom that commander would have bestowed the royal dignity, but who generously declined it in favour of one of the princes of the royal blood, whom he recommended to him, to which *Almeid* readily consented. And it is not improbable that it was upon this surprising occasion that the noble *Acra* presented him with this extract of the *Quilox* history, and regular succession of monarchs during the space of four hundred years, if not

IT is now time to return to our history of the *Portuguese* exploits and conquests on this coast, especially in the kingdoms of *Mombaso* and *Melinda*, where we left off.

THE reader may remember that their admiral *Vasco de Gama* ^{re-} *Gama* left the king of *Melinda*, in pursuance of his order, ^{turns to} with a special promise of taking that capital in his way, at his *Melinda*, return for *Europe*. He proved as good as his word; and, ^{and sails} among other valuable presents, sent by that prince to the ^{homeward} king of *Portugal*, *Gama* took with him his ambassador to ^{with an} that court, who was to conclude a treaty of alliance and ^{ambassa-} friendship between them¹. He returned again on the follow- ^{dor.} ing year, well satisfied with his reception and success at ^{A. D.} that court, and in the *Portuguese* fleet, bound for *India*, ^{1500.} commanded by Don *Petro Alvarez de Cabral*, consisting of ^{brings} 13 ships and 1500 men. His orders were, among other ^{back the} things, to try, by all possible means, to obtain of the *Zamorin* ^{Melindan} of *Calicut*², a permission to build a fortress near that city, by ^{ambassa-} which the *Portuguese* might be secure from the insults of ^{dor.} their enemies in the carrying on of their commerce; and, in case of a refusal, to declare him an enemy, and treat him as such; and this we mention by-the-bye, to shew what methods they took to allure or frighten every prince or state into an alliance with the king of *Portugal*; and after what horrid and destructive manner they revenged the pretended affront of their refusal, not only on them, but on all their unhappy and innocent subjects, and all this under the specious cloak of religion, of which we shall quickly give some pregnant instances. However, what at present most chiefly concerns our subject, is, that *Cabral* was further ordered to take *Melinda* in his way, and to assure the king, in his master's name, that his embassy was very acceptable to him, and that he would omit nothing that was in his power to deserve the esteem and friendship of so worthy a prince.

WE shall not enter into a detail of his adventures and disasters, which will be best seen in the history of *Portugal*, but relate only what passed on this coast between him and the

¹ Sup. p. 401, & seq.
vid. sup. vol. ix. p. 274.

& OSOR. lib. ii.

² De hoc,

not the very archives from which it was taken. Accordingly *Marmol* adds, that *Ancon* (as being only the son of a slave) that they would not admit of any king being set over them, unless he was descended from the royal family (10).

several kingdoms he stopped at, after his doubling the *Cape of Good Hope*.

*Arrival
at Mo-
sambico.*

THE first place he touched at was the port of *Mosambico*, where he was to deliver some presents and a letter to the king from his master. But, in his way, meeting with two rich ships, lying at anchor near the coast, whose masters no sooner espied him than they made all the sail they could to escape him, he quickly came up to them, and took them; yet finding afterwards that they belonged to a prince related to the king of *Melinda*, he thought himself obliged to restore them, with all their gold and other valuables they had brought from *Sofala*.

*Extent of
the king's
dominions.*

HAVING performed his commission at *Mosambico*, and provided himself with a pilot for *Quiloa*, he went on coasting at a small distance from the shore, and observing the several fertile islands which lay in his way, and were either subject or tributary to that kingdom, extending in length about 200 miles^w. Having at length reached the port of *Quiloa*, he sent a message to the king, named *Ibrahim*, or, as others write it, *Braham*, or *Abraham*, acquainting him that he brought letters from the king of *Portugal*, by which he would easily perceive how desirous that great monarch was to enter into an alliance with him. He added, that he himself would have been proud of bringing them to his majesty, were it not inconsistent with his office, and the orders he had received not to leave the fleet on any pretence, begging of him, at the same time, to appoint some place upon the water, where he might have the honour of conferring with him about it.

*His civil
answer to
it.*

IBRAIM received the message with great marks of gratitude, and returned the following answer to the admiral: That he would cheerfully embrace an opportunity of entering

*Reception
at Quiloa.*

into an alliance of friendship with a prince for whom he had conceived the greatest esteem; and that seeing he could not have the pleasure of seeing *Cabral* on shore, he would give him the desired meeting on the water, by the very next day. He appeared accordingly, on the morrow, with his vessels, adorned in the richest manner, and attended with a splendid retinue, clad in purple embroidered with silver and gold, and armed with swords and daggers, the handles of which were set with diamonds; the water resounding with the music of their flutes and trumpets; whilst the *Portuguese*, on their part, saluted them with their cannon, and other demonstrations of joy; and *Cabral*, as well as the rest of the officers, who accompanied him in his long-boat, were clothed in the

*Splendid
interview
with him.*

^w OSOR. ub. sup. RAMUS. MARMOL, & al. sup. citat.

most elegant manner. As soon as they were come up with the king's barge, *Cabral*, having saluted him in the most respectful manner, presented him with the letters from king *Emanuel*, written in *Arabic*, and gave him the other particulars of his embassy from him, all which were received with marks of the highest satisfaction and complacency; and it was agreed that *Cabral* should, on the following day, send a proper person to land to give the finishing hand to the proposed treaty of alliance. All this however was quashed before the Ibraim time was come, by the intervention of the *Arabian* merchants ^{infigated} of that city, who gave the king such an odious and dreadful ^{against the} character of the *Portuguese*, and their religion, with their *Portu-* conquests, piracies, tyrannies, restlessness, and cruelty, where- *guese*. ever they got footing, that he was at once deterred not only from pursuing the negotiation, but from ever admitting them to trade in his dominions. And as he doubted not their giving him some signal marks of their resentment on this occasion, he ordered the garrison of the city to be reinforced, and all other hostile preparations that are usually made in sea-port ^{Breaks off} towns, when an enemy is in the harbour. *Cabral* was ^{with} soon apprised of all this, by the brother of the king of *Melinda*, then at *Quiloa*; and, to avoid all further hostilities and dangers, set sail immediately for that kingdom, where he ^{Breaks off} was received with great demonstrations of joy by the king, ^{with} who took care to send him an immediate supply of provisions ^{them.} *Melinda*, and refreshments, sufficient for his whole fleet.

THE first thing which *Cabral* did, after his arrival, was to send the *Melindan* ambassador, whom he had brought back from *Portugal*, on shore, with the presents which *Emanuel* sent to his majesty. The good old king was so highly pleased, that on that day he appeared on horseback, richly dressed, and ^{Breaks off} *Is kindly* went to the sea-side, where *Cabral* and his officers met and ^{Breaks off} saluted him in the usual form. *Cabral*, though earnestly pressed ^{Breaks off} to make a longer stay, civilly declined it; and, having delivered two persons into his care, who were sent by *Emanuel* to penetrate into *Abissinia*, took his leave, and pursued his ^{Breaks off} course for *India*, in which we shall follow him no further than ^{Breaks off} *India*. by observing that he fell foul on all the *Arabian* ships that came in his way, in revenge of the disappointment and affront which those of *Quiloa* had occasioned to him. However, the *Portuguese* resentment did not display itself till the arrival of their new admiral upon this coast, four years after.

THIS was the same Don *Francesco Almeida*, or *Almeid*, who ^{Breaks off} was besides invested with the character of viceroy of *India*; ^{Breaks off} and after much slow sailing and difficulty in doubling the *Cape*, steered his course directly for the island of *Quiloa*, ^{Breaks off}

Almeid's
arrival,

Braham
abandons
the city.

ThePortu-
guese at-
tack it,
and enter
it without
opposition.

Builds a
fort in it.

Fair
speech to
the inha-
bitants.

where he arrived about the latter end of July. The first thing which he did, upon his approaching the port, was to send a formal message to the king with his compliments, and notice of his arrival, which that prince, however (whether out of hatred to his nation, or fear of his resentment, or, as the Portuguese historian words it, conscious of his wickedness, instead of answering, left the city in the silence of the night*.

THE citizens, finding themselves deserted by their pusillanimous king, had immediate recourse to the brave *Mahmad Ancon*, mentioned in the last note; and begged that he would lead them against the common enemy, promising to obey him, and fight in defence of their lives and liberties; which *Almeid*, having waited some time for the king, or for some answer to his message, and beginning to suspect some hostile design, resolved to attack the city in form, and staid no longer than till the tide was at its height, which then commonly comes up to the walls of it, and then landed five hundred brisk fellows, whom he divided into two battalions; the one of 200 men, the command of which he gave to his son *Laurence*, and headed the other himself; at the sight of whom, *Ancon* and his citizens fled also out of the town, so that the Portuguese entered it without opposition. This failed not to alarm that suspicious general, who, now dreading some treacherous design, ordered his men to halt, and his son, with his battalion, to proceed slowly, and with great circumspection, and, on no account to suffer them to break their ranks. His precautions, however, proved needless, seeing the few that were left in the town were either such as had neither courage nor strength to oppose him; so that he ordered it to be plundered out of hand, and the spoil to be deposited in a large house, where he distributed it amongst his men, reserving for himself one single arrow.

HIS next care was to set them about building a fort in a proper place, near the shore, to repel the enemy in case of need; and, whilst that work was carrying on, sent a message to fetch *Mahmad Ancon* and the other citizens to him, who, upon their arrival, threw themselves on their knees, and implored his mercy; but he quickly raised *Ancon* up, telling him and them that they had no cause to fear any thing from him, but rather to be thankful to be delivered from the usurpation of a cruel and perfidious coward, and be restored to their liberty under the auspicious reign, and by the singular clemency, of king *Emanuel*, a most powerful, and no less be-

* OSORIO, ubi supra, lib. iv. & al. sup. citat.

devotent,

nevolent, prince. He then proceeded to recapitulate the many injuries and cruelties they had suffered under their dastardly tyrant, and the blessings they might promise themselves under the protection of the king his master; as a proof of which, he told them, he would raise *Mahmud Ancon* to the royal dignity, whose affection, fidelity, and conduct, they had so long and often experienced. Thus did the artful admiral cajole the now subdued and heartless *Quiloans* out of one slavery into a worse; and, to conclude the scene with the greater shew of splendor, saluted him king of *Quiloa*, in the name of *Emanuel* his master, and placed a crown of gold upon his head; imposing, at the same time, an annual tribute upon him, which he obliged him, by a solemn oath, to pay; and to behave, in all other respects, as a most faithful vassal to the crown of *Portugal* (F).

THE admiral, having succeeded so far, beheld, with no small pleasure, the remainder of the people, who had abandoned the city, flock back again at the news of their old chief being now become their king; as well as the first marks of their loyalty

(F) It will not be amiss to add here from *Marmol* some other ceremonies attending this mock kind of coronation, to shew our *English* readers a specimen of the *Portuguese* address on these and the like occasions. It was performed on a stage reared for the purpose, to which he made the new king ride in great pomp, mounted on a stately horse, richly attired, and attended with the acclamations both of the *Quiloans* and *Portuguese*. To his other royal ornaments he added a scarlet surcoat, lined with white satin, and with gold buttons and button-holes, and a royal mantle of the same.

All the chief men of the city were ordered to be present at his installation; and the nature of the ceremony easily drew thither the rest of the people. Silence being commanded, a herald declared aloud the occasion of their meeting in *Portu-*

guise, which was interpreted to them in *Arabic*. The purport of which was, that *Br. ham*, or *Ibrahim*, having, for his treasonable misdeemeanors, forfeited his crown, the lieutenant-general of the king of *Portugal*, and his officers there present, having, by right of conquest, gained the possession of it, did bestow it, in the name of the king their master, upon *Mahmud Ancon*, both as a reward of his merit and fidelity, together with the title of king; on condition that he shall pay the same tribute that *Braham* did to the crown of *Portugal*.

The ceremony being ended, he was made to cavalcade it thro' the city in the same pompous manner, having a standard borne before him, with the arms of *Portugal*, followed by all their trumpets, and other musical instruments, the citizens marching behind, and crying, *long live king Mahmud*.

An esplanade made between the fort and city.

to their new lord the king of *Portugal*, which he had exacted from them, which were to assist his men in the compleating of the fort which he had begun, and, to stir them up to the greater dispatch, ordered his tent to be set up at the foot of it. He caused likewise some 8 or 10 of the adjacent houses to be demolished to make an esplanade between the city and fort, and on the sea-side caused some outworks to be made, and a large ditch to be dug round, to guard the place on that side, as well as on the land side. The fort, thus finished, was called *Fort St. James*, the patron of *Spain*, on account of their having entered the city on the eve of his festival. The last thing he did was to appoint a governor, and to leave a good garrison in it, together with a couple of vessels to guard the coast; eight days after which he steered his course towards *Mombasa*.

Mahomed treacherously murdered.

A different account of it from Oforio.

A singular instance of his loyalty.

THUS far our two authors agree as to the promotion and coronation of *Mahmud Ancon*: but whilst the one leaves him in the quiet and chearful possession of his new kingdom, till he was treacherously murdered by an ungrateful prince, a friend of the deposed *Brabam*, whom he had obliged, in a most singular manner, and afterwards to have been succeeded in the regal dignity by his own son⁷; the other⁸ tells us, that that brave and noble prince, far from being satisfied with his exaltation to that dignity, took an opportunity, before *Almeid's* departure, to divest himself of it in favour of a surviving son of the late king *Alfudail*, his particular friend, by an act of the most unprecedented gratitude and loyalty to the royal family; and prevailed upon the admiral to send for the young prince, and to settle the crown upon him, which was readily complied with, to the great admiration of all the *Portuguese*, who could not but highly applaud such a generous deed in an *Arabian* and *Mohammedan*, which, they were conscious, none of them could imitate.

THE reader will see, in a few words, the substance of the two accounts, as they are differently related by our two authors, in the margin (G); whilst we resume the thread of our history.

⁷ MARMOL, ubi sup.

⁸ OSORIO, lib. iv.

(G) According to *Marmol's* account, the *Portuguese* were become so powerful and insolent upon that coast, that they made a prodigious number of rich captures, under pretence of their carrying contraband goods, making prisoners of the owners

and sailors at their pleasure. Among others they took one coming from the island of *Angacha*, in which was the son of the king of *Tirendicanda*, then an inhabitant of *Quiloa*, whom the governor of the new fort caused to be seized and imprisoned, undec

history. Whether it was *Alfudail's* son, whom our author doth not name, or *Mahamed*, who was left in possession of

der pretence that his father was at war with the *Portuguese*, and a relation of the deposed *Brabam*. This, continues our author, induced the new king, who had not yet made any alliance with other princes, and was desirous of being in friendship with his neighbours, to take this opportunity of laying an obligation on that prince, by redeeming his son, at the price of 3000 pieces of gold, and equipping him suitably to his rank, and sending him back to his father; who no sooner heard of it, than he dispatched a messenger to him to thank him for his generosity, and to invite him to an interview, to consult about their mutual interest; adding, that he would then readily reimburse him what he had laid out for his son.

The governor tried in vain to dissuade *Mahmud* from the interview; alledging that the king, being an enemy to the *Portuguese*, and a relation of *Brabam*, he could expect no good result from it. *Mahmud* was deaf to his advice, and ventured himself with him in a vessel attended by a small retinue; and such as should carry the face of confidence and friendship, rather than fear or distrust. But his ill-timed credulity cost him his life, being stabbed with a dagger, as he was asleep, by the perfidious prince, who palliated the horrid deed with saying, that he owed more to his own kindred than to him for the service he had received him. His death occasioned great contests in *Quiloa*,

which were however quelled in part by the election of his son in his room. Thus far *Marmol's* account.

That of the bishop is as follows. When *Mahmud* came to pay his compliments to *Almeid*, after he had obtained of him the release of the *Arabian* prisoners, he proceeded with a fresh request to this purpose: "There having been a strict friendship between the late king *Alfudail*, whom the traitor *Brabam* murdered, and myself, and it being now out of my power to resign the kingdom to him, I most earnestly intreat you to let me send for his son, and that you will please to let me confer it upon him. I shall never prefer regal power or wealth to my duty and allegiance; not that I think myself or my sons unworthy of that honour; yet, as the enjoying it and leaving it to them, would be doing the highest injustice to those of the late king, I should think I deserve to be branded with everlasting infamy, and was intailing the greatest guilt and disgrace on my posterity; I rather chuse to leave them this example of my fidelity and honesty, than the richest patrimony, or the most opulent kingdom." This loyal request was highly admired by the *Portuguese*, especially by the admiral, who sent out of hand for *Alfudail's* son, and invested him with the regal dignity, as the heir apparent to the crown (12).

(12) *Confer. Marmol, lib. ix. c. 39. & Ofor. lib. iv. Ramus. & al.*

New tumults in the city.

King Emanuel the chief cause of them.

Commerce at sea obstructed.

Vaal sent to suppress the Portuguese piracies.

New dissensions.

the *Quiloan* throne, (though the latter seems to us the most probable, because he was actually slain, some time after, by *Tirecundus*, a friend of *Braham*, though not so soon after his elevation), it is certain that the face of affairs altered quickly after *Almeid's* departure, and the good understanding that seemed to reign between the *Arabs* and *Portuguese*, was soon turned into distrust and resentment; king *Emanuel* giving the first occasion, by depriving the *Quiloans*, as well as the other kingdoms on that coast, of one of the most advantageous branches of their commerce; viz. that with *Sofala*, of which he was now become master, and was resolved to engross wholly to himself; for this proved the source of such frequent depredations, or rather piracies, under the specious pretence of searching for, or punishing those of the natives who carried, contraband goods, as if the king of *Portugal* had been really what the chief of the *Imbis* called him, the absolute sovereign of the sea^a. The commerce, both on that coast and adjacent islands, was almost wholly interrupted, and the natives quite impoverished; whilst the *Portuguese* gained immense riches by their tyrannic depredations.

At length such heavy and repeated complaints came from all these parts to the viceroy of *Goa*, that he saw it absolutely necessary to send one of his officers named *Vaal* thither, to put the most speedy end he could to these disorders, by forbidding all those dreadful piracies on the one hand, and going through all the trading ports, and inviting the natives to resume their wonted commerce, with promises that it should be free for the future from all molestation, and this in the viceroy's name, and that of the king of *Portugal*. This, in some measure, revived the spirits of the natives, and in particular of the *Quiloans*, many of whom had before abandoned that city, and gone to settle at *Mombasa*, *Melinda*, *Zanguibar*, and other parts, and returned again at this news, though a still greater number staid away.

ALL this while the city of *Quiloa* was strangely divided, *Braham* having still a strong party in it, who preferred him, as being of the royal blood, though by a slave, to *Mahmud* or his son, who were of mean extraction; but the governor and his *Portuguese*, and as many of the *Arabs* as they had drawn into their interest, stuck so close to the new made king, that *Braham* finding he could gain nothing against him by open force, resolved to destroy him by treachery; and, to that end, hired a resolute fellow to assassinate him. Here again our authors differ afresh; one telling us that he missed

^a See before, p. 412.

his blow, and only gave him a wound in the arm, which did not however prove dangerous, though the assassin was seized and put to death^b. Whereas the other affirms, that he actually murdered him, and that his son, named *Hagi Hofsein*, whom *Almeid's* governor had raised to that dignity, was chosen in his room, as we observed in the last note from him. But, adds the same author, this, instead of quelling, greatly increased the discontent, because he immediately insisted upon waging war against *Braham*, as the murderer of his father; though in other respects he did several public acts to gain their favour; so that on a sudden the city was broke out in open revolt, upon hearing that he had engaged *Mano Manfa*, a powerful neighbouring prince, to attack *Braham* by land, whilst he, unexpectedly, fell upon him by sea.

*Braham
ravages
the coun-
try.*

THIS revolt did not, however, divert him from his design; on the contrary, he and his ally succeeded so well in it, that *Braham* was forced to flee, whilst they ravaged the whole country, and carried away prisoners all that had engaged on his side. *Hagi Hofsein* at length was now grown so haughty and insolent, as to ill treat the kings of *Melinda*, *Zanguibar*, and other *Arabian* princes; which so highly provoked them, that a war soon ensued, in which the *Quiloans* lost many of their citizens, and suffered so much, in other respects, from those princes, as well as from the *Cassers*, on his account, that his very name was become so odious, that it was not mentioned without some execration. At length both the citizens and *Arabian* chiefs agreed to send a deputation to the viceroy of *Goa*, to beg that, in order to put an end to those destructive feuds, he would restore the deposed *Braham* to the crown, or bestow it on his nephew *Nicanto*, for whom they had already declared, and made some attempts to raise to the throne. The viceroy accordingly sent orders to the governor of *Quiloa* to reinstate the former; but the governor, not daring to trust him so far, caused the latter to be crowned, and *Hofsein* to be deposed; who, not brooking his disgrace, retired to *Mamba-se*, where he died soon after.

THE new king behaved, during the two first years of his reign, like a wise and good prince; but growing afterwards more debauched and tyrannic, became as odious to his subjects as he had been admired by them. And, to complete his misfortune, his friend the governor's time being expired, a new one arrived, who proved less favourable to him; whilst, on the other hand, *Braham*, enraged to see him preferred before him, declared war against him. The Christians suffered

*Nicanto
grows
odious.*

*Braham
makes war
against
Nicanto,*

^b OSORIO, & al. sup. citat. ubi sup.

greatly

The Christian great sufferers by it. greatly in this contest, and many of them were slain in fighting against him. At length *Braham* got the better, and made his entry into *Quiloa*, at the head of his *Cassers*, who were commanded by his brother *Mingo*. The new governor and his nephew were soon after made prisoners, and *Nicanto* defeated at the head of forty Christians, which were all that were then able to take up arms, and performed wonders in that encounter, to shew his fidelity to the *Portuguese*. In the mean time there arrived an order to the governor for demolishing the fortrefs, (wherein the reasons for building it were disapproved) and he and his garrison were to remove to the island of *Zocotora*, lately taken by *Triftran de Cugna*. The governor had, it seems, before this time, deposed *Nicanto*, and sent his nephew to *Braham* to invite him to resume the regal dignity. *Nicanto* had accordingly retired to the isle of *Quirimbo*, where he died miserably soon after, and *Braham* came and took possession of the *Quiloean* crown; and having by his late deposition and disgrace become more prudent, governed the island peaceably and happily, and taught his children to do the same after him; that is, as our author words it, by a close adherence to the service and interest of the king of *Portugal*, and an expeditious dispatch of his affairs^c. Thus was this isle and kingdom happily freed, if not from a state of subjection and tribute, yet at least from the tyranny and oppression of a *Portuguese* governor and garrison, which were a constant nuisance to the natives both at land and sea.

Braham enters Quiloea.

Takes the governor prisoner.

The fort demolished.

The garrison ordered to Zocotora.

Nicanto deposed.

Almeid arrives at Mombaso.

His great caution.

It is time now to follow the *Portuguese* admiral to *Mombaso*, the next kingdom on which he made a new and more successful attempt than his predecessors had done. We have already observed that the capital of it is situated on a peninsula, made since into an island by cutting of a chanel on the land side^d. It lies between *Melinda* on the north, and *Quiloea* on the south, and pretty near at the same distance from both. As soon as the admiral came near it, he ordered his captain to sound the depth of the shore all the way; for though he had two expert *Arabian* pilots, who assured him that there was a sufficient depth of water for him to come closely to it, yet would he not so far confide in them as to venture nearer till he had it confirmed by him, that he might make his approaches accordingly.

^c MARMOL *Afric*, in fin. lib. ix. & al. ubi sup. before, p. 408.

^d See

It was on the 30th day of *August* when he anchored in view of the city with eleven large ships. The city had neither walls nor any other fortifications, saving two old towers towards the water-side, built of stone, and surrounded with a ditch, and an old bulwark of earth, on which the inhabitants had planted a battery of seven or eight cannon, which they had taken out of a *Portuguese* ship which had been wrecked near it. With these they immediately began to annoy the above-mentioned captain *Gonzalo Pavia*, as he was founding the bay, who returned their fire with interest from his larger guns; a shot from which happening to light on their magazine of powder, set it on fire; which so terrified the garrison, that they abandoned the bulwark, and fled into the city. By the next morning, *Almeid* was come up close to the place with his whole fleet, which he divided into two squadrons, in order to attack it in two different parts, leaving his son *Lawrence* with one them before the city, whilst he with the other went and posted himself behind a nook of land, whence he sent two armed barks to sail round the island, and posted two of his ships at proper places, to hinder the inhabitants from retiring into the continent, as those of *Quiloa* had done. The two barks being come back, brought with them a *Moor*, whom they had taken, and who acquainted him that the king had hired 1500 *Cassers*, besides his own garrison, to defend the city, and that he had expressly forbid them all to go out of the city under pain of death.

One of his captains set a magazine on fire.

At this news *Almeid* thought proper, before he began any hostilities, to dispatch one of his officers to the king with a message of peace, and offers of friendship from the great and potent *Emanuel*, with large promises of his favour and protection, and a copious display of the many advantages that would accrue to him and his kingdom by becoming his ally and tributary; adding, that it could be no dishonour to the king of *Mombaso* to acknowledge such a mighty monarch for his sovereign, seeing so many other considerable princes, both in *Africa* and *India*, had voluntarily subjected themselves to his authority. He concluded, however, after the usual manner of his nation on such occasions, with telling him, that if he refused his generous offers, he should be obliged to compel him to it, and force him to live happy under the dominion of one of the best of princes. The messenger drew near accordingly, attended with one of the *Arabian* pilots, which they had brought from *Quiloa*, and desired to be admitted to the king, and deliver the admiral's peaceful message to him; but the inhabitants bid him at his peril to attempt to land, and threatened to tear him in pieces, if he did not immediately retire;

Sends an officer to the king;

who is repulsed with disdain.

retire; bidding him, in scorn, to go back to his ships, and let his master know, that he had not now to do with the women of *Quiloe*, but with men of courage and valour, as he should find them to his cost, if he attempted to enter the port with his fleet. *Almeid*, provoked at his answer, was going to reply to it with the fire of his artillery; but, upon cooler thoughts, was willing to be first informed of the strength of the place by better hands; and, on that very night, ordered a couple of his captains to go on shore, and seize on some of the inhabitants, from whom, by fair or foul means, he might get intelligence of the king's strength and design. They accordingly landed with great silence; and brought back with them, soon after, a person who proved to be one of the king's domestics and friends, and acquainted him, that the king his master, upon hearing of the taking of *Quiloe*, had, besides his own army, taken into his service 4000 mercenaries, and expected 2000 more. That he had moreover, a large magazine of arms, and was provided with all other necessaries for a brave defence, and was able to repel a much greater army from his city and fortifications.

The strength of the town, confirmed by fresh intelligence. The siege of it resolved on.

Part of it set on fire.

The distress of the inhabitants.

ALMEID, nothing discouraged at this report, resolved to attack the place on the very next day, which was the 15th of *August*, and the feast of the *Virgin Mary's* assumption; and ordered his son, with some of his officers, to land with all expedition, to set fire to that part of the town which stood nearest the shore, and destroy the barricades, with which they had stopped up the entrance of the fleet on that side; but with orders, if they met with too strong an opposition, to retire as fast and as well as they could. His commands were executed with such speed and success, that many houses were all on a blaze, before the townsmen could make any opposition, the admiral having ordered a constant fire of his artillery to be made, to cover their descent. They at length collected their forces to that side, and attacked the besiegers with great bravery. A fierce onset soon ensued, in which 70 of the garrison were killed upon the spot, and but two on the *Portuguese* side. All this while the fire spread with such fury and devastation, that the inhabitants were doubly distressed, being necessitated to fight the enemy, and extinguish the flames, which threatened the destruction of the whole city. And such was the violence of the heat, that the *Portuguese*, no longer able to bear it, were forced to retire to their ships.

Almeid lands, and

On the next morning, before break of day, the fire still giving sufficient light to enter the town, the admiral, as had been agreed, easily gained the height of the sea-coast, attended

attended with his men, and made towards the royal palace, without meeting with any opposition; but suspecting there might be some ambush, forbore beginning the attack till it was broad day-light; when finding the streets clear and defenceless, he ventured through them in his way to the palace; whilst his son *Lawrence* headed his men against another quarter of the town, as there was no wall about it to obstruct their entrance. These, however, met with no small opposition when they came into the streets and lanes, which they found so narrow and crowded by the inhabitants, that it was with the utmost difficulty and danger that they could force their passage through volleys of stones and darts, which were shot at them from the windows and tops of the houses, and obstructed their pursuit of those who annoyed them in front, after they had forced them to give way. This at length enraged them to such a degree, that they set about bursting open the doors, and forcing their way, up the stairs, to the top; where, with incredible fury, they quickly cleared the row of those annoyers, by throwing some down headlong, killing others, and putting the rest to flight, the houses being all contiguous, and the roofs a continued flat from end to end, as we have elsewhere observed. But even then the inhabitants soon found out a way to spoil that destructive expedient, by demolishing here and there a house, and preventing the enemy's proceeding further; by which stratagem, *Lawrence*, who commanded the van, and *Nouio*, who headed the rear, were so effectually parted, that they could no longer assist each other, but lay exposed again to the stones and darts which were discharged at them on both sides. This obliged them to have recourse to their first expedient, and force their passage into the roofs of other houses; where, leaping from one to the other, they re-united again, drove all before them, and got rid of all opposition and danger.

DURING the dreadful contest in this part of the city, *Almeid* and his men had been as cruelly infested in every street through which they were to pass to gain the palace; the people discharging continual showers of darts and stones from the windows and the tops of the houses. But he had had the precaution to order a file of musqueteers and bowmen to march just before him, and to make a continual discharge of their arms against the windows and terraces; while he did the like against those *Arabs* who opposed him in front; by which means they got at length to the palace, without any great loss.

The Portuguese in imminent danger.

Stratagem to save themselves from it.

Almeid gains the royal palace,

* See before, p. 409.

which is
abandoned
by the
king.

THEY were not a little surpris'd to find the place destitute of guards within and without ; but at all hazards began to burst open the gates, and to crowd into it with great eagerness, meeting with only a few *Arabs* in their way, whom they quickly dispatched, or put to flight ; and, without any farther opposition, made themselves masters of it. For whilst they were breaking into it, the pusillanimous king had given them the slip through a back gate, with his wives and family, and as many of his household as could follow him, and was retired into a neighbouring wood of palm-trees, where they lay concealed for a while.

Lorenzo
marches
to the pa-
lacc.

IN the mean time Don *Lorenzo*, being apprised that the corps of reserve was in danger, marched with all speed to their relief ; and, having repulsed the *Arabs*, joined his forces with them, and marched directly to the palace, which he found already taken, and guarded by *Pedro Bermudio*, by *Almeid's* orders ; and from him they learned the particulars of their forcing into the castle, and of the king's flight. This last news was no sooner spread through the city, than the inhabitants and garrison, who, till then, had behaved with great valour and conduct, in defence of the place, began to slacken their courage, and to think of their own safety, especially after they found the *Portuguese* had set up their standard and the cross on the walls of the palace, and burned some merchant vessels that lay in the harbour ; so that a general panic had already dispersed the greatest part, and the rest lay concealed where they could avoid the enemy's resentment.

The king
sends terms
of accom-
modation ;

WHILST the *Portuguese* soldiers were refreshing themselves after their great fatigue, a new object appeared at a distance, which drew the attention of *Almeid*. It was one of the *Arabs*, who had followed the king into the wood, and was now come out with a white flag in his hand, which he waved to them, as if desiring a parley. Upon which a man was immediately sent to know what he had to offer ; who answered, that the king would engage to become vassal and tributary to *Portugal*, on condition the city was exempt from being plundered ; and that he begged to have an interview with him about it, and some hostage for his security. *Almeid* seemed at first willing to lend an ear to the proposal, but would not send any other hostage than his gauntlet, and afterwards his helmet. But these not being looked upon as sufficient pledges, and the king not appearing, the soldiers began to murmur at it, some being for plundering the city out of hand, and others for attacking the king in his intrenchments. But *Almeid*, thinking this last expedient would prove too dangerous,

which are
rejected.

ous, and difficult, as the wood might serve them for an advantageous fence against him, rejected it, and contented himself with having made himself master of so considerable a place, and immediately gave it up to be plundered, and distributed its several quarters amongst his men. The spoil was inconsiderable, according to some writers, the inhabitants having timely conveyed away their most valuable effects; though others will have it to have been so great that they were obliged to leave a great part of it behind^f; but all agree that he found a great quantity of arms and engines of war. The number of the slain was, of the *Mombasahs* 1500, and of the *Portuguese* only five, one of whom, an ancient captain, named *Ferdinand Decio*, died of a wound in his foot from a poisoned arrow. About 2000 were made prisoners, of whom *Almeid* kept 200 of the most considerable, and some of the handsomest women, and released the rest. To conclude this catastrophe, the soldiers had no sooner done glutting their avarice, than their general ordered them to set fire to the city at three different quarters, by which above three parts of it were reduced to ashes; tho' the poor remainder of it helped to invite its forlorn citizens to re-people and re-build it by degrees. What became of the unfortunate king we are not told; it is not however improbable that he went and put himself under the protection of his next neighbour the emperor of *Monoemugi*, to whom he became a vassal and tributary for that part of his kingdom which lies on the continent, whilst the city and island of *Mombaso* quickly resumed its ancient grandeur, by becoming the residence of the king of *Melinda*, the old friend and ally, as well as vassal, of *Portugal*, and of the *Portuguese* governor of all that coast. As for *Almeid*, he set sail soon after for *Melinda*, in order to settle, probably, with that prince, the conditions on which he was to become possessor of *Mombaso*, under the king his master; but, being prevented by a storm, was obliged to put into a bay about three leagues short of it; whence he sent his compliments and excuse for not being able to wait upon him in person, with the presents sent to him by the court of *Portugal*. He staid no longer here than till he had received an answer to his message, and a plentiful supply of provisions from that monarch; after which, being joined by some other of his ships, he set sail again, in quest of some rich *Arabian* ships, which he was apprised, by good intelligence, would pass by that way, in less than a month, and

The city plundered and set on fire.

Almeid's departure.

^f Conf. MARMOL, lib. x. c. 2. OSORIO, lib. iv. RAMUS. & al. sup. citat.

fall into his hands if he kept a good look-out : but whether we shall follow him no farther.

S E C T. III.

The Kingdom of Mosambico.

*Kingdom
of Mo-
sambico.*

SAILING still farther southward on the same coast, the next kingdom of any note (A) is that called *Mosambico*, from its capital of that name, situate on an island under the 16th degree of south latitude, and is the chief of the three isles which compose this kingdom ; the others are called by

* *Oson. ubi sup. &c.*

(A) We say of note, because it would carry us beyond our bounds to describe all those that lie on this coast, concerning which we know but few particulars beyond their names and situation, worth our readers notice.

To give one instance for all, we meet with two such kingdoms or states between that of *Quiloa*, mentioned in the last section, and this of *Mosambico* ; viz. *Mongalo* and *Angos*. The former is a small kingdom near the mouth of the *Cuama*, well peopled, mostly with *Arabs*, who are *Mohammedans*, and drive a good commerce with that of *Monomotapa*, in gold, elephants teeth, gums, &c.

The other is called *Angos*, from its capital, and by the *French* and *Italians* *Angoche* and *Angochia*, which signifies anguish ; this capital is situate on another branch of the *Cuama*, about 160 leagues from its other mouth. This kingdom is much smaller than that of *Mongalo*, which is said to extend far

westward into the continent. Both of them are fruitful, producing abundance of rice and millet, and breed great quantities of cattle. The inhabitants of both are mostly *Mohammedans*, but intermixed with *Negroes*, who are *Idolaters*, and are remarkable for the lowness of their stature. They go naked from the middle upwards ; the rest they wrap up with pieces of silk and cotton, wear a turban, or go bare-headed, according to their circumstances. They are all given to traffic, and chiefly with the kingdoms of *Quiloa*, *Mombasa*, *Melinda*, and *Monomotapa*, and in much the same sort of merchandizes.

These are all the particulars we know of these kingdoms, and that only with relation to the sea-coast ; but of the inland we know still less, except that the inhabitants are a brutish generation, who go stark naked, and live chiefly on the flesh of elephants and other wild beasts (1).

(1) *De his vid. Od. Barbof. ubi sup. Pigafet. Congo. lib. ii. c. 28. Linsbat. Guin. c. 7. Le Blanc. pt. 2. c. 5. Davity, Dapper, La Cœux, & al.*

the *Portuguese* St. George and St. James, and all three lie on the mouth of the river *Magincata* or *Megincata*, between the kingdom of *Quiloa*, spoken of in the preceding section, and that of *Sofala*, of which we shall speak in the next *.

THE celebrated *Vasco de Gama*, often mentioned in this chapter, was the first *European* we know of, who discovered and came to an anchor near it, after his doubling the *Cape of good Hope*; and here it was that he informed himself of the inhabitants about the main design of his voyage, the finding out a way into *India* by sea; and about the people who lived on this coast: and here it was that he was apprised of the vast commerce which was carried on by them from one kingdom and sea-port to another, and, among other particulars, that this island, which they told him was subject to the then king of *Quiloa*, was one of the most considerable marts on all the eastern coast; that it sent ships into *Arabia*, and many other parts of the world, and was resorted to by merchants from thence, who imported great variety of the richest commodities in great quantities: they added, that he had passed by a coast called *Sofala*, which abounded with gold mines, and was likewise a place of great commerce. For all which informations *Gama* gratified these kind *Arabs* with an elegant collation, and some small presents.

First discovered,

A. D.

1497.

WE have had occasion to mention the kind reception which he met with at first from the brave governor *Zacocia*, who supposed them to be *Mohammedans* like himself, and the greatest part of the inhabitants, and the repulse he gave him, upon the discovery of his being a Christian †; which shews that the conquest and behaviour of the *Portuguese* on the western coast had by that time reached this, and had already rendered their name no less odious than dreaded: so that it was with great difficulty that the admiral escaped being destroyed by those zealous *Mohammedans*. His successors on the coast proved more fortunate in a short time, as may be judged by the conquests they have made on it, and particularly on this island; upon which, having artfully obtained leave from one of those *Arabian* cheiks to build a fort, which might be a safeguard to them both, they have since made themselves masters of it, ingrossed the whole commerce, and made that port one of the securest harbours to rest and refresh; or, if the winds and weather do not favour, even to winter commodiously in, in their passage to and from the *East-Indies*. The only misfortune is, that the island lying low, and the town surround-

The island described.

* SAKUT, OD. BARBOSA, LINSCHOT, PICAFETA, DAVITY, & al.

† See before, p. 402.

ed with marshes, the air is not quite so healthy as could be wished; but in all other respects it abounds with almost every conveniency for life and pleasure, and with most products, as well as manufactures, of that and other parts of the world.

In want of water.

It labours however under a scarcity of fresh water, having only one spring to supply it, which rises among some palm-trees at a small distance from the town, but which is quickly exhausted: so that they are obliged to fetch most of it from a place called *Gabbacero*, on the continent, and to preserve it in large earthen jars. They have likewise very large cisterns to receive all the rain water they can, both for their kitchen and their gardens.

Several other islands near it.

THE island of *Mosambico*, though the largest of the three, is nevertheless very small, not being above two bow-shots in breadth, and about six in length, and about two miles from the continent. The bay is about three miles in circuit, so that the points of land on each side advance into the sea. The other two of *St. George* and *St. James*, lie on each side of it, facing the continent in a direct line with it. Over-against that of *St. George*, and about a mile from it, is the cape called by the Portuguese *Cabo Cetra*, which is a small peninsula, joined to the continent by a small neck of land, which is covered with the sea at high, but is fordable at low water. There are some smaller islands between that and the head-land, inhabited by *Mohammedans*, the most considerable of which are those of *St. Christopher*, of the *Holy Ghost*, *Magliaglia*, *Comoro*, *Anzama*, and *Majotta*^b. The bay, which serves for a haven both for the islands and continent, is convenient and safe, seldom having less than eight or ten fathom depth of water, and that so clear that one may see every bank, rock, and shallow, and may sail into it without a pilot. To make the town of *Mosambico*, one must sail between those of *St. George* and *St. James* and the continent, leaving the former on the right, and the latter on the left, from south to north; by this rout one comes safely and easily to the fort, and the ships lie sheltered from every wind^c.

The city described.

THE city of *Mosambico*, according to the Dutch pilot *Verheeven's* journal, is very handsome, the houses well built, especially the churches and convents, and the fort or castle is about a musket-shot from the town. Much the same description of it is given by captain *Paul Caerden*, last quoted, who adds, that the convent of the *Dominicans* is likewise an

^b LINSCHOT Guin. c. 8. MONETH. voyag. & al. ^c P. CAERDEN 2 voyag. in India. RAMUS. LA MARTINIERE, JARRIC, & al.

hospital for the sick; and great need there is for such a place, considering the inhabitants of the island, and the number of ships which winter there in bad seasons, besides those which pass to and from the *East-Indies*. The fort is likewise one of the strongest and best contrived the *Portuguese* have on this coast. It is of a square form, and each corner is flanked by a bulwark, with some pieces of artillery, which are a sufficient fence both to the town and the haven. It is surrounded with a threefold rampart, and a large ditch, and hath stood proof against all the attempts of the *Dutch* against it d.

The citadel described.

UPON the whole, this port of *Mosambico* is, as it were, the key of the *East-Indies* to the *Portuguese*, which, if once lost, or wrested from them by any *European* trading nation, they would hardly be able to carry on that extensive commerce, it being almost impossible to continue their voyage without such a place for making fresh provision of water, and other necessaries, for refreshing their men, or even to winter in, as they often do, though against their will, when the weather will not permit them to proceed. To all this we may add, that it is also of great importance to them, as it is now become a means to keep so many kingdoms in awe, both along the coast and the adjacent islands, who are either their allies, or tributary to them; and secures to them the free, if not the sole, commerce with those of *Sofala* and *Monomotapa*, whence they export such quantities of gold and other rich commodities. We need not therefore wonder at the *Dutch* having made so many strenuous, though hitherto fruitless, attempts to wrest it out of their hands, particularly ann. 1606, when *Paul Van Caerden* their admiral laid siege to it with 40 stout ships; but, after thirty-two days, finding all his efforts frustrated, was glad to raise it again, and continue his voyage to the *Indies* †.

The importance of it to the Portuguese.

THE soil of the island, like that of the shore, is nothing else but a white barren sand; yet have the richer fort found means to procure an artificial one in several parts of the island, on which grow very fine citrons, oranges, ananas, figs, and such-like fruits, notwithstanding their great scarcity of water: but the far greater part of their other fruits, pulse, roots, and other esculents, are brought thither from the continent.

Soil and produce.

IT is far otherwise at land, where the ground is fat and fertile in rice, millet, variety of roots, pulse, fruits, and plants:

† P. VAN CAERDEN, DAVITY, LE CROIX, & al. sup. citat.
† PAUL CAERDEN's voyage into India.

Among others of this last kind, they have one called by the *Portuguese Pao D' Antak*, antak wood, which spreads itself along the ground not unlike the *aristolochum longum*, and bears a grain like our pease, but somewhat more longish and soft, of a green colour. But the chief virtue lies in the root, which,

*Antak dis-
temper and
remedy.*

Liquors.

as they say, is a sovereign remedy against the distemper of that name, which is occasioned by a too great familiarity of the *Europeans* with the *Negro women* of that country; that being the only remedy they know against it *. They make likewise several pleasant liquors from their fruits; but the most common among them is made of millet, and called: *Huyembo*, or *Puembo* †.

*Wild
beasts,
fowls, &c.*

THEY likewise breed vast quantities of cattle, large and small, particularly sheep with large tails, often mentioned in this and other volumes. They swarm with wild beasts of various kinds, as stags and wild boars, but especially elephants, which are so fierce and destructive, that the inhabitants are obliged to kindle large fires round their sown fields, to prevent their being devoured by them. Neither dare they stir far from their homes, without lighted torches or firebrands in their hands, to frighten them away; and even with these they have much ado to save themselves from being destroyed, especially by those of the female kind which have young ones. The woods are likewise filled with wild fowl of all sorts, and particularly with a kind of wild poultry, not unlike our common sort, excepting that they are as large as our turkies, spotted with white and grey, though with smaller heads in proportion, and short combs, but thicker, and of a more vivid red than ours. Their flesh is black, but delicious above all other fowl, as their hogs, which are here in great abundance, are above all other flesh; insomuch that the physicians not only permit but prescribe them to their patients, when they forbid them all other kinds. As to the fowl above-mentioned, it is not only delicious but healthy; and some of them eat them quite raw without reluctance or inconveniency. The only defect it hath is its blackness, which is such, that when boiled it turns the broth of the same disgusting hue, not unlike ink; but it makes ample amends for it in its exquisite taste and flavour, as well as by the wholesome nourishment which it yields ‡.

THE country hath likewise rich mines of gold, which is washed down by their rivers in great quantities, and makes

* Idem. ibid.
† Idem. sup. citat.
& alib. citat.

‡ TEXEIRA gen. de Pers. lib. i. c. 6. DAVITY, LA. CROIX, DAPPER,

a chief

a chief part of its commerce. Ivory, ebony, slaves, and cattle, are likewise exchanged for *European* goods, such as little bells, knives, scissars, and razors. These last are so valued among them, that they will give fifteen cows for one of them ^h. They have also some mines of silver and other metals, but the inhabitants make no traffic of them; and are indeed so mistrustful of strangers, that they care not to have any dealings with them, but confine themselves wholly to the coasters, to whom they convey their merchandizes in little boats made of a single piece of timber. This is their usual way of conveying them along these coasts; but if the nature or quantity of their cargo requires a more capacious vessel, they commonly make them of planks, joined together with ropes made of the bark of palm-trees, without the assistance of nails or wooden pegs, which they either know not or neglect the use of; and, upon their return, they can untie the boards, and set them out to dry, against the next occasion.

The means made use of to carry on their commerce.

THE *Portuguese* however, of whom they stand in awe, are the only *Europeans* who are admitted into some of their sea-ports, whence they export, besides the commodities already mentioned, silver, copper, wax, rice and other provisions: but to all other *Europeans* they refuse all kind of access on any pretence.

THE truth is, the further one advances into the continent, the more fierce and brutish one finds them. They all go naked, men and women, and only cover their middle before and behind with a piece of cotton cloth, or with a broad leaf. So unnatural are they to one another, that the fathers will sell their children for slaves, for a shirt, a knife, some glass beads, or other such trinkets, and feast on the flesh of those whom they take prisoners in war. They are treacherous, thievish, and malicious, but stout and fit for labour, and seem designed by nature for slavery, which is a condition less dreadful to them than it is to the inhabitants of the opposite or western coast, as those of *Kongo*, *Angola*, *Loango*, &c. which will be taken notice of in the following volume. And as this continent is divided into a variety of lordships or petty kingdoms (B), who

barons dis- position of the inha- bitants.

^h PYRAR. DAP. DAVIT. tom. ii. c. 17. SANUT, lib. 12. LINSCHOT, Guin. c. 3. & al. ub. sup.

¹ LINSCHOT, ub. sup.

(B) We know little or nothing of their policy and government: whether these lordships are hereditary or elective, nor whether they have any laws beyond the will of their petty kings; it being next to impossible to penetrate into these inland parts; and the natives, who come to the coasts to traffic,

E c 4

being

The inhabitants cruel and treacherous. who have each a particular language or dialect, and are frequently at war one with another, it is no wonder that such a commerce for slaves is carried on between them and the coasters. For those petty tyrants make a considerable gain of the prisoners they make, whether they condemn them to be sold for slaves, or for meat for the shamblers, according as they will fetch the greatest price.

Their dress, finery and ornaments. THOUGH they affect to go naked, yet they are not without their fondness for various kinds of finery, such as collars, bracelets on their arms and legs, whether of gold, silver, ivory, coloured glass, or any other materials, according to their rank. They likewise affect to have very protuberant lips; and, to render them the more so, will fix pieces of flat gold, amber, or bone, one above the upper, and the other under the nether lip, which is esteemed as rich an ornament to their black faces, as their fine white teeth. They have also a way of painting their bodies with a kind of red earth, especially upon some grand meetings or festivities, which gives them a very grim appearance, though they esteem it as a mark of their courage and fierceness. Their weapons are the bow and arrow, the hatchet and the dagger, together with any other

Weapons. kind they can procure by the way of traffic. *Linschot*, who did not penetrate into the inland country, affirms them to be partly idolaters, and partly *Mohammedans*; but what *Pyrard* says of them, is the most probable; viz. That they have no religion at all, but only, like the rest of the *Cassars*, observe

Religion. some superstitious customs, not worthy to bear that name; and it is on the coasts alone, that many of them, by conversing with the *Arabs*, have been induced to become *Mohammedans*. We do not read of any manufactures or trades among them, except that of making their canoes, which we have already described, and that of weaving a kind of mats, which they do with some neatness, and of various sorts, and sell them after-

Trads. being exceedingly brutish, mistrustful, and incommunicative. However, we may safely suppose that they make at the best but an inconsiderable figure, if we may judge of them by that which a son of one of them made at *Mosambico*, who being brought thither by mere curiosity, and, as he said himself, to know why his father and brother were Negroes, and he white, came attended only with some slaves, and was glad to take up with the mean entertainment which his new host *Monf. Mouquet* could afford to give him, during his stay in his little cabin (4).

(4) See the 2d volume of his voyages, lib. iv. See also *Dawity*, *La Croix*, *Do. &c.*, &c.

wards to the coasts, whence they are exported to several parts of *India*.

IF, therefore, we rightly weigh all the advantages of this *The vast* island and its continent, its port, bay, and excellent situation, *utility of* as at a middle distance, and a kind of place of refreshment *this port* for the *East-India* ships from *Goa* to *Lisbon*, or from *Lisbon* to *the Por-* *tuguese* *East-India* *ships and* *commerce.* *Goa*, we need not wonder that the *Portuguese* should so readily pitch upon it for that purpose, after their contest with *Ibrahim* the king of *Quiloa*, lately mentioned, had obliged them to abandon it; much less at their preferring this to any other they had upon the coast, and forbidding all their *India* ships to land, refit, or refresh at any other port but this of *Mosambico*. For, considering the vast length of the voyage between *Lisbon* and *Goa*, the great inconveniencies and dangers the vessels are exposed to from the inclemency of the various climates, and intolerable heats they go through, the boisterous seas they cross, the hardships and diseases which men are liable to, whether through want or badness of provisions, not to mention a great variety of other accidents and disasters, which happen frequently to the men, the ships, or cargoes, during a voyage of seven or eight months, all which make it next to impossible to perform it at one stretch, especially as they are so large and heavy laden, as to take so many fathoms of water, it was, in a great measure, absolutely necessary to make sure of some convenient harbour, as near as they could, in the half-way between those two capitals; but much more still after their doubling the *Cape of Good Hope*, in their going out, and sailing by the dangerous coast of *Natal*, for them to fail to, and find a supply for all their wants, and a remedy for all their disasters. And so well doth this of *Mosambico* answer all those ends, that the kings of *Portugal* have spared no cost to fortify and garrison it against all attempts, and to provide it with a noble hospital for the sick, and a well-stored magazine, with all necessaries for the shipping, though the charge of keeping them up often exceeds the revenues arising from it. The next section will shew still some farther advantages which these places yield to them.

S E C T. IV.

The History of the Kingdom of Sofala.

SAILING still farther southward, along the eastern coast *Kingdom* of *Africa*, one comes from that of *Zanguebar* to that of *Sofala* *Sesfala*, or *Sesfalo*, or, as others write it, *Zephala*, and *Cephala*, *described.* that famous and opulent kingdom, which, for its rich golden mines,

mines, hath been supposed by several learned men to be the *Ophir* whence king *Solomon* drew yearly such prodigious quantities of that precious metal ^a.

Its extent. IT is, properly speaking, a continued coast, extending itself from the river *Cuama* on the north, to that of *Magnico*, since called *Rio de Spirito Santo*, on the south; that is, from the 17th to the 25th degree of south latitude; and having the *Cape Corientes* (not in the middle, between these two rivers, as some geographers have placed it ^b but) about two degrees south of the latter, according to the latest observations ^c. It is bounded on the east by the *Indian* sea, and on the west by the empire of *Monomotapa*, hath its name from its capital, which *D'Herbelot* calls *Sofalat Al Dheheb*, which, in the *Arabic*, signifies a low or hollow place, where is gold, or, more properly, a golden mine ^d. We must, however, observe here, with respect to the limits of this kingdom, that a late geographer, upon the authority of some new observations, hath, in his map of *Eastern Ethiopia* ^e, reduced it into a much narrower compass, and, in all likelihood, great alteration may have been made to them since the *Portuguese* and *Dutch* writers, of which we have had no particular account; for which reason we shall think ourselves obliged to subjoin them in the margin, according as they are fixed in the said map, for the satisfaction of our curious *English* readers (A).

^a 1 Kings x. 14. & seq. & alib.
^b *VILLE.* ^c *Biblioth. Orient.*

^d *DAPPER.* ^e *D'AN-*
† D'ANVILLE.

(A) According to the above-mentioned map, *Sofala* is bounded on the north by the kingdom of *Monomotapa*; on the east by the *Indian* sea; on the south by the kingdom of *Sabia*; and that of *Manica* on the west: so this last, in which are the richest mines, as was formerly part of that of *Sofala*, hath now changed its master, and become probably tributary to it, as that once was to the great one of *Monomotapa*, and is divided from it on that side by the river *Wadanculo*, which runs from west to east, and falls into the *Indian* sea. There is another which runs across the kingdom from west to east, and takes its name from

it, and falls into the sea near the city of *Sofala*. Between those two rivers run four or five others, one of which is called *Te-be*.

The king hath his residence on the western part of the kingdom, on the banks of the *Sofala*. Besides the fortresses of that name, the *Portuguese* have built another about the middle on the same coast, named *Inbaguea*.

The same map adds two islands on this coast, one called *Bango*, on the mouth of the *Te-be*, and the other on that of the *Sepbala*. This is all that is most remarkably new in it, with respect to this kingdom.

As

As to the metropolis of *Sofala* above-mentioned, it was, at the first arrival of the *Portuguese*, but an inconsiderable town, neither large nor walled, but fenced only with a thorny hedge, but hath been since fortified, and, in every respect else, very much improved by them, and called *Cuama*, as well as the fort, which they built for its defence; but that name hath been since obliterated, and both pilots and geographers have retained its old one of *Sofala*.

It is conveniently situated on a small island at the mouth of the *Cuama* above-mentioned; and besides it there are two other towns on the coast, one called *Haulema*, and the other *Dardema*, and the villages of *Savona*, *Bocha*, and *Gasta*, and some others, all of them mean, and worthy of no farther notice ^d.

FRANCESCO GNAIA, or, as others call him, *Anaga*, Gnaia the *Portuguese* admiral of the *East-India* fleet, was the first who came to anchor at *Sofala*, with four of his smallest vessels, the other two being so large that they could not enter the port, and obtained of the king, whom *Marmol* calls *Jusef*, a *Mohammedan*, and then blind with old age, the liberty of building a fortress near it, which, he said, would be of great service to his majesty, as well as to himself. This favour, however, appears to have been granted to him at the recommendation of one *Zacote* an *Arabian*, wholly in the interest of the *Portuguese*, and in great credit and authority with the old prince, and helped both to forward that work, sent them intelligence of every thing that passed at court, and informed them of every particular relating to the nature of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants. This fortress, of whatever service it may have been to the good old king and his successors, hath proved of the greatest importance to the *Portuguese*, as it is a safe harbour for their ships sailing to and from *India*, as well as to secure their commerce with the *Cassers* of the inland; which is very considerable, as it consists in gold, ambergrise, slaves, and elephants teeth, which they exchange for silk, stuffs, cotton, glass beads of various makes and colours, and other such trinkets. Both the fortress and the island, as tributary to the king of *Portugal*, are under the direction and government of *Mesumbico*, spoken of in the foregoing section ^e.

THE river *Cuama*, on the mouth of which the city and fortress of *Sofala* are situate, had its name given to it by the *Portuguese*.

^d SANUT, LINSCHOT, RAMUS. MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 2. & seq. ORO. lib. iv. DAVITY, DAPPER, LE CROIX, & alib. ibid.

^e Id.

Al Zem-
bere.

Portuguese from that of the fort, which they likewise called *Cuama* at the first, or rather, as they pronounced it, *Cowama* (B); but is by the *Arabs* and Negroes called *Zambere* and *Empondo*. Its head-spring hath not hitherto been discovered by the *Europeans*, but it surrounds in some measure the kingdom of *Monomotapa*, dividing it on the west from that of *Abutua*, on the north from those of *Chicova*, *Sacamba*, and *Mauruca*. It receives in its course, among others of lesser note, the *Mangania*, *Mazeno*, and *Suabo*, and, dividing itself into two branches, discharges itself into the *Indian* sea, at four mouths, from north to south, distinguished by as many names; viz. *Kilimano*, *Linda*, *Cuama*, and *Luava*; or, according to others, the *Penhamez*, *Lunagoa*, *Arruyga*, *Manjove*, *Guadire*, and *Rueriva*.

The Mag-
nico;

THE other river was called formerly *Magnico*, and by the *Portuguese* *Rio del Lagos*; but has since the name of *Rio del Santo Spirito* given it by *Laurence Marsbes*. Its source is not better known than that of the *Cuama*, but is supposed by some geographers to be the same with it; viz. the lake *Geyama*; and that, after a short course, it divides itself into the two streams or branches above-mentioned; the southern one of which was therefore called *Rio de los Lagos*, or the river of the lakes, but still retains its old one of *Magnico*. Nothing can be affirmed concerning these two rivers descending from the same lake, and being branches of one and the same river. However, this we are sure of, that the *Cuama* is by much the larger and deeper of the two, being increased by the three large rivers above-mentioned, and by several others not much inferior to them, is navigable above 150 leagues, and hath many large islands, besides those formed by its several mouths^f. It likewise washes down great quantities of

gold found
in it.

^f MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 30. RAMUS. DAVITY, DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. See also DE LISLE and D'ANVILLE's maps.

(B) The name of *Cuama*, *Lagos*, on supposition that this *Cowama*, or, as others write it, and the *Magnico* sprung both *Quama*, was given to the river from one lake, and soon after from a fort built on the mouth divided themselves into two of it by the *Turks*; after which streams or arms (1). the *Portuguese* called it *Rio de los*

(1) Vid. Jo. de Barros, lib. x. c. 1. Davity, Dapper, De Lisle, D'Anville, & al.

them,

them, which, being properly levigated, discover the metal in large or small grains, as it happens; and more a great deal might be found of it, were they not such idle wretches that nothing can make them work but extremity of hunger and want^s.

THE three principal capes on the coast of *Sofala*, are called *Corientes*, *St. Catherine*, and *St. Sebastian*. The former of them, situate under the 23d degree of south latitude, is noted for the many rocks, sands, and shelves, which lie between it and the isle of *St. Laurence*, or *Madagascar*, and which cause frequent shipwrecks along that chanel. The rest of the land from the said cape to the mouth of the *Cuama*, is called *Matuca*, and hath some gold mines, not far from the town of *Sofala*, and in the precinct called *Manico*. The chief capes.

THE inland part of the kingdom doth not extend itself far westward, being squeezed on that side by that of *Monomotopa*. *Marmol* computes it to be in compass 750 leagues^b. The temperature, soil, and produce of it are much the same with that of *Zanguebar*; excepting that as it is by so much farther from the line, its heat is nothing so excessive, and the land is more fertile in rice, millet, and pasturage. But the most abounding part in this last lies between the *Cape Corrientes* and the river *de Santo Spirito*, where the greatest quantities of cattle are bred, especially of the larger kind, the inhabitants having scarcely any other fuel but cows dung, the country being much exposed to the southerly winds, which are equally piercing on that, as our northern ones are on this side of the line. And here it is also that the elephants herd in large droves, and are killed in such prodigious quantities (their flesh being the chief food of the common people) that, according to their report, they seldom destroy less than between four and five thousand one year with another; which is in a great measure confirmed by the vast quantity of ivory which is thence exported by the *Europeans*^c. Soil and produce. Scarcity of Fuel. Vast numbers of elephants killed yearly.

THE other part of the country on the contrary, that is, from the cape above-mentioned, quite up to the *Cuama*, and especially all along that river, abounds with mountains, covered with large woods; the vallies are watered with variety of springs and small rivulets, are very fertile and agreeable, and is that quarter in which the king and court spend the greatest part of the year. Among other delightful advantages of this part, it enjoys, we are told, such an odori-

^s MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 30.
^b Ibid. & al sup. citat.

^b Ubi sup.

^c Idem

ferous

ferous verdure, that, the coasts being low on that side, the fragrantcy which exhales therefrom is frequently perceived by mariners at a great distance, before the land itself appears. The soil of the province of *Matuca* is rich and fertile, but from the cape of *Corrientes* to the river of *Santo Spirito*, it is rough and barren, and less inhabited, except by elephants, lions, and other wild creatures [†].

THE natives of *Sofala* are for the most part black, with short curled hair, there being but very few rawny or brown amongst them. Their shape is taller and more genteel than that of the Negroes of *Mosambico*, *Quiloxa*, &c. and those who live near the cape of *Corrientes* are esteemed the most courteous of any of the *Cassers* that inhabit the coast from thence to that of *Good Hope*. Their common dress is the same with those of *Mosambico*, a piece of silk or cotton, wrapped round their middle, and covering them down to the knees, all the rest of the body being naked, except the head, the better sort wearing a kind of turban upon it; and all of them adorn their neck, arms, wrists, legs, and ankles, with rings of gold, silver, amber, or coloured beads, according to their condition. These stuffs and trinkets are mostly brought to them from *Bombay* by the *Portuguese*; and those of the better sort affect to wear swords with handles of ivory. All the coasters speak the *Arabic* tongue, which is their natural language; for, as we have before observed, they are not the original natives, but the descendants of the *Arabs*, who left their native country, and settled themselves more or less upon this whole western coast. But as these of *Sofala*, as well as most of the rest, carry on a commerce with the *Cassers*, they likewise understand their language as well as the *Portuguese*, since these last have settled among them ¹.

THEY cultivate plenty of rice and millet, which serves them for bread; and eat the flesh of elephants, large and small cattle, besides fish, of which both the sea and rivers yield a great plenty and variety. They have likewise their beer made of rice and millet, and some other liquors made of honey, palm, and other fruits: the honey is here in such plenty, that a great part of it lies neglected; no more being gathered by the indolent people than serves that purpose, or for extracting so much wax out of it, as will procure them painted cotton or silk, and other clothes in exchange. For though they make great quantities of white cloths, they have not yet the art of dying them, and are obliged to send

[†] DAVITY, DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. ubi sup.
¹ PI-
 CAFETA Congo, lib. ii. c. 8. OD. BARBOS. DAVITY, & al.

them,

them, or at least their thread, to be died in *Cambay* or other places, of such colours as are most in vogue amongst them^m. They are often forced to buy the printed cloths, and undo the thread of them, in order to mix it in with their striped stuffs, when they cannot procure it from abroad. Their chief commerce here is with the inhabitants of *Mosambico*, *Quiloa*, *Mombaso*, and *Melinda*, who come hither in their sambucs or small barges, which are freighted with variety of the above-mentioned cloths of all colours, and they exchange them for gold, ivory, wax, or ambergrise; which the *Sofalans* usually go and exchange with the *Monomotapans* for gold, not by weight, but in such quantities as shall satisfy the seller; so that the profit of the exchange amounts commonly to above 90 or 95 per cent. And this is the reason, that when the *Sofalans* perceive any of these vessels at sea, they signify their joy, and bid them welcome by lighting fires on the shore.

BUT besides the gold which they draw from *Monomotapa*, the kingdom of *Sofala* hath some very considerable mines of that valuable metal, and which, by the report of the *Portuguese* inhabitants, yield to the value of above two millions of metigals yearly (each metigal valued at about 14 *French* livres); and that the merchantmen from *Zidem*, *Mecca*, and other parts, export, in time of peace, about the same quantity from the same mines. We are farther told that the governor of *Mosambico*'s salary, whose place lasts only three years, amounted to 300,000 crowns, exclusive of the pay of his troops, and the yearly tribute he is obliged to send to the king of *Portugal*, which *Davity* calls a third part of its product. As for the soldiery, they are paid in gold dust, each according to his rank. And the same author farther assures us, that this gold, which is paid to them just as it is gathered, is so pure, and of so fine a yellow, that ours, compared to it, appears little better than copper. Hence it is, that *Mouquet* hath, after other learned men, ventured to affirm, that from these mines that *Solemon* had his, which is so highly commended by the sacred historian; and that this kingdom of *Sofala* is the *Ophir* celebrated by themⁿ; this being allowed to be the purest and finest in all *Africa* (C).

AT

^m Idem. ibid. DAPPER, & alib.ⁿ MOUQUET, lib. iv.

(C) Some of the patrons of this hypothesis, will even affirm it to be the finest in all the world. But that is said gratis; it being well known that that of *Japan* not only equals but greatly

Warlike
weapons.

AT the first arrival of the *Portuguese* into these parts, the people used no other warlike weapons than the scymeter, the javelin, the bow and arrow, to which they sometimes added the dagger and the hatchet. But they have been since taught the use of fire-arms both small and great ^P, and

^P OSSOR. lib. iv. MARMOL, ubi sup. DAVITY, & al.

ly exceeds it. We shall however go no farther out of our way after that trite controversy (5), but refer our reader to what we have said heretofore upon it (6). What falls now under our present subject is, that there are still remaining, in the neighbourhood of the mines of *Sesala*, some ancient squat towers and ruins of stately edifices of large square stones, one of them with inscriptions over the gate, in character or hieroglyphic, which no one hath been able hitherto to decypher. From whence the partisans of this hypothesis conjecture that those edifices were palaces or castles built by that opulent king of *Israel*. But is not the unintelligibleness of those characters rather a strong argument against such a supposition? We never hear of *Solomon*'s having been in those parts, nor of his having built any fortresses, or made any conquests either here or any-where but in the neighbourhood of *Judea*; and if he had caused any inscriptions to be set up upon any of his edifices, is it possible they should have become unintelligible or undecypherable? May we not therefore suppose from this last circumstance, that they were hieroglyphics, and most likely set up by some of the *Gym-*

nosophists of the isle of *Merce*, or by some of the learned priests of *Egypt*, some of whose monarchs carried their conquests as far as these remote parts of *Ethiopia*, for the sake of these valuable mines, but might probably afterwards abandon them, on account of their great distance from their native dominions.

The *Portuguese*, on the contrary, tell us, that the towers and fortresses above-mentioned resemble others which are still extant in some provinces of the empire of *Abissinia*; whence they conclude they may probably have been the work of some *Abissinian* monarch, who was then master of the gold mines. This region or province the *Abissines* call *Acarbama*, and pretend it was the residence of the queen of *Sheba*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Achuma*, and says it was well known in his time, on account of its rich gold mines; and it is there that he fixes the end or limits of the south parts of the habitable world §. All these put together, afford us a more probable conjecture concerning the origin of those ancient edifices, than that which ascribes it to king *Solomon*; but we have dwelt long enough on that subject (8).

(5) *De box*, vid. *Hæst. de Navig. Antiq.* (6) *See Arc. Hist.* vol. i. p. 383. vol. iv. p. 102 (R). (7) *Marmol*, lib. ix. c. 31. *Ramus. Le Blanc*, voy. p. 2. c. 5. *Mequet. lib. iv. & al. mult.* § *Mérim. Geogr. lib. iv.* (8) *De his*, vid. *Marmol, & Le Blanc, & al. sup. citat.*

are become very dexterous in the use of them. Their king keeps a great number of forces in pay; but the *Portuguese* *Forces.* are become so powerful that they keep the whole kingdom in awe; and their chief governor keeps his vessels of observation to prevent what they have now made an illicit trade, particularly that of the exportation of gold without his special licence⁹.

THE *Mohammedan* religion is, according to *Pigafeta*, and the generality of *Dutch* writers^r, that of the king and court, and of a great part of the people, and accordingly *Ossorio* styles them *Saracens* and *Mohammedans*. But it is more likely, as *Jarric* observes^s, that the original natives live wholly without any, good or bad; and the *Arabs* alone, who settled on this coast, are the only *Mohammedans*, except some few profelytes they may have made amongst those Negroes, for the sake of commerce, seeing all the merchants who come hither from *Quilqa*, *Mombaso*, *Melinda*, &c. are of that religion. The *Arabs*, who had brought that religion with them, and been settled on that coast above two centuries, might be grown powerful enough, in that time, to have a king of their own probably, at the least tributary to, and under the protection of, the emperor of *Monomotapa*, and have been able to subdue the inland natives, without forcing their religion upon them: especially, if what *Marmol* says be true, that though they use no outward act of religion, have neither idols, altars, nor sacrifices, yet they acknowledge one supreme being, whom they call *Mozimo*, or *Guinguimo*, but abhor the idolatrous rites and other sortileges of the rest of the *African* Negroes, and their priests, and punish them with the utmost severity amongst them; not so much out of a religious principle, as because they think them destructive to society^t. And may they not have been taught all this, and more, by their *Mohammedan* masters?

FOR in the next place they punish two other crimes with the same rigour; viz. theft and adultery; and so severe are they with respect to this last, that they make it death for any man to be found sitting upon a sofa or mat with a married woman, though they allow of polygamy in as great extent as the *Turks* do, and with much the same subordination both of the wives and their children. They never marry a woman till she hath had her monthly courses, as deeming her incapable

Religion partly Mohammedans and partly Caffers.

Theft and adultery severely punished, Polygamy allowed. Women marryable.

⁹ Idem. *ibid.*^r Congo, lib. ii. c. 9. SPILBERG, & a^l.^s THESAUR. Ind. lib. iv.^t Ubi sup. c. 32.

ble of having children till then ; at which time the family makes a kind of rejoicing and festivity in her favour ².

*Ceremonies
towards,
the dead ;*

If they have any thing like a religious ceremony, it is in observing some particular days of the moon, as the 1st, 6th, 7th, 11th, 16th, &c. on which they pay a kind of offering to their dead friends, particularly to their parents, whose bones, after the flesh is consumed (D), they preserve in a place appropriated to that use ; and, in remembrance of their owing their being to them, set plenty of victuals before them, and make their requests to them, as if still alive, the chief of which is for the preservation of the king's life and prosperity. Their petitions ended, they sit down in their white garments, which is the proper colour on these occasions, and eat up what had been served to the dead, which concludes the ceremony for that time ³. All this however may imply nothing more than a mere civil respect paid to their parents, ancestors, and other near relations, in the same manner as we have seen it practised in a much politer country, that of the *Chinese* ⁴, and instituted at first for wise and good purposes ; seeing nothing can be well thought more effectual to curb the irregular passions of surviving children, than a firm belief that their deceased parents, ancestors, and near relations, are still present with them, and watchful over all their actions, in order to bless or chastise them suitably to their behaviour. As to the petition offered to them for the

*a mere civil
and
wise institution.*

² MARMOL, *ibid.*
vol. viii. p. 89, 261, & seq.

³ *Id. ibid.*

⁴ See before,

(D) The *French* translator of *Marmol*, or his reviser, adds here in the margin *ou mangé*, or eaten ; and it must be owned that his author represents some of the *Sofalans* as a kind of unnatural cannibals, who not only feed upon human flesh, but also drink the blood of some of their cattle, which they bleed for that purpose. We shall have occasion in the sequel to mention some whole kingdoms of still greater monsters of barbarity, and in the heart of *Africa*, whose greatest dainties are the bodies of their enemies and

captives, whom they slay in great numbers ; and, after having satiated themselves with their flesh, are emulous who shall drink the greatest quantity of their blood. But we can by no means persuade ourselves that these we are upon, and who, in other respects, appear to be more civilized, should use themselves to such brutish customs, as is there insinuated, of eating the flesh of their parents and relations, especially under a *Mohammedan* government (9).

(9) See D'Ablandcourt's marginal note on *Marmol*, lib. ix. c. 32, sub initio.

king's

king's life and prosperity, we are not told directly whether it be intended for the king of *Sofala*, or for that of *Monomotapa*, to whom he was formerly, and a great number of others ^r are still, tributary. The latter seems however the most rational, as it is still practised by them, there being hardly any nation that pays a deeper regard to their prince than the subjects of that large empire, as we shall shew in the next section. Hence we may conclude, that the *Sofalans* had this custom from the *Monomotapans*, and observed it as long as they continued under his obedience; that is, till the *Portuguese* came and settled in these parts, and withdrew them from their obedience, in order to render them more serviceable to their own ends. The king of Sofala once subjected to Monomota-

WE are told accordingly by *Pigafeta* ^r, that one of those *Mohammedan* kings revolted from their ancient allegiance, but re- and put himself under the protection of the king of *Portugal*. volted from his allegiance. And we have elsewhere had occasion to mention the singular and hospitable reception which his admiral *Gnaia* met with at his first landing in this kingdom from the old blind monarch then upon the throne, and his obtaining leave of him to build a fort near his capital ^a; which (whether he was the same with that mentioned before or not) plainly shews his readiness to take the first opportunity that was offered to him to shake off the *Monomotapan* yoke. And might not this have been likewise the main motive which the *Portuguese* commander used to engage him to comply with his request, which he full well foresaw would prove an effectual means, on some pretence or other, of stripping the old dotard of his capital and kingdom, and seizing both for his own master, as it actually did, in the manner we are now going to relate, from one of their own writers ^b.

THE reader may remember the account we have given at the beginning of this section, of the first arrival of *Gnaia*, or *Anaya*, at *Sofala*, and of the kind reception he met with from the good old *Mohammedan* king *Jusef*, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the *Arabs* against his landing, the dangers, they told him, he must run, before he could reach the royal palace, and the difficulty he would find to get access to the king. *Gnaia*, who had been before informed by his friend *Zacote*, who had already secured him a singular welcome, sailed forward, and accordingly met with all the success he wished for, the king not only granting him free leave to build the desired fortress, but, as a farther token of his regard to his nation, delivered up to him about a score of his

^r MARMOL, ubi sup. ^z Congo, lib. ii. c. 8. ^a See before, p. 443. ^b OSSORIO, lib. iv.

countryment, who had been lately shipwrecked on that coast, and of whom he had taken the most hospitable care.

*Reception
of the Por-
tuguese
disapprov-
ed by the
king's son-
in-law.*

*The king's
wife an-
swer to
him.*

*Forwards
the build-
ing of the
fortress.*

*The mer-
chants ad-
dress a-
gainst it.*

*Pathetic
speech to
him.*

THE king had a son-in-law named *Mengo Muçaf*, a brave warlike prince, who made no scruple to lay before him his present apprehensions at his reception and admittance of those strangers into his dominions, and much more so at his permitting them to fortify themselves in them, at the imminent hazard of his own and his subjects safety. The old king contented himself, whatever his views might be, with dissipating his fears, and telling him that time, which brings forth all things, would quickly discover to him his motives for thus encouraging these so much dreaded strangers. You will, continued he, in a little time, perceive them dwindled into nothing, through the heat and inclemency of a climate they are unaccustomed to; and then it will be time enough to drive them out of their fort, if they do not abandon it of their own accord. The kind reception I have given them was merely to remove all suspicion from them of my design. So the prince acquiesced to his reasons, and the work of the fortress was carried on with double vigour, the king having ordered his subjects to give it all possible forwardness. But what most alarmed his majesty, and obliged him to alter his measures, was the pathetic remonstrances of his faithful *Mohammedan* merchants, to awaken him to a sense of his imminent danger from the well known perfidy of the *Portuguese* nation.

WE have already had occasion to mention more than once the strenuous opposition which the *Arabians* settled on this eastern coast made against the preposterous encouragement which some of these princes, particularly those of *Quiloa* and *Mombasa*, gave to these new comers. They made the same strenuous struggle here against the weakness of their superannuated monarch, and addressing themselves to him in a body, reminded him of the repeated warnings they had given him of the treacherous views of the *Portuguese*, who, under the mask of friendship, conceal the most wicked designs. "To what end", said they, "do they build a fort in your dominions, but to increase their own power, in order to strip you of yours, together with your kingdom. Have they not, by the like artifices, expelled the king of *Quiloa*, and robbed many other princes in *Africa* and *India* of their dominions? In short, where have they ever got a footing without leaving numberless traces of their villainy and cruelty? If therefore you have any regard for your safety and

* MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 34.

" welfare,

“welfare, destroy them before they are become too powerful for you, lest it should not hereafter be in your power to avert the ruin and destruction which they will bring upon yourself and kingdom.” This speech had the desired effect, and the alarmed monarch began now to see his folly and danger, and to think of the properest means to avoid it. He accordingly gathered a sufficient number of troops, and appointed a day to fall upon the Portuguese, whilst they were employed in building their fort. Unhappily for him, the *Arabians* had a traitor among them, whom we lately mentioned, under the name of *Zacote*, or *Acote* (E), who betrayed all his secrets to them, and failed not on this occasion to send them timely notice of his designs against them; which gave *Gnaja* an opportunity of getting himself and his men in a condition to give them a warm reception. Accordingly, on the day prefixed, the *Sofalans* attacked the fort with great fury, by throwing volleys of firey stakes into it, whilst others were assailing the walls with their warlike engines. The besiegers, with *Gnaja* at their head, made the stoutest defence they could against them; but, being reduced to 35 men, the rest being either sick or invalids, they would have had but a poor chance against 6000, had not, luckily for them, *Zacote* found means to enter the fort, at the head of 100 men; who immediately fell upon the besiegers with such bravery, that a desperate conflict ensued, in which the Portuguese, being thus timely reinforced, began to discharge their darts and artillery with double vigour; which, in a little time, so terribly annoyed and terrified them, that they fled with the utmost precipitation and dread, and left them in quiet possession of their new fortrefs. Not so quietly did they treat them in their flight, for they pursued them with speed and fury, not only into the city, but the royal palace, and forced their way into it. They even crowded into the very apartment where the old king had retired, and found him ly-

d OSSORIO, lib. iv.

(E) This villain was originally of *Abyssinian* extract; but having been taken prisoner when young, by the *Mohammedans* of *Sofala*, had embraced their religion, and, by his address, had raised himself to the highest degree of credit with the old king (12); but being afterwards bought over to the Portuguese interest, made no other use of it than to betray him and his dominions to them, as the sequel will soon shew.

(12) See *Marmol Afric. lib. ix. c. 35. Ossorio Portug. cong. lib. iv. See also before.*

His noble
defence.

ing on his couch; but their insolence soon roused up his courage and bravery, insomuch that, old and blind as he was, he hastily arose, and darted several javelins at them, some of which failed not of doing some execution among them, as they crouded so thick upon him. Several of them were wounded, and amongst them *Gnaja* in the neck, when on a sudden the *Portuguese* agent advanced with his drawn scimeter towards the king, and at one blow struck off his head, which filled his attendants with dread and horror.

Is murder-
ed.

Gnaja's
artful
speech to
the *Sofa-*
lans.

HERE *Gnaja*, fully satisfied with seeing the good old king weltering in his blood, and headless at his feet, whether to recover the *Sofalans* from the frightful prospect with which such a bloody scene must needs have filled them all, or to avoid their making some desperate attempt to revenge their monarch's death, had recourse to the old trite artifice, of feigned clemency, and immediately forbade his men to offer any farther violence towards a people whom he wanted to gain by acts of friendship and benevolence, rather than affright them with any further proofs of the *Portuguese* bravery and martial prowess; adding, that as they had by this time sufficiently experienced the one, he was now ready and willing to give them the most convincing proofs of the other, by acts of humanity, and tenderest compassion to their present distress. This plausible speech, whether it wrought most upon their fears or hopes, had the desired effect; and the *Sofalans*, finding they had to do with a nation that was too strong and artful, not only forbore all further hostilities, but patiently submitted their necks to a yoke which they have never been able to shake off from that day to this^e.

Marmol's
palliative
account of
that revolu-
tion.

ONE of our authors, who hath added many palliatives to this transaction, in favour of the *Portuguese*, adds, that prince *Muças* having rallied his scattered troops, again laid siege to the fort, with fresh courage and fury, but met with such stout opposition, that he was obliged to raise it three days after; his tired *Arabs*, the best troops he had, being by this time become more solicitous about the choice of a new king, than to revenge the death of the old one. The contest lay between the son of the deceased named *Soliman*, a great friend and patron of *Zacote*, and *Muças* his son-in-law, a prince of greater abilities and merit, and who would, in all probability, have been nominated to the succession, had not *Zacote*, or, as our author styles him, *Yacote*, by his interest and persuasions, obtained it in favour of *Soliman*, and prevailed upon

^e MARMOL, OSSORIO, & al. sup. citat.

Gnaja to confirm him king of *Sofala*^f. But the good bishop *Ossorio*, far from mentioning any such instance of the *Portuguese* admiral's regard to the son of the late *Jufef*, or of the perfidious *Zacote*'s ingratitude to that prince, assures us, in exprefs terms, that the former bestowed the crown on the latter by his own authority, and as a reward for his great services to the *Portuguese*. His account of that remarkable transaction is as follows^g.

GNAJA, having succeeded so far, thought it now time to settle this newly subdued state; and, as a mark of the *Portuguese* generosity and gratitude, to reward the perfidious *Zacote* for his friendship and fidelity to them in the amplest manner. He accordingly caused him to be sent for in great pomp, and, with the usual ceremonies, which we have described in a former note^h, to be, in his master's name, proclaimed king of *Sofala*, and enjoined the people to obey him as their sovereign. He next obliged him to take the oath of fidelity and allegiance to the king of *Portugal*, and to promise to behave, on all occasions, as his most faithful tributaryⁱ.

GNAJA had hardly begun to taste the fruits of his success, before he was cut off by a distemper which seized both him and his men, wholly owing to the inhospitableness of this new climate. We have already taken notice of the extreme unwholfomeness of the country, occasioned by the vast number of its marshes, which, being in summer dried up by the scorching heat of the sun, infect the air with their pestilential steams. The *Portuguese* quickly found the sad effects of it, being first seized with an excessive weakness in their bodies, and dimness of sight, which, in a little time, turned into a wasting consumption, and carried off a great number of them, and among the rest the admiral above-mentioned; in whose room *Emanuel Ferdinando*, the old king's assassin, was chosen by the unanimous consent of all the officers. The news of this was soon sent to *Almeid* the governor of *Goa*, then in *India*, who received about the same time an account of the revolution which lately happened in *Quiloa*, by the murder of the new made king *Mahmud*, by the partisans of *Braham*^k. *Almeid* thereupon dispatched *Novico Vasquez Pereira*, with a commission to sail for *Sofala*, and take the government of the fort upon him; but with orders likewise to touch at *Quiloa*, and settle the commotions raised there on account of the king's murder, and to punish with the utmost severity all that had been accessory to it.

Gnaja
crowns
Zacote
king.

Gnaja's
death.

Succeeded
by the mur-
derer of the
king.

^f MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 35. ^g Lib. iv. ^h See before, p.

423. ⁱ OSSORIO, ubi supra.

^k See before, p. 424.

A mortality amongst the Portuguese.

Timely relief from Goa.

Kings of Sofala since, not known.

IN the mean time the *Portuguese* garrison of *Sofala* was so dreadfully afflicted with the badness of the climate, and the diseases which then raged among them, had carried off so many of them, that *Ferdinand*, who had succeeded *Gnaja*, could with great difficulty restrain the small remainder from abandoning it, when, in a lucky hour, the *Portuguese* ships arrived at the port, with a fresh supply of men, arms, and other provisions, and enabled them to hold it till fresh troops and other reinforcements were sent thither from *Goa*, with the new governor, who soon settled the fortress and garrison in such a condition that they have held it ever since, and obliged the *Sofalans* to accept of such kings as they shall please to set over them; by which means they have kept that kingdom under tribute, and engrossed that rich and advantageous commerce to themselves, to this time. How long their new-made king, whether prince *Soliman*, or the perfidious *Zacote*, enjoyed his dignity, who were his successors, and other interesting particulars relating to that new conquest, we are left wholly in the dark. We are told indeed by a *Dutch* writer ¹, that the king of *Sofala* was a *Portuguese* by birth, at the time of his writing his book. But *Jarric* will have it that he was only a tributary to *Portugal* ^m. But most writers agree that the kings of it were formerly tributary to the emperor of *Monomotapa* till an. 1507, when *Gnaja* and his successors reduced it under the power of king *Emanuel*. However it is not improbable that some of those emperors afterwards made themselves masters of the greatest part of the continent, and have confined the *Portuguese* to the sea-coast, in revenge for their shutting him in, and excluding his subjects from all foreign commerce with the sea-coast; though they have been since forced to refund it with interest, and to yield to them, besides some of their best gold mines, a tract of ground of above 160 leagues into their own dominions, both which they have kept ever since the year 1640, as we shall have occasion to shew under the next section.

S E C T. V.

The History of the Empire of Monomotapa, or Munemotapa.

Monomotapa, whence so called.

MONOMOTAPA is, next to the empire of *Abissinia*, one of the largest in all *Africa*. Some call it *Benemotapa*, and others *Benemoaxo*; and the name of *Benemotapa*, we are

¹ SPILBERG. navig. 1601. vid. & SANUT, lib. xii. Ind. Orient. lib. iii. c. 8.

^m THES.

told

told, is the common title of its monarchs, as *Cæsar* was that of the *Roman* emperors^a; but according to *Texeira* it ought to be written *Muna Motapa*, because the kings who are seated beyond the *Caffers* call themselves *Mune*, instead of *Mani*. However that be, the *Portuguese* do more justly style him the emperor of the gold, on account of the many rich mines which are within his dominions. *Monomotapa*, properly so called, lies contiguous to that of *Sofala*, last described on the east, and is, like that, inclosed by the river *Cuama* on the north, and that of *Magnico*, or of the *Holy Ghost*, on the south; extending itself westward between those two rivers as far as their spring-heads: so that whilst *Sofala* belonged to it, as it formerly did, it might be properly called an island, surrounded on one side with salt, and on the other with fresh water, and in extent between 700 and 800 leagues in circuit. It is situate between the 14th and 25th degrees of south latitude, and between 41st and 56th of east longitude, or 670 miles from north to south, and 615 from east to west^b (A). But if

*Its extent,
limits, and
situation.*

we

^a MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 32. PURCH. Pilgr. lib. vii. c. 8. SANUT. lib. ix. ^b JOAN. DE BARROS, SANUT, lib. xii. LINSCHOT Guin. c. 7. RAMUS. DAVITY, & al.

(A) According to Messieurs *De Lisle* and *D'Anville*, the kingdom of *Monomotapa* Proper is bounded on the north by the river *Zambèze*, or *Cuama*; on the east by the *Indian* sea; on the south by the river of *St. Laurence*, and on the west partly by the *St. Laurence* and partly by the *Cuama*; so that, according to these limits, *Monomotapa* contains the kingdoms of, 1. *Quiteve*. 2. *Manica*. 3. *Sabia*. And, 4. *Inhabana*. To which *D'Anville* adds that of *Sedanda*, if it is not the same with the last. The first of which includes the provinces of *Zete*, *Bocuto*, *Mafstapa*, *Sena*, *Jubanic*, *Quiteve*; those of *Sunbava* and *Sofala*; that of *Manica*; those of *Montagua*, *Sabia*;

and the last, or *Inhabana*, that of *Tongva* (1).

But according to *De Faria y Sousa*, this empire is divided into the following twenty-five kingdoms; viz. 1. *Mongas*. 2. *Baroe*. 3. *Manika*. 4. *Bosfa*. 5. *Mafingo*. 6. *Remo*. 7. *Cbique*. 8. *Cbiria*. 9. *Chidima*. 10. *Boquixo*. 11. *Inabanzo*. 12. *Chiruvia*. 13. *Kondejaka*. 14. *Daburia*. 15. *Makurumbo*. 16. *Mungussa*. 17. *Rutuvaza*. 18. *Cbove*. 19. *Chungue*. 20. *Diza*. 21. *Rombá*. 22. *Rassini*. 23. *Chirano*. 24. *Mokarango*. And, 25. *Remo De Beza*. To this he adds, that there are many lordships which have not the title of kingdoms, and that the greatest of all those that have is that of *Mongas*, which borders on the rivers *Cuama* or

(1) *De Lisle Atlas. La Martiniers Diß. sub voc. Monomotapa. See also D'Anville's map of Eastern Ethiopia.*

we take in all the other inferior kingdoms, which are either subject or tributary to it, it will extend itself vastly farther ; viz. southward almost as far the *Cape of Good Hope*, and on the north-west as far as the confines of the kingdom of *Congo* ; for so far on these two sides the authority of its monarchs is said to extend itself ; though on the west, and part of the north-west, it is confined by that of *Monsemugi*^c, of which we shall speak in the sequel.

*Climate,
soil, and
produce.*

THE climate of *Monomotapa* is temperate, notwithstanding the far greater part of it doth lie within the southern tropic ; the air is clear and healthy, the soil fertile, and so well watered, as to abound with pasture grounds, on which are bred vast multitudes of cattle, especially of the larger sort, which the inhabitants set a higher value on than on their gold. Their ground produces plenty of rice, millet, and other grain, though no wheat. They have great variety of excel-

*Plenty of
all neces-
saries.*

lent fruit-trees, and abundance of sugar-cane, which grows here without any culture. Their forests swarm with wild beasts, and as various kinds of game ; their rivers, of which they have a great number, as we shall shew in the sequel, abounds not only with fish, but with gold likewise, which they sweep away from the mines through which they run ;

*Yet thinly
inhabited,
excepting
its islands.*

yet, in spite of all this abundance, the country is, for the most part, but thinly inhabited, notwithstanding some authors assertions to the contrary, particularly that of *Lopez*, who styles the people infinite, and who probably computed them such from what he observed on the sea-coasts, particularly on the islands formed by the four mouths of the *Cuama*, and other considerable ones, and of great length, which one meets with in sailing up that river, as far as the towns of *Sena* and *Tele*, that is above 60 leagues distant from its mouth : all which islands are rich and fertile, and full of inhabitants, as well as on both sides of the shore †. But, excepting those lands which are watered by the *Cuama* and *Santo Spirito*, and a number of others which flow into them, the rest of the inland parts are mostly sandy, dry, and barren ; inso-much that the few inhabitants that live in them are forced to go a great way for water to levigate their gold dust, whenever their cisterns fail them for want of rain, as we shall see in the sequel.

† DE FARIA Y SOUSA, & al. ubi sup. ^c Idem ibid. vid. & PIGAFETA *Congo*, lib. ii. c. 8. RAMUS. & al.

Zambeze, whose monarch is mions, though a tributary or ho-said to be absolute in his domi-mager to the emperor (2).

• (2) Vid. PIGAFET. *Congo*, lib. ii. p. 93, 192, & seq. Collection of voyages, 4th ed. 1746 p. 396.

THEY

THEY have neither horses nor any other beasts of bur- *Wild and*
 then; but vast herds of elephants, mostly wild, of which *tame*
 they destroy several thousands yearly, as may be easily judg- *beasts.*
 ed by the vast quantity of ivory which is brought out of it,
 and sold to the *Portuguese*. They have a kind of stag they
 call Allsing, of extraordinary size and swiftness; and ostriches *Large*
 as large as oxen, whose grease or oil, either outwardly appli- *ostriches.*
 ed, or taken inwardly, is reckoned a sovereign remedy against
 pains and aches, sprains, and stiffness of the limbs ^d.

THE natives are all black, with woolly hair, notwithstand- *Inhabi-*
 ing their distance from the equinoxial line, and the coldness *tants de-*
 of some of their climates, and the snows which fall in such *scribed.*
 vast quantities upon their mountains, as in the country of the
Belonghi, and the province of *Matuca*, that if any abide on
 them, they are sure to be frozen to death: and, what is still
 more surprising, even those who inhabit the countries beyond
 the south tropic, as far as the *Cape of Good Hope*, are all of the
 same dark hue; whereas the people in the most torrid regions
 of *Libya* and *America*, which have the sun vertical over them,
 are strangers both to that black tincture of skin and crispness
 of hair. However, in other respects they are well shaped,
 robust, and healthy, and more sprightly and docile than
 those of *Quilca*, *Mombaso*, and *Melinda*. They delight much
 in war, which they prefer to the dull and low way of living by
 traffic. As for the lower class, they are commonly brought up
 to diving; and are so dexterous at it, that their chief business is
 to fetch sand or mud from the bottom of rivers, ponds, and
 lakes, and to levigate the gold that is mixed with it more or
 less, which they afterwards exchange with the *Portuguese*
 for cotton and other cloths, and variety of other merchan-
 dizes and trinkets, which they bring thither from *India* and
Europe, as they are closely shut up from all commerce with
 any other coasters ^e.

THEIR chief food is the flesh of oxen and elephants, salted *Their food*
 and dried fish, and a great variety of fruits. Amongst *and drink*
 these last there is one called *Casaema*, not unlike an ap- *all highly*
 ple, very sweet to the taste, and of a lively violet colour; *perfumed.*
 but so pernicious in its effects, when eaten in too great a
 quantity, that it never fails of causing violent dysenteries and
 bloody fluxes. Their bread is made of rice or millet,
 baked into thin cakes, and their drink sour milk, and oil of
 sesaman, or *Turkey* wheat. The richer sort have some
 strong sorts of liquors made of honey, millet, and rice, and of
 some kinds of fruits. They have, among others of this sort,

^d PICAPETA Cong. lib. ii. c. 8.
 ibid. JARRIC. Thef. Ind.

^e SANUT, DAVITY, & al.

the palm-wine, which is esteemed a royal liquor, and drank much at court. This wine, which is drawn from the palm-tree by incision, is like the hydromel, and preserved here, as in other parts of *Ethiopia*, in vessels made of horn, curiously wrought; but the former is commonly mixed with manna, ambergrise, musk, and other such high-scented perfumes, of which the courtiers and better sort of people are very fond, not only in their meat and drink, but in their apartments, walks, &c. insomuch that we are told the emperor consumes daily as much of these sorts of perfumes as is equivalent to two pounds weight of gold. All his flambeaux, which are burned before him, are perfumed in the same manner; and when he goes abroad he is generally carried in a stately sedan or chair, borne by four persons of quality, and under a magnificent canopy, richly embroidered, and bespangled with pearls and precious stones; if the weather happens to be cloudy or misty, four of those lighted torches are carried before him, to clear and perfume the air^f. The princesses and ladies of the highest rank always dress his victuals, bring and serve it at his table, and they take that office by turns, as do also his musicians; but these last, before they come into his presence, are obliged to be hood-winked, or have a veil before their face, to prevent their seeing him either eat or drink^g. All the women in general, whether of quality or meaner rank, are fond of performing the same duty to their husbands and families.

*The king
expensive
in it.*

*Dress of
the people.*

THE *Monomotapans* go naked almost as low as the girdle, but from thence downwards are covered with a piece of cloth of various colours, and dress more or less richly according to their rank or circumstances. That of the common people is of dyed cotton; but that of persons of quality is of *India* silks, or of cotton embroidered with gold, over which they commonly wear a lion's or some other wild beast's skin, with the tail hanging behind, and trailing on the ground. When they go into the country, they commonly cover their private parts with the rind of a calebassio, to prevent their being annoyed with the stings of venomous insects: in other respects young men and maids go naked, except a bit of cloth with which they cover their middle: but after these are married, and have children, they cover their breasts and all the rest of their bodies^h.

*Polygamy
allowed.*

THE men are allowed to marry as many wives as they please, or as they can maintain; but the first is always

^f SANUT, OD. BARBOS. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.
ubi sup.

^h Id. ibid.

^g *Ibid.*

looked

looked upon as the chief and mistress, and her children as the father's heirs, whilst the rest are only deemed as servants. The king or emperor is said to have above a thousand wives, and all of them the daughters of some of his vassal princes; but the first is the only one who hath the title and honours of a queen. He never alters his dress, but goes attired in the same manner that his ancestors did, neither allows he himself, or any of his wives or family, to wear any cloaths that are manufactured out of his dominions, for fear they should have some poison or charm concealed in them. His usual dress is a kind of long vest or cassock, which goes down to his knees; then crossing between his legs, is again tucked up under his girdle. He wears also a stately brocaded mantle, waving over his shoulders, and buskins on his legs, richly wrought and embroidered with gold, pearls, &c. His neck is adorned with a magnificent karkanet or collar, enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones, and going several times round, one under the other, down below his breast. Of the same rich materials is the hatband which goes round his turban¹.

WHENEVER he goes abroad, which is either in his sedan or palanquin already described, or mounted on an elephant or an Alfingo (B), he is always attended with a vast retinue besides his own guards, and band of musicians. On these occasions, besides his other regalia, he affects to wear hanging at his side a small spade, with an ivory handle, and an arrow in each hand. These he calls the ensigns or badges of his royalty. The spade is the emblem of industry, intimating that his subjects ought to apply themselves to the effectual cultivating of their lands, lest the neglect of it once reducing them to indigence, they should be tempted to pilfer and steal: on which account one of the arrows in his hand points out to them his power and duty to punish such, as well as all other

¹ MARMOL, SANUT, RAMUS. & al. sup. citat.

(B) The Alfingo, as hath been hinted already, is a kind of stag, but of an extraordinary size, strength, and speed, yet so wild that there are but few, especially monarchs, who dare venture themselves on their backs; tho' some of their subjects will, after they have, with great difficulty and danger, been broken to the bit and saddle: but examples of this are rare; and, as horses are no less so, the *Monomotapan* emperors chuse the most safe and noble beast to ride on; viz. the elephant (2).

(2) Same, lib. *Lingbot*, lib. ii. Davity, & al. sup. citat.

crimes,

*Sacrifices.**Superstition.**Great number of tributaries.**Three-fold policy.**Beloved by his subjects.*

crimes, as by the other he is represented as the protector and defender of his people from all foreign invasions^k. On occasions of their going abroad in this public manner, whether to war or diversion, or to visit his dominions, his subjects, who pay him the most profound homage and respect, never fail of appearing in crouds to wish him all imaginable success and prosperity; and sacrifice, at proper distances on the road through which he passes, a deer, or some other victim; over which, whilst the beast he rides on goes, their augurs, who always assist on such occasions, observe carefully the motions of the liver, heart, &c. of the dying creature, and from thence proclaim his enterprise or journey successful or otherwise; if the former, they fill the air with shouts and acclamations, and if the latter, with doleful sounds; and it is seldom that any of those monarchs will proceed farther on their journey or design, whenever these pretended conjurers persist in giving it a sinister aspect.

THEY are however less liable either to revolts from within amongst the great number of their tributary princes, or of invasions from without, as they keep constantly a numerous standing army, even when at peace with all the neighbouring nations, which secures them against the latter; and oblige all the sons of their vassals and tributaries to be educated under their eye, and with their own family, where they are taught their duty and loyalty to them, and are kept as hostages of their parents fidelity. To this double policy they add a third, and no less successful maxim, which is, to send once a year their ambassadors to all the grantees who are vassals to their crown, to give them what is styled amongst them the new fire. No sooner do these ambassadors arrive at the court of a vassal, than they order them, in the emperor's name, to put out their fire, on pain of being declared rebels and traitors; which being complied with, they come and light it afresh at that which the ambassadors bring with them for that purpose. Should any tributary refuse to conform to this order, war is immediately declared against him, and military execution is put in force against him with the utmost severity^l.

AND as they are thus careful to keep all their vassals within their due obedience, so are they no less solicitous to preserve the affections of their subjects by acts of kindness and benignity. They exact no taxes or tribute from them, but some small and inconsiderable free-gift or present, and that chiefly when they apply to them for justice, or some other fa-

^k Id. *ibid.* vid. & OSORIO, lib. iv.
& al. ubi sup.

^l MARMOL. OSOR.

vour ; because that is esteemed a mark of respect from an inferior to a superior, whenever they approach them. The same thing is observed by the merchants, who, at their fairs, or other places of sale, commonly present him with some of their wares, not by compulsion, but of their own accord ; and if any neglect that small homage to him, their only punishment is, that they must not dare to appear before him, which is reckoned a great mortification and mark of contempt amongst them. This singular indulgence makes them look upon themselves as a free people, and by far more happy under such a prince than any other *African* nation under theirs ; and such is their affectionate regard for him, that whenever he drinks, sneezes, or coughs, one of the nobles in the presence, cries aloud, " Pray for the health and " prosperity of the emperor : " upon which not only the place where he is, but as far on all sides as their shouts can be propagated and heard, is filled with acclamations of joy and good wishes for him ^a. If he at any time doth summon them to labour either at the gold mines, or for any other service, as is sometimes the case, he never fails of sending them cows and other provisions, which makes them come with greater readiness to his work.

His ministers and officers, both civil and military, as well as his soldiery, who subsist by his pay, are indeed obliged, instead of taxes, to pay him a kind of service of seven days in every month, either in cultivating his grounds, or any other work he thinks fit to employ them in ; and the lords and nobles of the kingdom are likewise bound to the same service when required, unless exempted from it by some particular privilege granted to their family or office.

ALL law-suits and contests may be brought before him by *Law-suits* appeal, and the former judgments be either confirmed or annulled by his authority. He hath no goals nor prisons in his dominions, because every tryal is summarily determined, *how de* *terminated*, either according to the report of the parties, or the evidence of the witnesses, and every crime punished immediately after conviction. If the complaint or crime be of such a nature, that it cannot be so quickly adjudged, and there be any danger of the person accused making his escape, he is ordered to be tied to a tree, and a guard is set over him till he is either absolved or condemned ; if the latter, the sentence is immediately executed in the open field, whether it be corporal or capital punishment ; the former is commonly a more or less severe drubbing with a knotted cord, according to the nature.

^a MARMOL, OSORIO, RAMUS. & al. ubi sup.

ture of the crime, or the favour of the prince, as it is not reckoned ignominious among them, though inflicted on a nobleman.

*Witnesses
bow
purg'd.*

If any contrast or doubt happens between the witnesses, one of them is obliged to take a piece of the bark of a certain tree into his mouth, and to chew it into a powder, which is then thrown into some water, and given to the other to drink. If it stays with him he is absolved, if not he is condemned. In the former case however, he that gave the water hath still one way left to clear himself, by drinking some of it, and if it stays with him also, the law-suit is left undetermined, and an end put to it^a. He exacts no servile prostrations from his subjects, as the eastern monarchs usually do from those who come into his presence, but obliges them all to a sitting posture (C), except the *Arabians* and *Portuguese*, together with some few favourites, who are allowed the privilege of standing before him, which is esteemed one of the greatest marks of his favour; the next to which is that of having the liberty of sitting upon a carpet, at their own homes; and a third they add of having doors to their houses or apartments. All which, but chiefly the last, only belong to the grandees of the empire, the rest thinking themselves secure enough under the protection of their prince, and is only granted to such grandees as a mark of honour and distinction. If any other pre-eminence they have, it is more on account of the largeness than the richness of the materials, or elegance of their structures, they being all built of wood, and thatched with leaves or reeds, and are round on the top, like a bell or cupola^o.

*Privileges
granted to
nobles.*

*Capital
described.*

THE metropolis of this empire is called *Benematapa*, or *Banamatapa*, and by *Le Blanc* and others *Medrogan*^p. It is a spacious city, situate about six days journey from an ancient palace named *Simbaces*, and about 20 miles west of *Sofala*. The houses are neat, and more or less high and lofty, according to the rank of the owners. They are mostly white-washed within and

^a MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 32.

^o Id. ibid.

^p LE

BLANC World Surveyed, part i. c. 6. DAPPER, & al.

(C) As perhaps the less dangerous to his person, because men in that posture are less able either to offend, or to defend themselves; whilst at the same time it carries the appearance of an uncommon condescension and confidence, very unlike the state and grandeur

which the *Persians* and other eastern monarchs exacted from those who approached them, to have their hands muffled up in their sleeves, and to remain prostrate on the ground all the time they continued in their presence.

without,

without, and adorned with beautiful cloths of cotton, finely wrought or dyed, which make the most considerable part of their furniture. But the greatest ornament of the city is the imperial palace, which is a large spacious fabric, though of wood, well flanked with towers, and with four avenues or stately gates, constantly kept by a numerous guard. The inside consists of a great variety of sumptuous apartments, spacious and lofty halls, all adorned with a magnificent kind of cotton tapestry, the manufacture of the country, wherein the beauty and liveliness of the colours greatly raise the value of them above that of the gold with which they are embellished. The floors, ceilings, beams, and rafters, are all either gilt or plated with gold, curiously wrought, as are also the chairs of state, tables, benches, &c. and all beautifully enamelled, or curiously painted, if we may credit some travellers and geographers. They use candlesticks and branches of ivory inlaid with gold, and hanging from the ceiling by chains of the same metal, or of silver gilt, and every thing else answerable to them. The flambeaux, which are lighted in them, are all perfumed with every costly odour, with the same profusion. The emperor is served at table upon the knee, and the dishes tasted, not before he eats of them, but after they are taken away. He is commonly attended at such times by a great number of officers, who keep a most profound silence. The plates, dishes, and bowls, belonging to his table are of a sort of porcelane, curiously wrought around with sprigs of gold, resembling those of coral; but whether manufactured in his dominions, or brought from India, we are not told.

THE ladies of the court are said to make a most gallant figure, and to go richly clad, though in the manufacture of the country. The same we may suppose of the sons of all the tributary princes, who are here brought up under the king's eye, and must be supposed to make the noblest figure they can. They have colleges and academies appropriated to their education, and at his charge. These, joined to the retinue and equipages, and the great number of officers civil and military, who are obliged to attend on the court, may likewise be reasonably supposed to make no inconsiderable addition to the brilliancy of it, as well as the opulence and splendor of that great metropolis.

THE empress, as well as such and as many of his other wives as the emperor invites, are always glad when the time

* LE BLANC, ubi sup. DAVITY, & al.
BARBOS. LE BLANC, DAVITY, & al.

* SANUT, OD.

*The em-
press pre-
sides over
his har-
vest, in his
absence.*

comes to accompany him into the country, to assist at the gathering of his harvest ; and if he be hindered by war or otherwise, she takes the whole care of it upon herself, and assigns to the other wives their several tasks under her ; viz. to overlook a certain number of those soldiers or other subjects that are employed in that work. These are obliged, as was lately observed, to pay him the service of seven days in thirty, and to bring their own provisions with them, but are nevertheless commonly supplied, over and above, with cows, sheep, and other eatables, by his special bounty, especially whenever he is present *. And as he is always accompanied with a numerous band of musicians, jesters, and buffoons, each under their own captain or master of the revels, the evening, and even the whole night, is entertained either with the music of the one, or the songs, jests, and buffoonries of the other. And this pastime, we are told by some authors, is not only usual in the country, and upon these joyful occasions, but lasts most of the year where-ever the court is, whether in the capital or out of it †. We must, however, observe here, with respect to the female part of it, of what rank soever, that they are, every-where through this empire, treated with the utmost respect and decency ; insomuch, that if even a prince of the blood meets a woman of ever so mean a rank in his way, he dares take no other notice of her than to give her the upperhand, and pass by her with a civil bow ‡.

*The wo-
men very
respectful-
ly treated.*

*Other ci-
ties.
Zinbas.*

OTHER cities of note, though not considerable enough to deserve a description, are *Zimbas*, al. *Zimbaos*, in the neighbourhood of *Sofala*, and supposed to have some relation with the *Agasimba* of *Ptolomy*, as that word signifies properly a palace or castle, of which there are several ancient ones, probably to guard the gold mines ; so that *Agasimba* might then properly signify the region or country of castles or palaces. The relation published of this country by the Jesuits, an. 1624, mentions another city in this country named *Tele*, where that society hath the college of the *Holy Ghost* for their residence. *Sena*, inhabited chiefly by *Portuguese*, and one of their chief fairs, as the *Cuama* is navigable up to it, and to that of *Tele* last mentioned, which is another of their colonies §. We might add that of *Tumbaro*, and some others of less note, but of which they give no particular account.

BESIDES these and other provinces and kingdoms, tributary to the *Monomotapan* empire, we are told of a province or

* OD. BARBOS. MARMOL, DAVITY, PURCH. Relat. of the World, lib. vii. c. 8.

† PURCHAS. ubi. sup. & al. sup. citat.

‡ Id. ibid.

§ FARIA Y SOUSA Voyag. & al. sup. citat.

district, appropriated by the king for a set of female warriors, in all respects like the ancient *Amazons* we have spoken of in our ancient history¹, and observing the same way of living. These are said to be seated in a separate kingdom, on the confines of those of *Damot* and *Gorago*, belonging to the *Abissinian* empire². And some add, that the kings of *Monomotapa* prefer them in their wars to their own standing troops. Many more wonderful things they tell us concerning their way of living, fighting, wounding and killing in their pretended flight, that we should be loth to vouch for, as well as absolutely to deny the real existence of such martial viragoes, against the evidence of so many, otherwise credible, authors³. The reader is at liberty to judge as he pleases.

WE have already hinted, on another occasion, that the emperor maintains a numerous army constantly on foot, for he hath no cavalry, there being but few horses, if any, in his dominions, at least fit for that purpose. Whenever he goes to war, either against an invading enemy, or revolted vassal, those heroines always make one part of it, as well as of his guard. They are armed and clothed like the men; their weapons are the bow and arrows, the javelin, scimeter, cut-lance, and dagger, and some of them use also the hatchet; very keen and light, all which they handle with great dexterity, being trained up to it from their tender years, and frequently exercised in them. Where-ever the emperor incamps, they rear for him a large wooden house, in which a fire must be constantly kept burning, lest some conjuring spell against him should be concealed under the ashes⁴. He takes such of his wives with him as he likes best; and, besides his *Amazonian* life-guard, is always escorted by 200 large mastiffs, as the more trusty animal of the two, and in less danger of being bribed. In what order and manner his army marches, incamps, attacks, and fights, we are not told; only that neither he nor any of his soldiery are permitted to wash hands or face, till they have gained a complete victory: after which the spoil is divided between him, his officers, and common soldiers⁵.

THE principal officers of his count, are the *Ningamefba*, Principal or governor of the kingdom (a kind of grand vizier, or prime minister), the *Mokomasba*, or captain-general, the *Ambuya*, or state lord high-steward, to whom, among other privileges, belongs

¹ Univ. Hist. vol. vi. p. 57, & seq. ² SANUT, lib. ii. DA-

VITY, DAPPER, &c. ³ LE BLANC, DAPPER, FIGAFET. LINS-

CHOT, lib. ii. & BETERI, BENEMOT, part i. & al. ⁴ Ibid. ibid.

⁵ Ibid. ubi sup.

that of naming a new empress when the old one dies, but she must be either one of the sisters or near relations of the emperor. The *Inbantore*, or captain of the band of musicians, who has a great number of them under him, and is himself a great lord. The *Nurakao*, or captain of the vanguard. The *Bukurumo*, which signifies the king's right hand. The *Mogando*, or chief augur or conjurer. The *Nelambe*, or keeper of the king's pharmacy, ointments, and other utensils and ingredients used by the augur. The *Nehono*, or chief porter of the palace. All these are styled lords, as well as the two chief cooks belonging to his majesty, who are commonly his relations; and the under cooks, who are also men of quality. None of these must be above 20 years of age, for till then they are supposed to have been free from carnal commerce with women; and if any have, they are severely punished. As soon as they have attained the age of twenty, they are preferred to greater employments; those within doors are governed by a captain, as are likewise those without, much of the same nature as were formerly the *Alcalde de los Donzelos*.

Chief
wives,
their re-
venue and
employ.

AMONG the many wives belonging to the king, there are nine who are immediately next to the empress, and enjoy some considerable employment at court. The first of them is styled *Mazarira*, or mother of the *Portuguese*, who solicits their affairs with his majesty, and is gratified with large presents for it by those servants of hers who commonly accompany his envoys to them. The next is the *Inahanda*, who performs the same office in favour of the *Moors*. The third is the *Nabaiza*, who lives in the same apartment with him. The other six have likewise their respective titles, employments, and apartments, and all of them their several revenues arising from the respective kingdoms allotted to them, and sufficient to enable them to live in great state, and to keep a separate court; and as soon as one of them dies, another out of the next rank, is named to succeed to her title, place, and income. All these have likewise a great number of women to attend them, as the king often goes to or sends for them; if he sees any of these that please him, he makes no scruple of taking them to his bed².

THE prince, as well as the subjects of this vast empire, are generally heathen; though neither polytheists, idolaters, nor given to such bloody and detestable superstitions as the greatest part of the *Cassers* are, which are here held in abhorrence, and severely punished where-ever any such thing is found. They acknowledge a Supreme Being, Creator, and

¹ PICAFRET. Congo. p. 192, & seq.

² Id. ibid.

Governor

Governor of the universe, and accordingly they style him *Mazira* and *Attuno*, terms equivalent to those two attributes. They pay moreover, we are told^a, a singular veneration to a certain virgin whom they call *Al Firoo*, and have temples and nunneries erected in honour of her, and confine their daughters in them, much in the same manner as their neighbours the *Abissinians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans* do, to perpetual celibacy; but whether this notion of the worship of that virgin be derived from any of them, or hath some other origin we will not venture to affirm; only thus much we may observe from some of their other superstitious rites, such as praying to and for the dead, preserving and paying a kind of religious regard to the bones and relics of their deceased parents, children, and other near or dear friends and relations, keeping stated anniversaries to their memory, and some others of a lower rank; and more might we still find, were we more fully acquainted with them; they all favour so much of the *Abissinian* superstition, that it is not unlikely they may have been formerly made profelytes to that church, whilst the country was subject or tributary to its emperors, but have since fallen away from the one, after their shaking off the yoke of the other. However that be, *Pigafetta* taxes them with being given not only to a great variety of superstitions, but to such magical arts and practices, as quite eclipse the lustre of their belief in one Supreme Being^b; though that belief is no small preparative disposition to their being made converts to Christianity.

ACCORDINGLY we are told, that, in the year 1560, *F. Christia-Gonzales Silveyra*, a *Portuguese* Jesuit, had the good success^{nity intraduced.} to baptize the then emperor and his mother. The former of them by the name of *Sebastian*, in honour of the king of *Portugal*, and the latter by the name of *Mary*, in honour of the blessed virgin. Their example was followed by above 300 noblemen belonging to his court, and quickly after by a great number of the greatest lords of the empire. But if we may believe our author, who was of the same fraternity^{Emperor baptized.}, a year was scarcely expired, before that young and inconstant prince was so far exasperated both against his new religion and its preacher, by some of his favourites, who were *Mohammedans*, and represented the *Portuguese* Father not only as a dangerous spy, but as a great magician, and capable by his enchantments to overturn his whole empire, and to destroy the lives of his subjects, as to cause him to be murder-^{Cruel to his convert.}

^a *PICAPETA* Congo, lib. ii. c. 8.
^a *RIC. Thes. Ind.* lib. iii. c. 9 & 10.

^b *Ubi sup.*

^c *JAR.*

ed by eight of his domestics, whilst the good father was taking his rest, and to order his body to be thrown into the next river. He likewise caused some fifty of his neophytes, whom he had baptized but the day before, to undergo the same fate; but repenting afterwards of his rashness and too easy credulity, he caused those *Mohammedans* to be publicly executed for their calumnies; of which the Jesuits of *Kochin* were no sooner apprised, than they sent two of their society to him, who, by representing to him the infinite benefit which they did to the world by their preaching and conversions, so far ingratiated themselves into his favour, that he gave them at once the full liberty of propagating their religion, and to his subjects the full permission of embracing it.

His sorrow for it, and kindness to the new Jesuits.

King of Portugal's empire, but which was not long after obscured again by the indiscretion of *Sebastian* king of *Portugal*; who, instead of sending thither a fresh supply of preachers to accelerate the good work, equipped a new fleet, the command of which he gave to *Don Francisco Baretto*, with order to enter *Monomotapa* in a hostile manner, and to revenge the death of the late Father *Silveyra* on the young emperor; and this, we are told, was done rather at the earnest solicitations of that Jesuit's illustrious family, as well as of a great number of grandees, than out of any inclination that prince had to fall out with the *Monomotapan* emperor. This proved however, a very unsuccessful expedition both to the admiral, who is said to have been taken off in that war, not by the arms, but by the treachery, of the *Arabs*, who caused his water and provisions to be poisoned; and to the greatest part of his men, who died either in the same manner, or by the ill temperature of the climate. This is all the account we have given us of that fatal expedition; which, our authors however add, did not hinder the *Portuguese* settled there from continuing their commerce with the subjects of that empire with the same freedom, assiduity, and advantage, that they had done before^d. Our author adds, in a few words, that the Jesuits were soon after succeeded in that mission by some Dominicans, who undertook the conversion of those heathens (D), without

His admiral poisoned.

Commerce still continued.

Jesuits succeeded by the Dominicans.

^dJARR. ubi sup. LA CROIX, DAVIT. DAPPER, lib. ii. c. 10. & al.

(D) We must leave it to the reader to make his own remarks on these short detached pieces of history, where our authors, who are of the same fraternity,

and equally concerned for the credit of their order, have thought proper either to conceal or palliate such transactions and concurring circumstances,

out telling us with what success, which probably was but small, since these have said so little of it; and a celebrated traveller, who was there about the year 1570, tells us, that the then emperor, who had by that time reigned 47 years, and was in all respects a prince of great penetration, valour, conduct, and justice, and almost adored by his subjects for his excellent qualities, still professed the old *Monomotopan* religion*. However that be, the next paragraph will plainly shew that the *Portuguese* proved more successful in their secular affairs, in enlarging their conquests, and in the increase of their wealth and strength; by which means the Jesuits got fresh footing and credit in that empire. It is as follows†.

IN the year 1604, the *Monomotapan* emperor having invited the *Portuguese* to come and take possession of the *guise put* mines which he had yielded to them, the Fathers *Francesco Gon- in possessi-* zalez, and *Paulo Aleixo*, both Jesuits, were appointed to ac- of some company the army which was destined for that empire; from *gold mines.* which vast advantages were expected to be reaped by both

* VINCENT LE BLANC, part ii. c. 6 & 7.
sup. c. 41. DAVITY.

† JARRIC, ubi

as, if fairly told, would be likely to impair, if not ruin it. They need but confront them with what hath been related in former volumes of their boasted conversions and unchristian behaviour, which have ended in a general persecution and total extirpation of them and their religion, in the empires of *China* and *Japan*, in the kingdoms of *Tong-king*, *Kochin China*, *Siam*, &c. † and more recently in the history of *Abissinia*, as well as what we shall have occasion to take notice of in those of *Kongo*, *Angola*, and other parts of *Africa*, to be enabled to form a more than probable conjecture about their motives for thus curtailing the *Portuguese* transactions in this of *Monomotapa*. We may likewise conclude, from their being succeeded in that mission by the Dominicans, that they were by

that time, on some account or other, become either obnoxious to the emperor and his subjects, or that their proceedings here, as well as every-where else, were displeasing to the congregation *de propaganda fide* at *Rome*, which, for many good reasons, always kept a watchful eye over them, and seldom if ever failed of sending other missionaries, either of the Dominicans or some other order, to be a check over them; witness the heavy charge and grievous complaints which were exhibited against them from *China*, *Japan*, and other parts, and their being frequently recalled from their missions, and other orders sent in their stead, by that illustrious body, notwithstanding the many friends they have in it, and their vast interest both in the conclave and the *Roman* court.

† See vol. viii. & ix. *pass.* and before, p. 7, & seq. 314, & seq. & alib. *pass.*

sides, the emperor confiding solely in the *Portuguese* for the reduction of his revolted vassals, and permitting them to build fortresses where-ever they thought fit, and even near his court, in order to their being nearer at hand to assist him against all emergencies.

*Why their
accounts
are so
short.*

FROM these few historical fragments which we have been able to gather from the *Portuguese* writers, and from what we have occasionally observed in the last note, the reader will easily perceive the reason why we are so much in the dark, concerning the antiquity, foundation, and regular succession of this opulent and extensive monarchy; though, from a remarkable revolution which the *French* traveller last quoted hath transmitted to us, and in which the emperor then reigning was the chief actor, it appears to have been intailed by their laws in the male line, and might, if better known to us, have furnished us in all likelihood with a noble series of monarchs, of many illustrious reigns, and other remarkable particulars, worthy a curious reader's notice, especially if they bore any proportion to that signal one we are going to relate. We shall give it as near as possible in the author's own words, though stripped for brevity's sake of the many pompous eulogies and superfluous appendages with which the subjects of so greatly admired a prince, or perhaps the vanity of the author, may have thought proper to embellish it.

*Bloody
contest
about the
succession.*

THE emperor *Al Fumigar-bachi*, who reigned about 60 years before our author's arrival thither, being surprised with sudden death, in the 47th year of his age, without having time to appoint a successor from among the 64 sons he had by his several wives, a long and bloody contest arose between the most considerable of them, to which their respective mothers contributed all their efforts, interest, and riches, in order to bribe the most potent lords in behalf of their favourite sons. The struggle was so great, and the partizans so zealous, that each of the competitors strove to destroy the rest of his rivals not only by all hostile means, but by publicly setting the greatest prices upon their heads. At length, after many fierce engagements and much blood-shed, the candidates were reduced to four; viz. *Abgara*, *Adala*, *Cercut*, and *Gulman*, who having escaped the many snares laid for them by their other brethren, agreed to unite their interest and strength against them, and slew as many of them as fell into their hands, whilst the rest either fled into different provinces and strong-holds for safety, or continued the war against the four with incredible fury and obstinacy, insomuch that the two former of the four princes lost their lives in it. The two survivors proving more successful against the rest, and impatient to

to reconcile the nobles to them, and restore peace to the empire, agreed to reign jointly and by turns, and that each should hold the reins of government six months in the year, after the manner of the two *Theban* princes *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, mentioned in our ancient history, and almost exactly with the same tragical end^s; for they had reigned peaceably some short time, when *Cercut* unfortunately marrying an ambitious princess, named *Gildada*, was easily persuaded by her, on some pretence, to send for his brother to court, and to put him privately to death. He reigned singly after this fratricide about 13 years, when an uncle of his, named *Nahi*, put both him and his wife and children to death, to the general joy of all the people to whom his reign was become odious on that account, and himself reigned in his stead.

THIS revolution soon brought on a dreadful war between him and *Gildada's* father, then a powerful prince (E), in which vast numbers were slain on both sides. In the mean time, one of the princes of the blood, who had escaped the horrid slaughter which his other brothers made against each other for the empire, had retired far enough into a distant kingdom, where he had bought a small territory, which he cultivated himself, and on which he lived as a private man. Here he had also married a wife, by whom he had a son whom he named *Al-*

^s Vol. vi. p. 164, & 199.

(E) Our author, whether through forgetfulness or misapprehension, styles that prince king of *Dasila*; a kingdom nowhere to be found but in some geographers (12), who place it within the territories of the *Bahrnagaß* in the empire of *Abissinia*, on the confines of the coast of *Habaß* or *Abex*. But those geographers were misled by some fabulous and erroneous maps: and had there been really a kingdom of that name on that coast, it must have been too inconsiderable and too remote from *Monomotapa* to have maintained such a bloody war against it. It is therefore probable, either that he mistook the name

of the king for that of the kingdom, for want of rightly understanding his informer, or that his memory misled him in this, as in another kingdom which he calls *Le Royaume d'Eli*, the kingdom of *Eli*, and his *English* translator, by another mistake, the kingdom of *Deli*, but which is as unknown to modern geographers as that of *Dasila*. However, as it is no strange thing that a traveller should make some mistakes, in such a variety of strange names; so neither is it improbable that there may be a great number of kingdoms in the inland of *Africa*, which are still unknown to the best geographers even by name.

(12) Mercator, & al. de his, vid. La Martiniere, sub voc. *Dasila*.

fundi,

*His noble
character.*

fundi, who at the age of seven or eight years began to give signal prognostics of a rare elevated genius, and grew more and more beloved and admired as his years increased, by all who knew him. He began by times to display an undaunted courage in hunting of lions, tygers, and other wild creatures; and hearing at length of the cruel war that raged in *Monomotapa*, between his then unknown great uncle and the king of *Dafila*, resolved to set out as soon as possible for that kingdom; and having provided himself with some arms and a horse, he began his journey thither, attended only with a small number of brave youths like himself, whom he had engaged to accompany him.

*Exploits,
and rise at
court.*

He had not been long there, before he signalized himself by such brave exploits, as drew the eyes of all upon him; but more particularly, and by a kind of natural sympathy, those of his great uncle, who, though then wholly ignorant of the proximity of blood between him and the brave stranger, conceived such an affection for, and confidence in him, that he intrusted him with the command of a small corps of his troops to attack the enemy in some important post. On this occasion *Al-fondi* displayed so much conduct and bravery, and gained so signal a victory over the *Dafilans*, that their king left no means untried to bring him over to his interest, tho' all to no effect. The consequence was, that in the space of six months he gained so many battles, and performed such surprising exploits, that he rid the empire of that trouble some enemy; and, in recompence for his signal services and inviolable fidelity, his uncle gave him his daughter in marriage, without his having the least surmise of his true extract and near relation to him.

*Marries
the emper-
or's
daughter.*

*His father
arrives at
court.*

THE first thing *Al-fondi* did after his advancement, was to send for his father, who still lived in his obscure farm, and upon his arrival at court, disclosed the whole mystery, and declared himself the son of the late emperor *Alfumigarbachi*, to the joyful surprize of his uncle and of the whole court and army. The uncle gladly resigned the crown to him as his undoubted due, and he at the same time, with the universal consent of all, transferred his to his worthy son *Al-fondi*, and his wife, who were accordingly crowned with the utmost solemnity and universal acclamations of the people, who gladly acknowledged him as their lawful sovereign, and honoured him as the restorer of the peace of the empire, and of the imperial crown to its ancient chanel, after so many long and bloody wars and contests about the succession ^b.

*Al-fondi
is crown-
ed.*

^b LE BLANC, part ii. c. 6.

THIS remarkable revolution happened in the year 1523 ; and that noble prince was still on the throne, *an.* 1570, when our author visited his dominions ; who tells us, that he was still the love and admiration of all his subjects, and relates some signal instances of his justice, equity, and other royal virtues, for which we shall refer the curious reader to his own book ⁱ.

BEFORE we dismiss this chapter, it will not be amiss to give some account of the rich golden mines with which this empire abounds, and which we have but just occasionally mentioned in the course of its history. The most considerable of them are in the kingdom of *Manica*, under the 23d degr. of south latitude, and 31st of east longitude, near unto which is situate the capital of the same name, called by some *Magnica*. They extend themselves through a large spacious champaign, wild, sandy, and barren, about nine miles in circuit, and surrounded with high mountains. The province is called *Matuca*, and the inhabitants who dig the mines *Botooge*. Their rule for discovering the places where the gold lies, is by the dryness and barrenness of the ground ; as if nature so far exhausted herself in the production of that precious metal, that it could yield nothing else, where it yielded that. The country moreover is so inhospitable in winter, tho' so near the south tropic, that whatever creatures abide there during that season, are frozen to death by the vast quantities of snow that fall, and the excessive cold that reigns throughout it ^k. But in summer the air is so serene and clear, that some *Europeans* pretend to have seen the new moon on the day of its conjunction. *The gold mines of Manica.* *Extreme cold of the region.*

THESE rich mines lie about 150 miles west of the mart, or place where the commerce for it is carried on ; the misfortune is, that the *Cassers* who work at them, and are naturally lazy, find great difficulty in gathering the metal, which here is in dust, for want of water to separate it from the earth, so that they are obliged to carry it as mixed as they dig it out to other distant places, where they keep large cisterns and reservoirs for that purpose. One conveniency they have however, that they need not dig deeper for the ore than above six or seven spans ; all the rest underneath being solid rock. *Difficulty in gathering the gold.*

NEXT to those of *Manica*, or indeed preferable by far to *Minis* of them, if what we are told of them by a *Portuguese* traveller *Massapa*.

ⁱ LE BLANC, part ii, c. 6, & 7.
31.

^k MARMOL, lib. ix. c.

be true, are those which he calls the mines of *Massapa*¹, and others of *Afur*; from the affinity of which name he concludes them to be probably the ancient *Ophir*. In these, he tells us, have been found two lumps of gold, the one worth 1,200 ducats, and the other 400,000. He adds, that it is not only found among the stones, but grows up within the barks of several trees quite up to the top where the branches spread. But setting aside this wonderful one, there are others in this empire not much inferior to those of *Manica*; particularly those of *Batua*, a kingdom bordering on the barren wilds lately mentioned, and extending itself from *The Mountains of the Moon* to the river *Magnico*, and whose prince is a vassal of the emperor.

THESE are reckoned the ancientest mines in the whole empire, on account of some old castles in their neighbourhood, supposed to have been built as a safeguard to them, and *Boro, &c.* carry the greatest marks of antiquity. Those of *Boro*, and *Kiticuy*, the one about 100 and the other 200 leagues from *Sofala*, and more particularly still those of the province of *Toroa*, in which are those buildings or castles of which we have spoken in the last section^m, and which some learned have attributed to king *Solomon*. The reader may see the principal one of these ancient structures described in the margin (F); by

¹ FARIA Y SOUSA, vid. & Collect. of voyag. 4^{to}. 1746, vol. iii. p. 396. ^m Page 447 (C).

(F) It stands in the middle of a large spacious plain, round about which are scattered the mines above-mentioned, and therefore is reasonably supposed to have been designed as a guard to them, especially as the structure rather resembles a strong fortress than a *Zamba* or palace; the name which the inhabitants give both to this and to all the others of the same construction. Its walls are not high, but of the thickness of 25 spans; the stones are laid regularly one upon another, without either cement, or any other material to fasten them together. On the front, just over the great gate, is a larger stone than the

rest, and upon it an inscription in characters, or more probably hieroglyphics, which no man hath hitherto been able to decipher.

Round this fortress, and at some distance from it, are seen several other such structures, all built on some eminence or rising ground, and amongst them a tower above twelve fathoms or seventy-two feet high. The wild natives, being unable to conceive how such structures could be reared, imagine them to be the work of demons. Those *Moors* who have seen them and the *Portuguese* castles in these parts, affirm that these are in no way comparable to them;

by which he may judge of the rest, there being many more such edifices in this empire, and all of them of much the same fabricature. They are computed about 170 leagues, or 510 miles westward from *Sofala* ^a. But there are several other considerable places where they have their fairs and markets, *Markets* between the mines and the sea-coast, particularly in those towns *for gold*. which lie on the *Zebeze* or *Guama*, and other rivers, which, as was hinted above, are navigable up to that of *Tele*, one hundred and twenty leagues from *Sofala*, and where the *Portuguese* have built fortresses to keep the natives in awe, who come to those markets to exchange their gold for *European*, *Indian*, and other commodities. The first of these towns is called *Luano*, or *Luancho*, and is about four days journey from the sea; the second is *Bueto*, still farther in the inland; the third *Maffapa*, still farther up; the fourth *Sena*, and the last *Tele* above-mentioned.

THE commodities which the *Portuguese* give the natives for theirs are chiefly cloths, of various kinds and value, glass beads of various sizes and colours, and other still more worthless trinkets, for which, besides the gold above-mentioned, they give them ivory, furs of sundry wild and tame beasts, and other such valuable commodities, which makes that commerce very advantageous to them, especially as they are in some measure their own carvers, and oblige the natives to submit to their own terms. They have moreover in those markets an officer <sup>Portu-
guese
judges.</sup> of their own, who is appointed by the governor of *Mofambico*, and decides all contests and differences that arise about their traffic; that of *Maffapa* in particular, who is nominated with the consent of the emperor, seems to be the chief of them, and, we are told, is forbid to go into the country without his leave, under pain of death. They have likewise, in most of these towns, churches and monasteries of the dominican order ^o. By the means of these several forts on the inland, as well as that more considerable one which they have on the mouth of the *Cuama* (all which, they tell us, the emperor

^a Conf. MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 31. & PURCHAS. Pilgr. lib. vii. c. 8. ^o MARMOL, PURCHAS, LOPEZ, FARIA, & al. sup. citat.

them; neither is there any fabric, ancient or modern, to be seen in all these vast tracts that bears any resemblance to them, or indeed any thing else, but the low cottages, mostly made of earth, or at best of wood covered with clay, in which the poor inhabitants dwell (13).

(13) *Marmol Afric. lib. ix. c. 31.*

allowed

allowed them to build in gratitude for the service they had done to him in assisting him to reduce some revolted vassals to their obedience, as well as to enable them, on all such exigencies, to be near at hand to assist him) they have made themselves masters of a tract of land on both sides of that river of above 160 leagues, and of some of the most considerable mines in the empire, and ingrossed the whole commerce of it, both of the inland and of the coasts, ever since the year 1640.

S E C T. VI.

The History of the Kingdom Monoemugi.

*Kingdom
of Monoemugi.
Its extent,
boundaries,
&c.
uncertain,*

*and variously
settled.*

BEFORE we resume our course round this *African* coast, it will not be improper to give our reader an account of the vast and potent kingdom, or, as some authors style it, empire, of *Monoemugi*, or *Munni Emugi*, or, as it is otherwise called, *Nimeamaye*, which extends itself along the eastern coasts lately mentioned of *Sofala*, *Mongala*, *Mosambico*, *Quilua*, and *Mambaso*; as far almost as that of *Melinda* on the east, on the north as far as that of *Abissinia*, from which it is said to be divided by the *Nile*, and the dominions of the grand *Macocco* on the west it is said to reach quite to the frontiers of *Kongo* and *Angolo*, and on the south to those of *Monomotapa* lately described*. We must own however that these limits are nothing less than certain for the most part; and that we know little of the kingdom itself, but what is chiefly founded on the report of their neighbours, with whom its monarchs are frequently at war, or from the Negroes who carry on a commerce with it, rather than from the testimony of any *European* travellers into it; and hence proceeds that diversity of accounts of it we meet with among geographers concerning its extent, limits, division, &c. which the reader may see in the margin (A); from all which he will be the more easily

* SANSON, LUITZ, PURCHAS, FIGAPET. OBOAR, LOPEZ, LINSCHOT, & al.

(A) This kingdom, according to *Sanfon*, is divided into three great provinces, which he calls *Monomotapa*, *Casraria*, and *Kongo* (14). *Luitz* divides it into five; viz. the empires, as he styles them, of *Monoemugi*, *Monomotapa*, and *Casraria*, and the kingdoms of *Kongo* and *Biafara*; the two first of which are whol-

easily convinced of what a late and more accurate geographer says of it, that the inland kingdom is in all those respects little known to us ^b. Neither need we wonder at it, considering the great precaution, which, as we have often had occasion to mention in this and the foregoing chapters, the *Africans* everywhere take, to prevent any *Europeans* penetrating into the inland parts. However, what all our writers most agree in is, that he is a powerful and rich prince, and hath subdued most of the petty kingdoms round about him to his obedience; tho' not so absolutely, but that some of them, especially on the north and south side of him, frequently revolt, and put themselves under the protection of the *Abissinian* or *Benemotapan* emperors. He is said to have many rich gold, silver, and copper mines in his dominions, by means of which he carries on a kind of commerce with these two empires, as well as with some of the eastern coasters, with whom he is forced to exchange that precious metal for *Indian* and *European* commodities, for want of having some port of his own on either the eastern or western sea. This obliges him to cultivate a constant peace with the maritime kingdoms of *Quiloa*, *Mombasa*, and *Melinda*, whose merchants furnish him with variety of silks, cotton cloths, and other such merchandizes, together with cutlery work, and other sorts of trinkets; and amongst the rest, those little round balls or beads from *Cambaja*, made of a transparent red bitumen, with which they affect to adorn their necks, arms, and legs, and which they likewise use instead of money. Elephants being here also very numerous, vast quantities of ivory are exported by them into those kingdoms; from all which that emperor reaps a considerable yearly profit, and his subjects no less a conveniency, those *Indian* stuffs being their only apparel, and that only from

*Its riches
and power.*

Commerce.

^b See D'ANVILLE's map of Africa.

ly inland, and the other three maritime, and watered by the *Ethiopic* ocean (15), by the enlargement of whose dominions he doth of course remove its limits still farther northward and southward. But we have already seen that *Monomotapa* is no part of, but a boundary to this empire; and shall shew in the sequel that those of *Kongo*

and *Angola* are no more subject to it than that; unless we will suppose, what is far from improbable, that being contiguous to and frequently at war with both, he hath conquered some provinces from them, and assumes a title over the whole, without having either tribute, or perhaps regard, paid to him from either.

(15) *Introduc. ad Geograph. Ethiop. scilicet. iv. c. 6.*

their

their middle downwards, and those beads and trinkets their only ornaments, for which they gladly exchange their gold dust, which is of no value to them on any other account. He lives likewise in friendship with the grand Macaco, another prince on the north of him, on account of the Negro merchants who trade with the *Portuguese*, at the great markets of *Fongeno*, *Pombo*, and *Ocango*, and must traverse through his dominions in going and coming, and drive a considerable traffic likewise with him and his subjects.

WHAT kind of people the natives of *Monocemugi* are in other respects, what their religion is, if they have any (for we do not find that *Mohammedism* hath reached them) what their laws, customs, and other particulars, we are wholly in the dark. The *Arabs* who inhabit the coasts of *Zanguebar*, and are all *Mohammedans*, call them by the name of *Cassers*, or *Cassers*, that is, infidels, or men of no religion. We learn moreover that the frontiers of this empire, as well as some of the other provinces of it, are inhabited by the barbarous nations *Giachas*, or *Giagas*, or *Agags*, lately described, whom we take to be of the same extract, if not the same nation, with those whom the *Abissinians* call *Gallas* and *Agaus*, of whom we have elsewhere spoken ^c; and are a wild, fierce, and warlike people, of a whiter complexion, taller, and more stout by far than the *African* natives, and who live altogether upon plunder, and have spread themselves over most parts and even some of the most potent kingdoms of *Africa*, where, though they are called by different names, they plainly appear to have been originally the same people. They have no fixed habitations, but, like the wild *Arabs*, elsewhere described ^d, wander about in tents or portable houses, and spread dread and destruction where-ever they come. They have a way of marking their faces and bodies with iron instruments, and turn their upper eye-lids upwards to appear more terrible; and indeed one can hardly imagine any appearance more frightful, especially when joined to the idea of their other and still more barbarous customs, of butchering all that oppose them in their incursions, feasting on the flesh of all that unhappily fall into their hands; and, like the horrid *Imbii*, elsewhere described ^e, proclaiming death, fire, and destruction, where-ever they come.

THESE savages, who scarcely knew the use of any weapons except their darts, the emperor of *Monocemugi* hath found

^c See before, p. 39, & seq. 70, & seq. ^d Anc. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 376, & seq. ^e Before, p. 410, & seq. See OD. LOPEZ voyag. lib. i. c. 13. lib. ii. c. 9. PURCH. lib. vii. c. 10. §. iii.

means to fasten them to his interest ; and it is chiefly those whom he makes use of in his wars against those of *Abissinia* and *Monomotapa*, and against the kingdoms of *Kongo* and *Angola*, in all which they committed such dreadful ravages and butcheries, that the poor inhabitants have no other way to avoid them, than by abandoning their country at the first news of their approach, and carrying off all they conveniently can with them in their flight. And it was probably in some such expedition as this, that, we are told, they forced the king of *Kongo* to abandon his dominions, and to retire into a little island on the *Zayr*, where they kept him so closely blockaded that he died soon after of the dropsy, and the people that were with him were famished to death^f. We are likewise told that this powerful emperor employs these bloody cannibals against a commonwealth of female warriors, otherwise called *Amazons*, situate on some of his southern frontiers, from whence they used to make frequent inroads into his dominions ; but are since kept in awe by them, not so much out of fear of their superior valour and strength, as of their inhumanity, and the dread of being roasted alive by, and made a banquet of to, that accursed foe. And hence it is that whenever they are attacked by them, the fight is commonly very bloody on both sides, there not being any of those martial females that will trust to their heels when routed, though extremely swift of foot ; but will fight to the last gasp, and chuse to die sword in hand, rather than yield themselves prisoners to them.

WE shall not here inquire how far we may give credit to the various accounts we read concerning these female heroes, both in that and other parts of the world, but refer our readers to what we have said concerning them in our ancient history^g. But as to this infernal generation in human shape, we shall have such frequent occasion to mention instances of their horrid customs in other parts of *Africa*, besides what we have already said of them in a preceding chapter, as will put that matter out of all question. And shall only observe here, that those emperors who can encourage and make such frequent use of their assistance against their neighbours, whose chief and laudable aim is to suppress and extirpate them, cannot come very short of their savage and inhuman nature. Yet in spite of all their help, and his strength and opulence, it is plain he hath not hitherto been able to extend his conquests so far as to gain one maritime port on either coast ; though from what we have observed above, he

^f OD. LOPEZ, lib. ii. c. 5. ^g Anc. Hist. vol. vi p. 82, & (I). vol. ix. p. 533.

hitberto hath made more than one attempt, on the western side, on *ineffectual*. Kongo and Angola to that intent.

WE do not hear of any considerable towns in this empire, but only of some small ones, which are situate along the river *Guama*, which is said by *Luyts* to run through part of it, and to keep up the commerce with the maritime kingdom of *Sofala*, or rather, according to our more modern maps, the *Cuabo*, which runs from this kingdom to that of *Quiloa*; and these are rather a sort of villages, where fairs are kept at settled times of the year, and resorted to by the people on each side for the sake of traffic. We meet with an account of some large lakes in it; but these have been since found to be fabulous. The *Portuguese* however, who traffic with those Negroes we lately spoke of, have been assured by them that there is a large one, out of which spring several great rivers, and which was filled with a vast multitude of islands, inhabited by Negroes. They farther told them, that on the eastern side of it, from the land, one frequently heard the sound of bells, and perceived some stately structures like the Christian churches; and that some people of a dark swarthy complexion came and trafficked with those islanders. Those Negroes being asked how far they reckoned that lake from their own country? answered, that it took them up full 60 days travelling still directly eastward^a. We are further told, that the country which lies between that lake and the small territory of *Ocango*, or, as Mr. *D'Anville* writes it, *O Congo* (B), is pleasant and fertile, and watered with great plenty of springs. It abounds with variety of fowl and four-footed creatures, and

^a OD. LOPEZ, ubi sup. PIGAFET, lib. ii. c. 9. DAPPER, & al.

(B) Mr. *D'Anville*, who, in his map of *Africa*, hath given us a sketch of that lake as we suppose from its situation (for *Dapper*, who mentions the particulars above-noted, but takes no notice of that name), calls it *Maravan*, and represents it as extending itself above five degrees from south to north, but exceeding narrow, from end to end, in proportion; and at the south end of it places a city of the same name, on what authority we know not.

As for the small canton of

O-Cango, it is situated on the frontiers of *Kongo*, and about thirteen degrees north-west above-mentioned. All that whole tract however is no less unknown to us than that of *Mo-noemugi*; no missionaries or Europeans having ventured farther eastward (excepting Father *Cavazzi*, of whom we shall speak in the sequel) than the duchy of *Sundi*, that is, the third province in the kingdom of *Kongo*; or if any have, no account hath been published of it that we can hear of.

with

with palm-trees, from which the inhabitants draw both wine and oil; and honey is there in such plenty, that the Negroes cannot consume one third part of it, and suffer the rest to be lost; the misfortune is, that the air and climate are so un-*Unwhol-* healthy, that no missionaries or other *Europeans* dare venture *some air.* so far into the inland, especially as the *Giachas*, who inhabit *No mis-* these parts, and are reckoned the most fierce and cruel of all *naries* cannibals, infest all the roads, and massacre all that come in *venture* their way ^{thither.} ^{i.}

THE greatest part of the kingdom is very mountainous; and among other long and lofty ridges of them, is said to run that famed one called by the antients *The Mountain of the Moon*, supposed by *Ptolemy* to be those where the *Nile* had its source ^{k.} We shall refer our readers to what hath been said in confutation of that notion ^{l.}, and ascertaining its true source to be as far on this side the equator, as those mountains are beyond it. Here we must conclude our account of this large and opulent empire, for want of further intelligence. For though some authors have inserted in their descriptions *Reports* many other particulars concerning its cities, towns, rivers, *about it* lakes, traffic, &c. yet they differ so widely from each other, *not an-* that no dependence can be had on any of them; and the best *thentic.* that can be said of those relations is, that they have been taken on the credit of those Negroes who traffic thither, and who might have no other view than to amuse the inquisitive, and too justly suspected, *Europeans* with fabulous reports, the more effectually to conceal every thing that might invite them to penetrate farther into those parts. All, therefore, we shall add with relation to this unknown empire is, that Mr. *De Lisle*, *Empire* in his Atlas, divides it into the five following kingdoms or *how di-* provinces; viz. 1. The *Maracates*. 2. The *Mossagueres*. 3. The kingdom of the *Bengas*. 4. Of *Masty*. And 5. Of *Maravi*. The last of which Mr. *D'Anville* places on the southermost verge of the lake of that name, which is all we can find concerning them.

THE farther we move southwards towards the *Cape of The more* *Good Hope*, the farther we may be said to travel in the dark; *southern* though all our maps unite to embellish both coast and inland *parts of it* with such prospects, and pompous names of empires, king- *why so* doms, and countries, crouded close to each other, as might *little* induce an unwary reader to imagine those countries to be as *known.* fully known, as those of *Europe*; and were he to compare the vast shew they make in those maps with the little he finds in

^l Id. *ibid.* ^k *Geograph. lib. iv. in fin.* ^l See *Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 407, & seq.* See also before, p. 99, & seq.

The rudeness and poverty of the inhabitants render it unfrequented.

the relations and accounts of the *African* writers, might be apt to conclude from the former, that the far greater and most considerable part of the latter, like those of the ancients, have been unhappily lost or destroyed. And this we think ourselves bound to apprise our readers of, lest they should be induced to ascribe our leaping over such a vast tract of land, overlooking so many seemingly-considerable kingdoms and states, to our neglect, rather than to what it is really owing, the want of proper intelligence, and so lose their time in a fruitless search after them, amongst that variety of authors that have written of this part of the world. The truth is, the *Arabs*, as well as the natives who inhabit this whole eastern coast, are too jealous of, not to say incensed against, all *Europeans*, to give them any intelligence of the inland parts; much less to let any of their missionaries penetrate into them, as they have more luckily done in the western. So that all the knowledge we have been able to gain of them, is chiefly founded on the precarious report of those trading coasters, and extends little farther than the names and situation of those kingdoms, which make so fine an appearance in our maps; and might probably be represented by them in such a light as might rather deter than encourage strangers from attempting any farther discoveries about them; though perhaps no better, if not inferior, than that poor beggarly one of *Dancali*, of which we gave an account in a former chapter^m.

BUT whatever they are must be left to time to discover, as well as what extends itself farther towards the south, which is no less unknown to us, and commonly goes by the common name of *Caffraria*, or land of the *Caffers*, quite to that of the *Hottentots*, of which we shall speak in the next chapter. One thing we know however of that great tract of ground, that it is mostly barren and uncultivated, inhabited by wild barbarous nations, or rather tribes, distinguished among themselves by various names; though by all appearance all of the same wild and savage extract; and all, on that account, comprehended by the *Arabs* under the common one of *Cassfers*, or men of no religion or knowledge of a Deity; though whether really such we will not affirm, seeing they give the same opprobrious name to all that disbelieve the *Mohammedan* creed. However that be, the poverty and barrenness of their country rightly accounts for the small acquaintance the *Europeans* have with either.

^m See before, p. 355, & seq.

S E C T. VII.

*The History of Cafraria, or the Land of the Caffers, or
Kaffers, and various nations so called.*

WE have already observed, that the name of *Caffers*, or *Caffers Kaffers*, is a kind of nickname, given in contempt by *and Ca-* the *Arabian Mohammedans* to all the *Africans* in general, who *fraria,* are either idolaters, or even of a contrary religion; that word *whence so]* signifying *without law*, or *lawless*, and is often applied to *called.*

• Christians as well as to Infidels. But geographers confine it to those wild nations only who live in the most southern part of *Africa*, and comprehend their whole country under the general name of *Cafraria*, though they are not agreed about assigning its boundaries on the north side^{*}; and no wonder, considering the little commerce the *Europeans* have with them. So that the generality of them make them be- *Northern* gin at *Capo Negro*, on the western, and the mouth of the ri- *boundaries* ver *Guama* on the eastern coast, and to extend quite to that of *uncertain.* *Good Hope* on the south, including therein the whole nation of the *Hottentots*, who inhabit the most southern part, tho' these last plainly appear, in all respects, to be a different race from all the other *Africans*, as we shall shew in the next chapter^{*}. But if by *Caffers* and *Cafraria* we must understand all the heathen and idolatrous nations who inhabit this south side of *Africa*, it is certain those northern limits will extend themselves much farther on that side, at least on the inland, and will include not only the kingdoms of *Monomotapa* and *Monomotapi*, already described, together with those of *Anzico*, *Fungono*, *Metamba*, and others we shall speak of in the sequel, but the countries of the *Gallas*, *Jagoes*, on the south side of *Abissinia*, the *Monfoles*, and other nations of the same kind, which extend themselves between that empire and the kingdoms of *Kongo*, *Loango*, *Angola*, &c. as far northward as the *Mountains of the Moon*, and how much further, is beyond our power to decide, with any tolerable probability, from the dissonancy of our geographers and their maps. We may even add, that they sometimes contradict themselves, as one may see by the difference there is between the map which Mr. *De Lisle* gave us of this country, in conjunction with that of the kingdom of *Kongo*, and that which he published of the

^{*} De hoc, Confer. int. al. SANUT, LINSCHOT, RAMUS, PURCHAS. & al. DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. ^{*} De his, vid. sup. vol. x. p. 475, & seq.

whole continent of *Africa*, the one in 1708, and the other in 1722 ^b. The truth is, there is really no country properly so called, and the *Portuguese* having mistaken the *Arabic* word *Caffer* for the name of a country, instead of a reproachful epithet, have led the rest into the same error; for which reason we shall forbear saying any thing more of it under the former notion, but only add, with respect to the latter, that all the vast tract of inland from the *Hottentots* to the equinoxial line, and beyond, may justly be called by that odious name of *Cafraria*, or Infidel land, seeing the whole race of its inhabitants are not only all idolaters, but addicted to the vilest and most inhuman superstitions and witchcrafts, perhaps of any nation in the world, and such as the very *Hottentots* are utter strangers to; but on which we shall not here enlarge, because we shall have occasion to mention them in the sequel, in our route along the western coasts, so far at least as our missionaries have dared to penetrate amongst them. The misfortune is, that the ferocity and cruelty of those savages, joined to the excessive heat and unhealthiness of these climes, hath proved a constant discouragement to those good fathers from risking the loss of their lives and labours amongst them, So that there have been but very few who penetrated far into the inland; and of these one part died so soon, either through the heat of the climate, badness of the food, and the terrible fatigues they were exposed to, or were deterred by their ill success from staying any time amongst them; and at their return home gave such a dreadful account of this mission, that few, if any, have been sent thither since, except to such maritime places where the *Portuguese* or other *Europeans* are settled †: and hence it is that we know so little of that vast inland tract, notwithstanding what *Dapper*, *La Croix*, and others, have written concerning it from hearsay reports; authorities to which, we think, no credit can safely be given, except only what more immediately relates to the *Hottentots*, with whom they have plainly, though absurdly enough, confounded them. Instead therefore of troubling our readers with a long detail of nations, of whom we know little else but their names, even if these may be relied on, we shall now readily close up this chapter, in order to open our way in the next to those more remote natives of *Africa*, as well as those kingdoms and nations who inhabit its western coast, with whom we are much better acquainted.

^b Confer. DE LISLE's map, 1708, & not. D'ANVILLE. † Vid. P. CAVAZZ. Hist. of Kongo, &c.

C H A P. VIII.

The History of the various Nations of the Hottentots, with their Coasts ; together with the Dutch Settlements on or about them.

S E C T. I.

THE *Hottentot* coast, which surrounds the empire of *Monomotapa* in the form of a horse-shoe on the east, south, and west, extends, according to *Magin*, from the west of *Cabo Negro* as far as the *Cape of Good Hope*, and from thence northward to the river *Magnica*, or *Rio de S. Spirito*, including *Mattatan*, a distinct kingdom. According to *Sanut*, this coast, beginning at the *Mountains of the Moon*, under the tropic of *Capricorn*, in 28 deg. and a half of south latitude, extends north beyond the *Cape* to the coast of *Zanguebar*, having the *Indian* sea on the east, the *Ethiopic* on the west, the southern ocean on the south, and on the north the kingdoms of *Matatan*, *Monomotapa*, and the coast of *Zanguebar*, or rather the *Mountains of the Moon*, which divide it from the rest of the continent ^a. Situation and extent.

THE natives, whose original name has been mistaken, and believed by *Tachart*, *Marklin*, *Dapper*, *Arnold*, and others, a nickname only, call and distinguish themselves by the name of *Hottentot* ; who, though generally confounded by *Europeans* with, and denominated *Cassers*, from *Casri*, an *Arabic* name, as we have shewn in the close of the last chapter, are a distinct people, of different colour and manner of life, who know not, nor have any traditional account, of any national appellation antecedent to the arrival of *Europeans*, who have remained where they are ever since the deluge, or originally descended from the ancient *Troglodytes*, the posterity of *Abraham* by his wife *Cethura*. Their language is a composition of the strangest and most disagreeable sounds, deemed by many the disgrace of speech, without human sound or articulation, resembling rather the noise of irritated turkies, the chattering of magpies, and whooting of owls, justly considered the monster of languages, attainable only by youth, and children born in the country, and never to be acquired by strangers, the sound depending on extraordinary vibrations, inflexions, and clashing of the tongue against the palate. On this account the *Hottentots*, who are hardly intelligible when they speak other languages (though there are instances of some

^a *Robbe* Geogr. vol. ii. p. 242. *La Croix* Relat. vol. iv. p. 12. *Davity*, *Dapper*, & al.

who have expressed themselves roundly) are esteemed a nation of stammerers ^b (A).

Coast.

THE coast is extremely mountainous, abounding in capes, bays, and roads. Thirty leagues to the east of the *Cape of Good Hope*, situated in 24 degr. 21 min. of south latitude, is another cape more south, beyond deg. 25, called by the *Portuguese*, who first doubled it, *Cabo das Agulhas*, or *Cape of Needles*, the needle of the compass appearing to them; when opposite this eminence, to turn from north direct south; though later mariners have remarked, that it still inclines five or six degrees to the north-west. Near this cape is a flat shore, with plenty of fish, which begins in the west near a fresh water river, and extending 15 leagues in the main sea, ends in the east near *Fish Bay*. *Cabo Falso*, so called by the *Portuguese*, who, returning from *India*, mistook it for the *Cape of Good Hope*, is between these two capes, eight or nine leagues eastward beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*; the *Portuguese*, who believed there were no more capes, called this, which they afterwards discovered in the same course, *Cabo Falso*. Along the coasts, on both sides of the *Cape of Good Hope*, are many fine bays, where ships may ride in the greatest safety. Twenty-seven leagues to the north-west is *Saldanha Bay*, so named from a *Portuguese* captain shipwrecked on that coast. The largest and most commodious is *Table*, or *Vasel*, Bay, on the south, and near the mountain of that name, six leagues in circumference, with four fathom water close to the beach, and sheltered from all but north-west winds, which blow strait up. Opposite this bay is *Robu Eilan*, or the *Island of Rabbits*, in 34 degr. 40 min. of south latitude, to the east of *Cabo das Agulhas*, and 67 leagues from the *Cape of Good Hope*. *Peter Both*, in 1661, discovered a bay which he named *Uleest*, sheltered only from north winds, in which is a small island, and on the west a rivulet of fresh water, extremely convenient for *European* mariners. Twenty-five or thirty leagues farther east *Both* discovered *Masbell Bay*, afterwards named by the *Portuguese* *Seno Formoso*. Next to this is *Seno do Lago*, from its resemblance of a lake. There are several roads in the extent of this bay, and an island called *Ilha dos Caos*. *Cabo do S. Francisco*, and *Cabo das Serras*, are marked upon

^b KOLBE, Eng. edit. 8°. vol. i. p. 28, 30, 31, 300. LA CROIX, vol. iv. p. 38. & al. sup. citat.

(A) If so, should not our authors have apprised us here when, and by whom, such a series of proper and well articulated names of persons, tribes, &c. which the reader will find in the following pages, were first coined for them, and reduced into a public standard?

charts

charts between these two bays. The island *Contento*, and *Cabo do Arecito*, are near *Cabo das Serras*; and something more north-east is *St. Christopher's River*, called *San Christovano* by the *Portuguese*, and by the *Hottentots Nagoa*. The country beyond this river was called by the *Portuguese*, who discovered it on the festival of our Lord's nativity, *Terra do Natal*. Between the *Cape of Good Hope* and *Cape das Agulhas*, are the *Sweet, Salt*, and *Jaquilina* rivers, which run into the sea; the *Sweet-water* river flows from the bottom of the *Table* mountain, though the spring is asserted to rise on the west of lake *Galé*, between the *Mountains of the Moon*, and to run into the sea near *Cape Falso*. *Pigafetta* mistook this for the river *Camissa*, which runs from that lake, and whose mouth is more eastward, and nearer *Terra do Natal*. The company of the ship *Mauritius*, wrecked on this coast in 1662, began a fort opposite this river, in order to defend and secure a watering place, but the work was never completed. The mouth of the *Salt-water* river, so called from the extreme white salt, made therein by the sun, in hot and droughty seasons, is on the east. This receives the fresh water of three rivers, about nine or ten leagues up the country, and of a rivulet which springs up in the sands about half a league from the shore. The mouth of the river *Jaquelina* is also on the east, and half a league distant from the *Table Gulph* ^c.

THERE are no considerable kingdoms throughout this large extent of country, the whole being inhabited by different nations or tribes of *Hottentots*, governed by different *Honquers*, or chiefs, who have no fixed residence, living, like the *Arabs*, in huts or portable houses, and removing their *Kraals*, or villages, whenever the pasture becomes too bare for the subsistence of their cattle, and upon the natural or violent death of an inhabitant. The known nations, according to *Hottentot* our author (who esteems the several details of the *Hottentot nations*. nations, given by *Dapper*, *Anderton*, *Tachart*, and others, for the most part made up of invention and hearsay) are the *Gunjeman*, *Kochaquan*, *Suffaquan*, *Odiquan*, *Chirigriquan*, *Greater and Lesser Namaquan*, *Attaquan*, *Kospman*, *Hessaquan*, *Sopquan*, *Dunquan*, *Damaquan*, *Gauros* or *Gouriquan*, *Houteniquan*, *Chamtover*, and *Heikom* ^d.

THE *Gunjeman* nation, who sold their territory, still live *Gunje*-promiscuously among the *Dutch*, holding a small part only man. of their ancient possessions. This nation, called also *Goringhaiquas*, pretend to the property of the *Cape*, of which they are said.

^c KOLB. ubi sup. p. 61. & alib. pass.
33. & alib. pass.

^d Id. ibid. p. 13.

to be natives. They consisted of about 95 families, and sent into the field 3 or 400 men capable of bearing arms*.

**Kocha-
quan.**

THE *Kochaquan*, called *Saldáchaters* by *Dapper*, border northward on the *Gunjeman*, and hold the greatest part of their territory, the meadows excepted, which are extremely fine and numerous, and possessed by the *Europeans*, who furnish the company's ships with provisions. The *Dutch* keep a constant guard in this country for the security of their salt pits, to watch the sea, and to give notice to the *Cape* of ships in sight. The chief of this nation, consisting of 450 families inhabiting *Kraals* a quarter of a league distant from each other, and containing 30, 40, and 50 families, assumes the title of *Scheck*, and pretends to the sovereignty over all *Hottentots*, 75 leagues round the *Cape of Good Hope*. *Oldasoa*, who had but one wife, being extremely chaste for a *Hottentot*, was the reigning *Scheck* in 1661, of a well proportioned body, and of the sweetest and most peaceable disposition. This prince, who avoided broils and contentions with the *Dutch*, dying of a lingering disorder, left one daughter, the princess *Ramis*. His viceroy *Gonnomoa*, extremely corpulent, and known to the *Europeans* by the name of the *Black Captain*, had three wives and several children; and *Caucofoa*, the third person in the state, of a genteel appearance for a *Hottentot*, was a courteous and polite man†.

**Sussa-
quan.**

THE *Sussaquan*, or *Sassiquan*, border northward, at some distance from *Saldanha Bay*, on the *Kochaquan* nation. A great part of this tribe were numerous and rich in cattle, till plundered by *Dutch* freebooters, who, in the infancy of their settlement, pillaged and robbed the *Hottentot* nations, forced them to abandon their country; and the sooner, on account of the scarcity of spring water. This nation seems to be the *Chainonquan*, mentioned by *La Croix*‡, a numerous and rich people, who, with their aged chief *Sousoa*, and his son *Goboa*, married to *Gamisoa*, retreated from the neighbourhood of the *Cape*, to a more distant country, towards the *Cobonas*, the blackest of the *Negroes*, with long hair, and, by the account of the *Cape Hottentots*, a cannibal nation, possessed of mountains producing plenty of the greatest curiosities. The *Hottentots* disdain descent, kindred, and connection with these people.

Odiquan.

To the *Sussaquan* adjoins the *Odiquan* nation. These two tribes having entered into a perpetual confederacy against the *Chirigriquan* neighbouring nation, with which they have had long and bloody wars, join upon the least injury or affront

* LA CROIX ib. p. 15. & al. sup. citat. See also before, vol. x. p. 474.

† KOLBEN ibid. p. 23.

‡ Id. ibid. p. 245.

given by the *Chirigriquan*, in pursuit of satisfaction and revenge.

THE *Chirigriquan* is the next nation; a numerous people, *Chirigriquan* remarkably strong in body, and famed amongst the *Hottentots* for their dexterity in throwing the *Hassagaye*. The *Elephant River*, so named from the great number of elephants frequenting its banks, runs cross this country, whose soil is superior to the *Sussaquan* and *Odiquan*. There are many hills, whose tops, like most others in *Hottentot* countries, are covered with meadows and a large thick wood, divided by several roads, yet extremely dangerous to pass, on account of lions, tigers, leopards, and wolves. This nation, with which a regular commerce has been established, were extremely furious against *Europeans*, having greatly suffered by the *Dutch* freebooters, who robbed them in the most barbarous manner of their lives and cattle.

THE two *Namaquan* nations, of the same name, yet different in form of government, and manner of life, of the best sense amongst the *Hottentots*, and able to take the field with 20,000 men, are greatly respected for their strength, valour, and discretion, and the women are extremely gay and artful. The *Lesser* lies on the coast; the *Greater* is the next nation eastward. Both territories are mountainous, stoney, and sandy, the soil of the vallies indifferent, with little wood, and but one spring. The *Elephant River*, which runs thro' the two countries, principally supplies the inhabitants with water. There are numbers of wild beasts, and a particular sort of deer in these countries, spotted white and yellow, never seen single, but herding in hundreds, and sometimes in thousands together. The flesh is generally fat and delicate, but of different taste from *European* venison. The *Namaquans*, who, like the *Chirigriquans*, were extremely exasperated against *Europeans*, by the cruelty and rapine of *Dutch* freebooters, who, without quitting the field, had maintained a battle for three days, and, despairing of victory by force, had, by stratagem, vanquished and defeated a *Dutch* party, who, finding their proposals of peace rejected, had resolved upon giving the most distinguished proofs of their courage, appointed and sent a deputation to Mr. *Van Assenbourg*, who arrived at the *Cape* in 1708, to assure that governor of their readiness to enter into and observe exactly a treaty of alliance. The deputies wore a small plate of polished iron, in the shape of a half-moon, on their foreheads; and having waited on the governor, and discharged their commission with surprising ability and discretion, to the great honour of their respective nations; and, having been liberally entertained for
some

some days at the company's expence, returned extremely satisfied, and complimented the governor at their audience of leave, that they promised themselves from his personal virtues all peace and security; and that they should not fail of making the same impressions on their countrymen, which they had themselves received of his integrity, disinterestedness, and generosity.

THESE *Hottentots* travel 150 and 200 leagues from the Cape. *Riebeck*, governor of the Dutch settlement in 1661, sent 13 Dutchmen in an equipage drawn by four oxen, in order to establish a correspondence, and to discover gold or other curiosities among the *Namaquans* †. The ambassadors having travelled 150 leagues, at length discovered the *Namaquan* Kraals, and were received with great courtesy and civility. They were first entertained for four hours by a band of one hundred musicians with a concert of *Namaquan* composition, conducted afterwards to the palace, and introduced to king *Acambia*, whose three daughters were of gigantic stature, and regaled by his majesty with milk and mutton. The ambassadors having presented the king and people with bits of copper, grains of coral, some brandy and tobacco, and instructed the *Namaquans* in the use of that weed, with which they were before unacquainted, returned perfectly satisfied with and convinced of the extraordinary stature of the *Namaquans*, and the beauty of the ladies, whose persons and apparel were besmeared with grease, though adorned, like the *Songuas*, with umbrellas of ostrich feathers. On November 14 of the same year, 13 more set out from the fort for a more accurate discovery of this nation, 12 only returned on February 13, in the following year, who gave an account that one of the company had been killed by an elephant: that having travelled 150 leagues, without a lucky or amusing adventure, they had discovered one *Chirigriquan* hut near the place, where the *Namaquans* had before resided who, they learnt, had departed, and gone to a distant country, nor would they be heard of in less than a year ^h.

Atta-
quan.

THE *Attaquans* are a brave, sprightly, contented nation, who are seldom at war, living in tranquility, in small bodies, at a considerable distance from each other, the soil of their country being indifferent, and ill provided with water. These *Hottentots* make fires at the tops of the highest mountains when under apprehension of an enemy. Upon these signals the most able to bear arms repair to a fixed place of rendezvous, and a numerous army is immediately assembled.

† De hoc, vid. sup. vol. x p. 470, & seq. ^h Idem, p. 28.

THE *Koopman* nation, so named from one of their captains, *Koop-* lies southward of the *Gunjeman*. The *Palamit*, a rapid river, ^{man.} receiving on both sides several rivulets, and a considerable stream, called the *Black River*, has its source in *Drakenstein* mountains, and runs, winding itself, through the vallies of this territory, into the sea. There is a hot bath, and several salt-pits in this country, where *Europeans* are continually taking in many large and rich tracts of land, unemployed by the *Koopmans*. This territory is extremely fertile, abounds in wood, and is well watered.

THE *Hessaquan*, the richest of *Hottentot* nations, whose *Hessa-* Kraals are the most numerous, and best peopled, border like-^{quan.} wise on the *Gunjeman* nation. These *Hottentots* trade considerably with *Europeans*; many enter into, and make fortunes in, their service, employing their wages in the purchase of cattle. This territory, whose pastures are covered with great and small cattle, is esteemed the most fertile, the *Hessa-* *quans* the most luxurious and effeminate *Hottentot* nation, and less inclined to war; are brave upon occasions, but never pursue enemies beyond their frontiers.

THE *Sonquan* nation inhabit a mountainous, rocky, and *Sonquan.* poor country, to the east of, and bordering on, the *Koopman*. The enterprising and lively *Sonquas*, who are dexterous in the management of arms, and in chase, take up in general the military profession, serving as mercenaries the *Hottentot* nations. The *Sonquas*, 3 or 4000 in number, are great hunters, men and women; their diet is venison, and roots instead of bread; their dress buffalo skins, and the women adorn their heads with umbrellas of ostrich feathers. The *Sonquas*, who are no admirers of honey, are famed at the *Cape* for engaging bees, barter great quantities with the *Europeans*, who mix it with water for refreshing draughts.

THE *Dunquans* are next to the *Sonquan* nation; whose ter-^{Dun-} ritory is less mountainous, and extremely fruitful, abound-^{quan.} ing throughout with cattle and game, and well watered by several rivulets running through into the *Palamit* river.

THE *Damaquans*, great hunters and admirers of the flesh *Dama-* of wild beasts, are the next and adjoining nation, possessing a ^{quans.} more level tract of land, equally fruitful and plentiful in cattle and game, and producing water melons and wild hemp. There are several salt-pits; but great scarcity of wood; and a sort of moss, offensive when set on fire, is made use of for fuel. The river *Palamit*, which turns and winds throughout this country, without any bridges, is extremely inconvenient to travellers; who are obliged to pass it in small canoes, or on floats of timber.

**Gauri-
quan.**

THE *Gauros*, or *Gauriquan*, who lie next to the *Damaquan*, are a numerous people, living in great ease and plenty in a small territory, swarming with more wild beasts than any country about the *Cape*. The soil is extremely rich and fruitful, well watered, and abounding with wood. The inhabitants, whose courage and dexterity are frequently exercised, distinguish themselves by their apparel which is made of the skins of wild animals.

**Houteni-
quan.**

THE *Houteniquan*, whose territory, full of woods, intermixed with meadows, produces a wonderful variety of herbs and beautiful flowers of exceeding fragancy, lie on the coast to the north-east of the *Gauzas*.

THE *Gauriquas* and *Houteniquas* are very probably the *Carigriquan* and *Hofaan Hottentots*, who were shepherds and hunters, inhabitants of the lands round the vallies of *Sal-danha* bay.

**Chamto-
vers.**

THE *Chamtovers*, who border on the *Houteniquas*, possess a flat tract of land, extremely fertile, and abounding in pastures, with small woods of the most lofty trees, in the *Hottentot* territories. There is game and all kinds of wild beasts; and several large streams, enriched with various sorts of river and sea fish, divide and water the country.

Heykoms.

THE *Heykoms*, who lie northeastward, and border on the *Chamtovers*, are exposed and subject to great inconveniencies and shifts, from the want of water: yet the vallies of this exceeding mountainous country are fertile, and cattle of every kind thrive on the brackish water, and reeds on the banks of the rivers. All kinds of game and wild animals abound in this territory.

THERE are several nations, hitherto scarce known, that extend themselves along the coast, from the *Gauzas* as far as *Terra do Natal*; and the *Ghorogaugaus* possess a large tract of country northward, bordering on the *Attaguas*, with many others between this nation and *Angola*¹.

**Births and
character
of the Hot-
tentots.**

THE *Hottentots*, who are brought into the world by the assistance of a decoction of milk and tobacco, to forward their births, and immediately rubbed with fresh cowdung, afterwards washed with the juice of *Hottentot* figs, and when dried by the sun, besmeared with melted butter or fat, then named by the mother or father *Horse*, *Lion*, *Sheep*, *Ass*, &c. according to their esteem for the beast, and taught to smooke as soon as weaned, are of good stature, well made, both sexes erect, from five to six feet high, the women excepted, who are short, with small and tender feet, subject to few distem-

¹ KOLSEN'S History, p. 78.

pers, and generally of long life. Their colour is of a nut or dingy olive: their heads are large, with piercing eyes, and noses flattened by art, with thick lips, and teeth white as ivory, their wool, like Negroes, is short, and black as jet, and their feet large and broad. The *Hottentots*, sensible of the noble fruits reaped from industry by *Europeans*, remain the most lazy people in the universe: neither sex pares the nails of fingers or toes: they esteem thinking as labour, and, abhorring both as capital plagues, pass three parts in four of their lives with amazing stupidity in shameful idleness. They are, notwithstanding, occasionally, surprizingly active; they surpass in swiftness the fleetest horse, and are famed for dexterity in discharging arrows, throwing stones, Hassagayes and Rackum sticks; and, though unacquainted with agriculture, and the qualities of tobacco, before the arrival of *Europeans*, excel, and are often consulted by most resident in the country, in the management of lands, and choice of tobacco. Their mutual affection, liberality, and benevolence, extends to each other in the most friendly manner, and naturally compassionating distress; are extremely hospitable to strangers of every nation. They are of good sense, and in integrity, in the expeditious execution of justice, and in chastity excel all or most nations in the world, yet practise, in the midst of these eminent virtues, the most barbarous and unnatural cruelties, upon the bare authority of *Hottentot* customs, the foundation and sole reason of all their institutions^k.

On the birth of twin girls, or of a boy and girl, if the parents are rich, and the mother complains of the want of milk, *Barbarous customs.* or the same plea, or poverty, is set up by the indigent, the worse-featured of the girls, who always suffer in other births, is allowed by the whole Kraal, assembled purposely to determine, to be buried alive, or exposed, stretched on the back, or tied to the bough of a tree, to birds or beasts of prey.

If the eldest, and, in default of sons, the next male relation, who inherits all *Hottentot* estates, which are never divided, nor descend to women, who are debarred even of legacies but with consent of the heir, determines to get rid of his father, mother, or relation, who are regarded as superannuated when incapable of any useful domestic performance, the Kraal is convoked, and informed of the condition and request of the heir; consent is never refused, and a day is immediately appointed for the removal of the superannuated man or woman, whether captain, the wealthiest, or obscurest,

^k Ibid. vol. i. p. 38, 117, 141, 211, 324. & alib. pass.

amongst

amongst them, and the person is compelled to surrender his whole estate to the claimant, whether son or male relative who entertains the Kraal that bids farewell, and attends the superannuated person, who is conveyed upon a carriage or placed, left, and abandoned by all, without any other comfort or assistance, in the middle of a lone hut, but that of a few provisions within reach, to die of age or hunger, or to be devoured by wild beasts, without remorse or scruple of affection, duty or respect. And the most impious practice of *Hottentot* youth, made men, of reproaching, insulting, and beating their mothers with impunity, is an indulgence, equally barbarous and cruel in the father, as unnatural and vicious in the sons, and must render the *Hottentot* race the most brutish and abominable of the human species.

Dress.

THE Krosse, or skin of a sheep, or wild beast, prepared with cow-dung and sheep's fat, and afterwards greased with butter or fat, fresh or stinking, according to the rank or wealth of the *Hottentot*, hangs, like a mantle, over the shoulders, high or low, and open or closed before, according to the seasons, or custom of the tribe. The men, who have no covering but a composition of fat, soot, and dirt, in the most raging heats, wear cat or lamb-skin caps in cold and wet seasons. The face and fore part of the neck are always bare; and, the *verenda* excepted, which are covered with a Kull Kross, or piece of wild beast skin, they go naked from the hips downwards. Leather stockings, and sandals cut out of the raw hides of elephants or oxen, are used occasionally, in driving their herds to pasture, or in passing sands or rocks. A greasy pouch hangs about their necks, with a knife, pipe, tobacco, *Dacha*, and a small piece of wood called *Susa*, burnt at both ends against witchcraft. Three ivory rings adorn the left arm, to which, on journeys, is fastened a bag of provisions. The *Kirri* and *Rackum* sticks are in the right hand, and another is carried in the left, with a bushy tail of a wild cat, fox, or other animal fastened to it for a handkerchief. The Honquers and captains, who were formerly distinguished only by fair skins of tygers or wild cats, appear at present at the head of the army, in councils, and on every solemn occasion, with brass crowns, and brass-headed canes. These ornaments were presented by the *Dutch* to the chiefs and captains of the nations in their alliance, and are now annexed to, descend with, and are esteemed an unalienable property, and distinctive badge of their dignity. The women, whose hair, like the men's, is short, woolly, and black, constantly wear caps made of the skins of wild animals, pointing spirally up from the crowns of their heads, and two Krosses, the lesser undermost; which being shaped

shaped and worn like those of the men, open, the fore part of the body appears naked down to the *Pudenda*; a wonderful broad and callous excrescence growing above and flapping over the *Pudenda*, seems designed by nature to conceal those parts, which are always covered with a Kut Krosse, made of sheep-skin stripped of the wool, and three times larger than the Kull Krosse worn by the men; the posteriors are hid by a small Krosse, fastened round the waist, which reaches below the hams, and their legs are encircled, from the knee to the ankle, with slips of leather, resembling one smooth continued swathe.

BOTH sexes are fond of ornaments; the men distinguish themselves by bladders of wild beasts, blown up and tied to the hair, which is powdered with buchu; and bits of brass plates, looking-glass, and buttons, are intermixed; the rich add pieces of mother of pearl, which the *Hottentots* shape and polish in the most curious manner. Brass and glass beads are ornaments the most esteemed and worn by both sexes in necklaces, bracelets, and girdles; the beads for the waist are stained with various colours. The ladies, whose wool is concealed by their caps, plaister their foreheads with grease and buchu, and make a red spot over each eye and cheek, upon the nose and chin. The bodies of both sexes, who hold the fat of fish in the utmost abhorrence, are besmeared from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot with fat, butter, and foot intermixed; and the rich display their luxury in the intenseness of grease, their distinctive mark of quality and wealth.

THESE people, restrained by traditionary laws from the *Manner of* flesh of hogs, hares, rabbits, and fish without scales, eat in the *eating and* most ravenous manner, when their humour or appetite calls, *dressing* in the open air when fair, and within doors in windy or *visuals* rainy weather. Hares and rabbits are allowed to the women, but the pure blood of beasts, and flesh of moles are permitted only to men, who eat separate, the wedding-day excepted, when the bridegroom is indulged in eating with the women. Their food is the flesh and entrails of cattle, and other wild beasts, with fruits and roots of various kinds. These are gathered by the women, whose choice is directed by the hedgehog and *Bavian* ape. The *Hottentots* eat no sort of fruit or roots but those which these animals feed upon; and between their *Andersmakens*, or solemnities, no flesh but of cattle that die naturally, and of wild beasts or venison. The flesh and entrails are boiled in blood, and sometimes in milk, which, according to our author, would be extremely agreeable, but for the filthiness of the cooks. Lice are commonly

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eaten, and old shoes, made of raw hides of oxen or deer; the hair is singed off, when they are steeped in water, and broiled on the fire. No salt or spice is made use of in dressing *Hottentot* dishes, yet they devour with great avidity the salted and high-seasoned victuals of *Europeans*. The usual and ordinary drink is cows milk and water; ewes milk is permitted only to women: but both sexes, who are inexpressibly foolish and extravagant when drunk, are immoderate lovers of wine, brandy, and arrack; and their passion for tobacco, dacha, or wild hemp, and buspach, or a mixture of dacha and tobacco, and the root kanna, is without bounds.

**Govern-
ment.**

THE chiefs, or Konquers, of each nation, who are hereditary, engage before instalment, which is performed in a solemn manner, to preserve the ancient form of government, the prerogatives and privileges of the Kraals and people. The command of the army, and conduct of negotiations of peace, are their province, who preside also in the councils, which are composed of the nobility, or captains of each Kraal, and collect the votes, the majority of which make the resolutions of these assemblies held at the residence of the chief. The captains of every Kraal equally engage not to alter the laws and customs of the Kraals. Their office is to preserve the peace, administer justice, and, in time of war, to command, under the chief, the troops of their several Kraals. All civil and criminal causes are heard and determined by them, state criminals excepted, who are tried by the chief, or Konquer, and the captains of every Kraal, assembled juridically¹.

Hottentot Kraals, or villages. THE *Hottentot* Kraals, or villages, consist of low huts like ovens, whose area is oval, about 14 feet diameter, ranged in a circle, built with sticks, and covered with mats made of flags and bulrushes, interwoven by the women, in the closest manner, when dried by the sun. The huts appertaining to the rich have two coverings; the uppermost is of skins, not penetrable by excessive heat, or violent rain. None receive light but by the entrance, an arch about three feet high, and two broad, with a skin fastened to it to take up or let down, according to the serenity or inclemency of the weather. The generality of Kraals contain from three to four, and some five hundred inhabitants, the families consist of ten or twelve persons, young and old, who lie in separate holes dug round the huts; in the middle of each is a hole about a foot deep, for the fire-place. The furniture of these smoaky huts, not subject to fire, are a few pots for cooking and drink-

¹ KOLBEN'S Hist. p. 84, & 17, 223. & alib. pass. OB. LOPEZ, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. mult.

ing, a few earthen vessels for milk and butter, with Krosses, bows and arrows, Hassagayes, Kirri and Rackum sticks.

THERE is but one narrow entrance into a Kraal, whose area is green, and is the lodgment for calves and small cattle : the great are ranged round the Kraal on the outside, with their heads close to the huts, and tied two and two by the neck, to prevent straying : no watch is appointed to guard them from wild beasts, the cattle giving notice of the approaching enemy by a general lowing : an empty hut is preserved in every Kraal for calves and lambs too weak to follow their dams, which are drove to pasture between six and seven in the morning, and back to the Kraal between five and six in the evening.

THE *Hottentots*, whose hearts are set upon their cattle, *Manner of* their only wealth, and sole objects of their care, who are extremely affected by the flourishing or declining condition of *herding cattle.* the herds, alternately drive and tend them to pasture, in proportion to the herds and number of men in the Kraal, where a single sheep belonging to the poorest *Hottentot* is guarded with equal care as those of the richest in the Kraal. The Backelayers, a sort of fighting oxen, chosen by the most skilful *Hottentot* for the purpose, tamed and trained like elephants in *African* nations, for war, are of great use in the conduct of the herds, who bring and preserve stragglers within compass. These warriors know every inhabitant of the Kraal, and furiously run at and attack the *Buschies*, or robbers of cattle. The bulls and rams run with the cows and ewes the whole year : these the *Hottentots* geld when increased beyond the proportion of the herds, the bulls at one year, *Manner of gelding bulls and* and the rams at half a year old. The bulls are thrown upon *rams.* their backs, and their horns fixed in the ground, their legs are extended to the full stretch, by ropes fastened to stakes drove into the ground ; the testicles are tied up in the bag as tight and close as possible, to stop all communication with the vessels above : the animal is then let loose in this condition, and the testicles rot off in time. The rams testicles are tied up in the same manner, but bruised to mash before set at liberty.

IN every Kraal is a physician, an officer called *Suri*, cow-*Physician.* doctor, and midwife, all elective, and without salary ; a small present and entertainment, occasionally accepted, being their only perquisites. The health of the inhabitants is the province of the physician, whose practice is attended with surprising success, and who keeps his prescriptions and remedies inviolably secret. The *Suri* directs the religious, performs the marriage and funeral ceremonies, and is the operator in the

the custom of depriving the males of one testicle. The cow-doctor, who studies the disorders incident to, inspects and watches the health of the cattle. The midwife, chosen by the women, out of the most able in the Kraal, holds her office for life.

*Peculiar
custom.*

THE operation on the male children, peculiar to *Hottentot* nations, who confessedly surpass in agility all others in the universe, induced *Saar, Vogel, Tachart, Boeving*, and most writers, to believe their surprising swiftness owing only to the excision of the testicle, and the original cause of the practice. Our author, notwithstanding the accounts of some *Hottentots*, who confirm this opinion, affirms the practice religious, asserting the intelligent *Hottentots*, who keep with great secrecy the origin of their customs and ceremonies, to be quite frank when questioned on this point, and declare the observation a law, of the breach of which they have no memory, that has prevailed throughout all generations, *That no man should have carnal knowledge of a woman before he is deprived of the left testicle*: that, to secure the observance, the operation is performed on the children, when eight or nine years of age: that should a marriage be consummated previous to the excision, the man and woman would be exposed to the mercy of the chief, and the woman probably tore to pieces by her sex, who have a prevailing opinion that a man with two testicles constantly begets twins. In treaties, therefore, of marriage, the friends of the contracting party, to avoid an immodest examination, certify and aver the operation ^m.

*Manner of
courtship,
and nup-
tial cere-
mony.*

THE candidate for this state discovers his intention to his father, if living, and, in case of his death, to the next in authority of his kindred, whose approbation is absolutely necessary, who repairs with the youth to the father of the woman, and demands, in his name, the daughter in marriage: the mother is instantly consulted by the husband, who returns an immediate answer, seldom negative, unless the damsel is already contracted: in this case both depart directly. If the issue is favourable, and the youth is already made a man, according to the *Hottentot* ceremonial, two or three of the fattest oxen, in proportion to the figure of the family, are drove to the residence of the lady. The relations of both parties attend the nuptials, those of the bride receiving the relations of the bridegroom with the utmost civility; the oxen are killed; the whole company besmear their bodies with the fat and buchu, and the women, to appear more brilliant, daub their foreheads, cheeks, and chins, with red chalk. The

^m Ibid. p. 113, 117, 118, & alib. pass. & al. sup. citat.

nuptial

nuptial ceremony approaching, the men and women squat themselves on the ground, in different circles, at a small distance from each other ; the bridegroom squats himself in the center of the circle formed by the men. The Suri, or master of religious ceremonies, who is always the Suri of the bride's Kraal, enters the circle, and advancing to, pisses on, the bridegroom, who receives with great eagerness, and rubs the urine into the furrows of the fat with which he is covered, till the Suri returns from the woman's circle, where he performs the same ceremony over the bride, who receives the stream with equal respect. The ceremony ends with the stock of urine, and the following wishes, which are pronounced aloud by the Suri ; *May you live long and happily together ; I wish you much joy ; may you have a son before the end of the year ; may this son prove a man of courage, and a good huntsman ; may this son be a comfort to you in your old age.* An entertainment of feasting and dancing concludes this and every *Hottentot* solemnity ; but it is remarkable that these people, the greatest lovers and admirers of music, should admit none in their marriage festivals. Polygamy is allowed ; and marriages, upon satisfactory cause shewn to the Kraal, may be dissolved amongst *Hottentots* ; a man who is divorced from his wife may marry again, but a woman divorced from her husband cannot ; nor can first or second cousins intermarry : relations in these degrees of consanguinity, convicted of marriage or fornication, are cudgelled to death, without any regard to wealth or power ; and adultery is also punished with death †.

THE *Hottentot* youths, who converse only with the women (not being permitted to speak to men, till summoned into their society, and made men) are instructed in the laws and customs of the ancient *Hottentots* by these female repositories of their opinions and traditions. On these solemnities the inhabitants assemble in the middle of the Kraal, where the men squat in a circle on the ground. The oldest *Hottentot* who proposes the youth's introduction into the assembly, receiving an unanimous assent, advances to the candidate, who sits squatted near by, but within five or six inches of the ground, and informs him of his admittance ; that his thoughts, words, and actions, from that time, are to be manly, and that all conversation with his mother, which would banish and render him unworthy of the society of man, must subside for the future. The elder then pisses on the youth, who rubs the urine into the fat and foot with which his body is besmeared, while he pro-

*Education
of the
Hottentot
youth.*

† Ibid. p. 157, 158, 159.

nounces aloud, *Good fortune attend thee ; live to old age ; increase and multiply ; may thy beard grow soon.*

Manner of war. **HOTTENTOTS**, like other nations, sensible of injuries, and keen in resentment, seek for redress in war, upon invasions of right, and national affronts. Every *Hottentot*, fired with revenge, flies to arms, and the place of rendezvous, whence deputies are dispatched, previous to acts of hostility, to remonstrate the injury, and demand satisfaction. Upon refusal or delay of justice, the armed nation marches in search of the enemy : the attack begins with the most frightful noise, showers of arrows are instantly discharged, the *Hottentots* continuing the battle in alternate sallies and retreats to the main body ; when the *Hassagayes* are spent, throwing *Rackum* sticks and stones, for want of arrows, and warding off those of the enemy with the *Kirri* sticks, till the fortune of the day declares victory, which depends greatly on the judgment and conduct of the chief, in the direction of the time and place for driving on the *Backeleyers*. These animals stamp, kick, and gore with incredible fury and activity where-ever they break in and penetrate, and, if well followed by the men, speedily rout the enemy.

A **BATTLE** generally decides the war ; a *Hottentot* army once routed never rallies. The conquerors triumph and pursue the flying enemy with astonishing roarings, shoutings, and exclamations. All prisoners are killed, and both armies bury their dead, which are never insulted or plundered.

DESERTERS and spies are immediately put to death. On treaties of peace, part are delivered up by the contending nations, and the rest pass the remainder of life in contempt and want.

THE *Chantover* and *Heykom* nations are governed, during the battle, by a pipe like a flagelet, played upon by the chief. These people retreat and renew fighting as the pipe ceases or continues playing ; and pursue in the same manner, or desist pursuing, the flying enemy.

THE *Namaquan*, *Suffiquan*, and *Odiquan* nations, fight with the utmost bravery, till acquainted that their loss is superior to that of the enemy, when they leave the field.

SEVERAL nations continue fighting while the general lives, whose custom is to conquer or die.

THE *Damaquan* and *Gauriquan* nations fight while their generals are in sight ; and their armies always fly when the generals disappear or are slain.

THE *Hottentots*, who are esteemed the most religious observers of national faith, who fight with equal ardour and resolution to support, and never desert, the cause of their allies,
keep

keep up and perform mock battles in time of peace, in order to train the youth, and preserve the old in the practice of armsⁿ.

GENERAL hunts amongst *Hottentots*, fond of the flesh of wild beasts, and particularly that of tigers, take place in a scarcity of cattle, or when the neighbourhood is infested with those animals. The arms of chase and war are the same, and the whole Kraal is engaged in the pursuit, relieving each other with incredible speed and resolution, and exhibiting surprising activity and address in their attacks and engagements with lions, tygers, leopards, &c. They surround, if possible, those animals, by dividing into different parties, each avoiding the efforts and leapings of the beasts, raised to fury when galled by showers of arrows. *Manner of hunting.*

A *HOTTENTOT* who has encountered singly, and killed a *Hottentot* lion, tiger, leopard, elephant, rhinoceros, &c. is esteemed and distinguished as an hero. *heroes.* Upon his return to the Kraal, he repairs to, and squats down in, his own hut, where an ancient *Hottentot*, deputed by the Kraal, visits and compliments him in their name, at the same time giving notice of their expecting his coming to receive the honours due to his exploit. The hero rises upon the message being delivered, and attends the deputy to the middle of the Kraal, where he squats down on a mat, spread for the solemnity in the center of the men, who squat round him in a circle. The deputy then advances, who pronounces certain words, and pisses upon him from head to foot. The deputy afterwards lights a pipe of tobacco, and having smoaked two or three whiffs, delivers it to be smoaked out in turns by the assembly, and the ashes are scattered by the deputy on the hero, who instantly rises, the whole circle rising with him, and receives the personal compliments and thanks of the Kraal for the signal service rendered to his country. The ceremony finished, the hero returns to his hut, where he is three days sumptuously entertained, at the expence of the Kraal, with the nicest rareties, and called out to no public action; nor is his wife admitted till the evening of the third day, when the hero receives the lady with the greatest marks of fondness and affection; a fat sheep is killed, and the neighbours are entertained, who congratulate the lady upon her being restored to the arms, and become a partner of her husband's glory. Every *Hottentot* enjoys the liberty of hunting, and pursuing his game throughout the *Hottentot* countries.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 284, & seq.

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HOT-

Manner of fishing. **HOTTENTOTS** fish in the sea and rivers, and many are fishermen by profession, who supply the *Cape* with rock-fish, or fish without scales, from which they are restrained by law. They are esteemed extremely dexterous by *Europeans* in casting and drawing nets, angle well, and take fish with the spear, or pointed rod, and by groping or tickling. Their fish-hooks are *European*; the spear is used in rivers and creeks, where they wade, higher than the middle frequently, and treading upon the fish, pierce and bring them up with the spear. In shallow water they take fish with their hands, and grope in creeks and basons formed by nature on the tops of the rocks near the shore, upon the fall of tides. The *Hottentots*, who fish from the rocks with lines made of guts or beasts sinews, baited with muscles, whistle upon the discovery of a valuable fish, and shout if the whistling is drowned by the roar of the sea, which allures and brings great shoals of fish round the baits.

Excellent swimmers. **THE** *Hottentots* swim from the shore to the rocks and back again, loaded with fish. Their manner of swimming is extremely surprising; they swim erect, with their necks out of water, and balance themselves with their arms, extended upwards, and rise and fall with the waves in raging seas, without apprehension, in great cheerfulness and security, and seem, when swimming, to walk upon firm ground.

Butchers. **THEIR** butchers, who observe near the same method in killing great and small cattle, proceed anatomically in the dissection and separation of the parts of slain animals. The flesh, bones, membranes, muscles, veins, arteries, &c. are parted and entire, in a surprising shortness of time; yet the deaths of the animals are lingering and shocking to *Europeans*. The sheep is stretched with the back on the ground, two persons hold the hind and fore feet, which are tied extended, and a third, having ripped up the belly, tears with one hand the guts from the carcase, and stirring the blood with the other, to prevent congealing, avoids, with great exactness, the breaking of the blood-vessels about the heart ^p.

THE horns of great cattle, thrown likewise on their backs, are fixed in the ground, and the legs, stretched to the full length, are fastened to stakes. The physicians, who are surgeons also, are generally present, and attentive to the motion of the heart. Every part but the excrement is made use of; and the bones, which are curiously extracted from the flesh, might be quickly reared into perfect skeletons.

^p Ibid. p. 248.

THE reeking sheep skins are rubbed with fat only, if dressed for a stranger, and with fresh cow-dung and fat alternately, till black and stinking, for a native. The hides are tanned by rubbing wood ashes into the hair, which they sprinkle afterwards with water, and lay, rolled up, two days in the sea.

THE skimmers or taylor's instruments for sewing, are a bone *Skimmer* of a bird, for an awl, split sinews or veins of the back-bones of *and taylor*. cattle, dried in the sun, for thread, and a knife for shaping the Krosses, and cutting the hides into strops. These strops are of great use in *Hottentot* economy.

THE ivory-workers make ornamental rings for the arms: *Ivory* a knife is the only tool; and the rings, when finished, are as *workers*. round, smooth, and bright, as the most expert *European* can produce.

THE mat-makers are mostly women, and weave with their *Mat-makers* fingers only. Neither light, wind, or rain, penetrates their *ers*. work. The mats are used for covering huts, and are made of flags, reeds, and bulrushes, dried in the sun.

HOTTENTOT ropes, made of the same materials, are *Rope-makers*. equally strong, neat, and durable, as the best *European* made of hemp. The flags, reeds, &c. are twisted separately into small strings, and tied afterwards to the length of four yards; these lengths are twisted one round another, to the thickness of an inch and a quarter. Though the rope-makers have no tools but their hands, frequent experiments have been made on the strength of these four yard ropes in length, and inch and quarter thick, which no pair of oxen could ever break.

ALL *Hottentots* are potters, and make their earthen vessels *Potters*. of the mould of ant-hills, first cleared of sand and gravel, and kneaded well afterwards with bruised and incorporated ant-eggs. They beat upon a flat stone, fashion and smooth with their hands the mould or clay, in the form of a *Roman* urn, and leave it two days in the sun; then place it in the oven or hole in the ground, of the depth of the pot, and thrice larger in circumference, with a quick fire round and over it, that burns out of itself. A cement runs from the ant-eggs in the burning, which spreads through the whole, and binds the matter to a surprising firmness, giving it a jet black colour, which never changes.

THE smiths, who are ingenious and work hard, melt iron *Smiths*. from the ore, in holes dug upon rising ground in proportion to the intended quantity. The hole is heated properly before the ore is put in, when a large fire is made and kept up till the iron melts, and runs through a narrow chanel into another

ther hole, or receiver, dug upon the descent, at the distance of a foot and a half.

THE cold iron is broke into pieces with stones, and heated again in other fires, when wanted for use. The smiths have no hammer but a roundish stone, with which they beat and shape the iron into weapons, upon the hardest flat stone, and upon this grind and polish in the neatest manner. Their work is valuable for beauty and service.

THE copper ore is melted in the same manner; and the shaping and polishing of copper trinkets is equally beautiful and surprising.

*Musical
instru-
ments.*

VOCAL and instrumental music are in great esteem among *Hottentots*; the musical instruments are the grand and lesser *Gom-gom*, the *Potdrum*, and pipe. The lesser *Gom-gom* is a bow made of iron or olive-wood, strung with twisted sheeps guts or sinews, with the barrel of a split quill fixed at one end, through which the string runs: the quill is put to the mouth of the performer, whose various modulations of breath direct the different notes of the *Gom-gom*. The grand *Gom-gom* is made by running the string through two holes near the brim of a cocoa-nut, prepared and sawed in the manner of a hanging-cup, with the mouth upwards. The performer on this instrument varies the sound by moving the shell nearer or farther from the quill, kept close to his mouth. There is a softness, with charms for a delicate ear, according to our author, in a concert of three or four *Gom-goms*, played by skillful performers; who likewise believes the grand *Gom-gom* worthy of the study of the most judicious *European* musician. The pipe is an instrument played upon by the chiefs in time of battle. The *Potdrum*, resembling a *Roman* urn, is covered on the top with a smooth dressed sheep-skin, tightly braced on with sinews and sheeps guts, like a kettle-drum. This instrument is peculiar to the ladies, who, with their fingers, play but one tune upon it of a few notes¹.

*Vocal mu-
sic.*

THE vocal music consists of the monosyllable *Ho*, sung by both sexes, on religious ceremonies, in concert with the *Gom-goms*.

*Manner of
dancing.*

ON the making of *Sam-sam*, or peace, and other public rejoicings, the inhabitants of a *Kraal* dance in turns; and when all have danced, the ceremony breaks up. The men and women dance in couples together, two couples at a time; they begin face to face, at the distance of ten paces from each other, sometimes meeting, and at others back to back, and never take hold of each other's hands. Every dance takes up

¹ Ibid. p. 273, & seq.

an hour : both sexes are surprisingly active, cutting clean and high capers. During the dance the women keep their heads in their bosoms in a manner, and their eyes fixed on the ground'.

THE *Hottentots* have no money, nor idea of the utility or value of coin, some few excepted, who are neighbours to, and by conversation with, the *Dutch*, have some notion of the small pieces ; but which, as soon as possessed of, they part with for other commodities. Cattle are the riches, and the chief and capital produce, of the country ; and barter is the established method of traffic.

THESE people, who trade among themselves for cattle, armour, and other goods, which they have purchased by traffic or labour from *Europeans*, get considerable returns of cattle by *European* commodities, which they barter with *Europeans*, receiving in exchange for cattle, elephants teeth, ostrich eggs, skins of wild beasts, horses and asses, wine, brandy, tobacco and pipes, dacha, beads, fish-hooks, small looking-glasses, knives, iron, bits of polished glass, brags and copper, brags ear-rings, and sometimes Kanna root. The *Europeans*, who are more expert in finding, make a great advantage of this root, extremely scarce, and highly valued ; ornamental and rich manufactures for apparel, and useful furniture, are in no esteem, and of no value amongst *Hottentots*.

THEY trade in the most friendly and upright manner ; the proportion observed by the way of price, in exchanging cattle for *European* effects, rises and falls amongst them, as in other countries, according to the scarcity or plenty, greater or lesser demand of commodities. Their dearest rate is a cheapness almost incredible ; one pound of tobacco purchases a fat ox ; half a pound a large sheep ; and a quarter of a pound a fat lamb.

THE *Hottentots*, who formerly brought droves of cattle to market at the *Cape*, being under other regulations, bring none now, but what are presents to the governor ; and are believed by the *Dutch* to have another market for their elephants teeth, and to trade with the people of *Terra do Natal*, and the *Mosambic Portuguese* ; their own consumption in ivory rings, and the small quantity brought to the *Dutch* by neighbouring *Hottentots* only, bearing no proportion to the vast numbers of elephants killed annually.

THE *Dutch* travel with a *Hottentot* attendant ; and the natives, though no instance has been known of an *European's* being murdered, are obliged, if an *European* dies amongst them,

* Ibid. p. 281, & seq.

for the safety of travellers, to give a satisfactory account, that his death was natural *.

Religion.

THE great secrecy with which *Hottentots* conceal their religious opinions and ceremonies from *Europeans*, and the many superficial and contradictory accounts, published before the histories of *Saar*, *Tachart*, and *Kolben*, rendered their faith uncertain, who acknowledge and firmly believe that there is a God, Almighty, whom they call *Gounja-Gounja*, or *Gounja Tinquoa*, or God of gods, the Governor of the world, endued with unsearchable attributes and perfections, who made heaven and earth, the sun, and every thing in them; who dwelling far above the moon, causes thunder and rain, and provides food for bodily sustenance, and skins of beasts for apparel †.

NOTWITHSTANDING this profession and belief of the most intelligent *Hottentots*, who celebrate every signal event of life with previous offerings and solemnities, there is no festival or institution of worship amongst them, directly regarding the true God.

THE moon, named *Gounja*, an inferior and visible god, the subject and representative of the High and Invisible, is constantly adored and invoked at the full and change. Milk and flesh are offered to this deity, and the whole night is spent in alternate prostrations, dancing, singing, and loud exclamations of *Muffoke Atze*, or I salute you, you are welcome; and *Ghbraquâ Kakâ choriounquâ*, or grant us fodder enough for our cattle, and milk in abundance.

THEY adore likewise, and honour with the highest veneration, a small winged insect, with two horns upon the head, peculiar to *Hottentot* countries, with a green back and belly, speckled with red and white. Upon the arrival of this winged animal, or benign deity, regarded as the lord of the universe, the whole *Kraal* is covered with buchu, two fat sheep are killed in thanksgiving, and the inhabitants, believing all past offences purged, and buried in oblivion, resolve, as a new people, on a reform of life; who believing the immortality of the soul, though strangers to a preparation for death, in a spiritual sense, offer prayers and praises to good persons deceased; leaving, in the removal of *Kraals*, for the quiet of departed spirits, their huts standing, and their furniture and apparel untouched, in the persuasion of their return to the places where they died, and that they are never troublesome to the *Kraal* unless their property is stolen or carried off.

THE person of either sex, on whom this insect accidentally falls, is ever afterwards distinguished and respected as sacred,

* Ibid. p. 261, & seq.

† Ibid. p. 92, 94, & seq.

and

and a favourite of this deity: the neigghours glory, and proclaim the honour done to the Kraal; the fattest ox is killed, as a thanksgiving offering; and the favourite, to whom the entrails are presented, is obliged to wear about his neck the caul, twisted like a rope, and powdered with buchu, till it rots off, and to anoint his body with the fat only of that ox till consumed.

THESE people, who perpetuate a religious veneration of their sacred and renowned companions, by consecrating woods, mountains, fields, and rivers, to their memory, who stop, and, veiling their heads, contemplate, in these places, the virtues, and implore for themselves and cattle the protection, of departed spirits, worship an evil deity, the father of mischief, called *Touquon*, an inferior and crabbed captain, in their opinion, mischievously restless in regard to *Hottentots*, the source of plagues, and author of witchcraft, arbitrary in declaring offences, and, on that account, honoured of *Hottentots*, who, in continual apprehension of his designs, yet ignorant of having offended, sacrifice a fat ox or sheep, believing him appeased and reconciled, when they have regaled themselves with the flesh; and anointed their bodies with the fat of the sheep or slain ox.

ANOTHER custom of sprinkling their bodies with sea or river water, when they intend to pass or enter either, is punctually observed and performed, with great sedateness and composure of mind, by *Hottentots*, who have adapted, since the arrival of the *Dutch*, and appropriated the term *Anderf-Dutch* *maken*, or alter for the better, to all religious ceremonies and ^{word used} acts; and the *Dutch* word *Anderfsmaken* is the only answer ^{by Hot-} given by *Hottentots* to *European* enquirers into the origin and ^{tentots.} sense of their institutions; who, wrapped in sullen silence, and deaf to reason on the important point of religion, remain the most obstinate, prejudiced, and infatuated people, knowing but little of God, and having less inclination to serve him; who, the most sensible amongst them say, cursed their first parents, who had grievously sinned and offended, and all their posterity, with hardness of heart; who, according to another tradition which prevails, and is carefully preserved throughout the different nations, were sent by God himself, and came into their country through a window; that the man's name was *Nôh*, and the woman's *Hingnôh*, who taught their descendants to do many things, and keep cattle.

RELATIONS and friends surround the dying *Hottentots*, ^{Funeral} clapping their hands, crying, screaming, and roaring in a ^{ceremonies.} hideous manner. The corpse of the deceased is immediately wrapped in a Krosse, and, within six hours, buried in a hole, made

made by a wild beast, in the ground, or in a cleft of a rock. The men and women of the Kraal assemble, and squat in different circles, crying out and repeating, *Bo, Bo, Bo*, or father, in a mournful strain. When the corpse is brought out thro' the side of the hut, which is always uncovered in funeral solemnities, the captain of the Kraal, or the relations, name the bearers, who carry the deceased in their arms, and both circles rising, the men and the women, making grimaces, clapping hands, distorting their bodies, and incessantly repeating *Bo, Bo, Bo*, march in two bodies, and attend the corpse to the grave; which is immediately filled up, after the corpse is laid down, with the mould of ant-hills, stones, and pieces of wood.

THE grave being filled, the company returns to the Kraal, and again squat down; both circles renew, and again cry out *Bo, Bo, Bo, Bororo Rhodo Atscha*, frequently calling the deceased by his name, and an hour is consumed in alternate startings, grimaces, distorted postures, and clapping of hands. Silence proclaimed, two ancients, friends to the deceased, piss upon the company, who receive the urine with great veneration. The ancients afterwards enter the hut by the door, and, each taking a handful of ashes, return by the passage opened for the corpse, and strew it upon the company, which are held in great esteem. After this ceremony, the circles rise and retire.

IN funerals of persons of rank or esteem in the Kraal, the lamentations continue seven or eight days. The *Hottentots* piss by way of ceremony, and scatter ashes, to remind the company of their future state; who, without distinction of age or wealth, must all be reduced to dust and ashes.

THE cauls of sheep, killed at *Andersmakens*, and powdered with buchu, are worn as mourning, by the heirs and relations of rich *Hottentots*, till they rot off, however offensive; and the poor mourn their deceased friends by shaving part of their heads, which they cover with buchu.

S E C T. II.

*War between the
Hottentots and
Dutch.*

THE *Gunjeman* or *Goringhaiquan* nation, who had consented to the introduction, and given the *Dutch* possession of the *Cape*, upon their division of the lands for tillage, and erection of buildings for their dwellings and defence, grew jealous of future encroachments; and having called the neighbouring nations to their assistance, made war against the *Dutch*, who had refused to desist. The *Dutch* gained many

many victories during the war, which the *Hottentots* supported with great resolution : but the terror of their arms having spread through the *Hottentot* nations, dismayed by the vast effusion of blood, the *Gunjemans* and confederates sued for peace, and a solemn convention was entered into by both parties, whereby the first bargain was confirmed, and the unoccupied lands of all the confederates were surrendered and assigned to the *Dutch*, with this salvo to the confederacy, that the whole should be at liberty to settle on what ground, and in what part of the country, they pleased, that should be found unemployed ; and most of the *Hottentot* nations came into an offensive and defensive alliance with the *Dutch* against all enemies whatever ; which, though made by words only, has subsisted ever since, and been religiously observed on both sides ; the *Dutch* governors continuing, as instructed, to cultivate all possible friendship with their allies, and the *Hottentot* chiefs waiting on the governors with presents for the renewal of peace^a.

A FURIOUS war broke out in 1659, between the proprietors of the *Cape*, or *Goringhaiquan* nation, assisted by the *Gorachoguan*, and the *Dutch*, who were greatly annoyed and distressed ; the *Hottentots* making their attacks in foggy and distress the rainy weather, on account of their fire-arms. A *Hottentot* Dutch. named *Doman* by the *Dutch*, who had lived four or five years at *Batavia*, and some time at the *Cape*, where he dressed in the *European* manner, having returned to his countrymen, perfectly instructed in *European* customs, appeared with a companion, whose name was *Garabinga*, or flat nose, the most animating, resolute, and courageous amongst the *Hottentots*, the many contrivances and attempts to surprize them, proved vain and ineffectual ; *Doman* escaped being taken, by swimming cross a river, after a smart engagement, which happened between five *Hottentots*, and an equal number of *Europeans* ; but *Eycamma* being wounded, and his leg broke, was made prisoner. This *Hottentot*, to whom the utmost civility had been shewn, and the greatest care taken of his wounds, answered the *Dutch* in great wrath, who had asked the motives of the war, *Who desired you, Dutchmen, to grub up our lands, and sow corn in our pastures ? By what right do you seize the inheritance of our fathers, our country that has belonged to us time immemorial ? You, who were permitted to land only for your refreshment in your necessity, dispose of our property, as sovereigns, and daily prohibit our approach to the lands you think proper : Would you suffer the like treatment in your own*

^a Ibid. p. 57, 58, 59.

country? The *Dutch*, by advice of *Eycamma*, who, just before his death, had declared himself a private person, sent four deputies to propose a conference, and to endeavour to bring the chief to the fort; but the chief, whose name was *Gogofoa*, an extremely corpulent man, according to an account published in 1662, and an hundred years old, who had two sons, *Osinghaicanna* and *Oteгноа*, refused the proposal, and the war was vigorously carried on near a year, when a most fortunate accident put an end to the slaughter and ravage made by the *Hottentots* ^b.

Camcemoua. *CAMCEMOUA*, called *Horri* by the *Dutch*, a man of understanding, who spoke *Flemish*, and some *English*, which he had learned at *Bantam*, had made his escape from *Rabbit Island*, where he had been three months confined. This *Hottentot* unexpectedly arrived with *Choré*, the *Gorachouquan* chief, with a hundred attendants, who presenting the *Dutch* with 13 fat cattle, as a pledge and in token of friendship, granted the lands within three leagues round the *Cape*, upon condition they should not advance nor penetrate farther. The *Dutch*, who ardently wished for peace, accepted and received the terms with the greatest joy. As soon as the agreement was published, three or four hundred *Hottentots* ran to the fort; the *Goringhaiquan* nation following the example, *Gogofoa* came in person at their head, and demanded to be included in the treaty. The *Hottentots* were liberally entertained, and the chiefs returned home, well satisfied and pleased with their entertainment and presents.

Brigoudis and Hassaquan nations. THE same author, in his account of the *Hottentot* nations, of which there is no mention in *Kolben*, takes notice of the *Brigoudis*, a powerful and rich people in cattle, known to the *Dutch* only by the report of the *Namaquans*; and of the *Hassaquan* nation, whose country has never been entered by *Europeans*, that three only had been seen, who came upon the coast with the *Chainouquan* chief to traffic in cattle. These people, like other *Hottentots*, are shepherds, but given to agriculture, and expert in taking of lions, which they afterwards are said to tame, and to train to war; that they let them loose in the heat of battle, and, by this means, easily rout and vanquish their enemies.

Cape of Good Hope first discovered by Dias. THE *Cape of Good Hope*, the boundary of the *East* and *West Indies*, resembling a peninsula, the point and sides being washed by the sea, the longest, the most dangerous, and most celebrated in the universe, was first discovered and named in 1493, *Cabo dos Tormentos*, or the Stormy Cape †, by the admiral.

^b LA CROIX. vol. iv. p. 25. † De hoc, vid. sup. vol. x. p. 469, (G). & auct. ib. citat.

ral

ral *Bartholomew Dias*, in the reign of *John II.* king of *Portugal*. But this name was changed into that of *Good Hope*, by the king's saying, when made acquainted with the discovery, that there were now Good Hopes of future prosperous voyages to *East India*.

ADMIRAL *Dias*, who never landed, pleased the king and kingdom with his observations on the geography, bays, and anchorings of the *Cape*, and *Vasco de Gama*, his successor in command of the next *East India* fleet, confirmed the observations of *Dias*. Admiral *Rio d'Infante*, who went ashore in his voyage to *India*, in 1498, enlarged, at his return, the account already given, by pointing out the advantages the *Cape* might furnish to the trade of *Portugal* *. *Emanuel*, who had ascended the throne, pleased with the report of his discoveries, ordered the immediate departure of a fleet, with express command to attempt a settlement; but the enterprise failed, the courage of the fleet not being proof against the reports received in the way, of the natives being cannibals; and the expedition ended in taking in water at *Robin Island* near the *Cape*. In this island is a cave, wherein the *Portuguese* took shelter in the tempestuous season, known at present by the name of *Portugal*. *Francisco d'Almeida*, viceroy of *D'Al-Brazil*, in his return to *Europe* by the *Cape*, some time afterwards, sent a party on shore to negotiate for provisions: the party was drove back to the ships; and himself, who was prevailed upon, though seventy years of age, to head a reinforcement, was shot through the throat with a poisoned arrow, and seventy-five men were killed upon the spot; the remainder fled to the ships, and the fleet weighed anchor immediately. The *Portuguese* are said to have revenged this disgrace in a severe and extraordinary manner; they fastened two long ropes round the mouth of a large brass cannon, which they loaded with balls, and landed as a present to the *Hottentots*, who being naturally fond of brass, were extremely satisfied, and admiring the weight of their favourite metal, ran in transport to seize the ropes, with which they had been instructed to draw off the cannon: the *Hottentots* were extended in two lines all the length of the ropes, and full in the range of the shot, when the cannon was suddenly discharged, and made a most terrible slaughter. Those who escaped fled in the wildest confusion; and the *Portuguese*, who in this manner took their leave of the *Cape*, were left to embark at their leisure.

THERE are no accounts of *Europeans* having frequented *The Cape* the *Cape* from this time, till the *Dutch* company of merchant

* De hoc, vid. vol. ix. p. 249, & 256.

adventurers, then called the *far trading*, and since the *East India* company, in 1600, touched and began to trade at the *Cape* for provisions, and erected a fort, whose remains are yet to be seen, to protect themselves, and their purchases: but, however acquainted with the advantages, they made no other use of the *Cape*, than providing every captain of a ship bound for *India* with a square stone, on which the ship's, the captain's, and the names of the principal officers, with the day of their departure from the *Cape*, were ordered to be cut, and buried in a particular place near the fort, with a tin box underneath, containing letters, to be conveyed to *Europe* by the first ship that touched at the *Cape*, in her return from *India*. In 1650

Van Riebeck meditates a settlement.

Van Riebeck, surgeon of a ship, that put into the *Cape* for the usual purposes, observing the richness of the soil, the great plenty of cattle, disposition of the natives, and importance of the situation and harbour, judged a settlement advisable, to facilitate, improve, and secure the *East India* trade.

A fleet sent by the Dutch to make a settlement.

VAN RIEBECK, at his return, laid before the directors what he had digested for the purpose; who resolved on a settlement, and immediately ordered four ships to be properly equipped for such an expedition. *Van Riebeck* was appointed admiral and governor in chief on his arrival at the *Cape*, with full power to establish a settlement in what manner he should judge expedient.

VAN RIEBECK arrived safe at the *Cape*, and no sooner proposed than concluded a treaty. The natives, charmed with the brass toys, beads, tobacco, and brandy, with which he presented them, stipulated and agreed that the *Dutch* should have full liberty to settle in the valley of *Table-Hill*, upon the delivery of a quantity of those toys and commodities, amounting in value to 50,000 guilders. This was performed without delay, and the *Dutch* took immediate possession of the *Cape*, which was surrendered to them with great solemnity. *Van Riebeck* erected a square fort, containing lodgings, warehouses, and an hospital for the sick, and raised outworks and batteries to secure the settlement from all attacks.

THE company, informed of their success, published placards for the encouragement of settlers; the conditions being advantageous, numbers embarked for the *Cape*, and the settlement soon made a considerable figure, continually extending new colonies along the coast, as it increased in number by new settlers arriving from *Europe*; and there are at present four principal colonies. The first is at the *Cape*, where are the great forts and capital city, called the *Cape*; the second is called the *Hellen-bogisb*; the third, the *Drakenstein*; and the fourth,

fourth, the *Waverijsb.* The whole tract of land called *Terra do Natal*, has been since purchased, for a future increase, by the company, for fifty thousand guilders, to be paid in toys and other commodities. By this addition the province is become of great extent, and the government considerable.

THE *Dutch* soon extended themselves beyond the valley of *The Cape Table-Hill*, purchased great numbers of cattle from the *Hottentots*, and erected a wooden fort near the *Salt river*; a continual guard was appointed to prevent strays or intermixture with the *Hottentot* herds, and a guard-house was built for entertaining a hundred and ninety horsemen, to be ready to mount in pursuit of run-away cattle, and to oppose any hostile attempt on the part of the *Hottentots*. The fort became useless, and soon decayed, when the colony extended beyond the *Salt river*; part of the guard-house still remains, and is converted into a prison for criminals in the *Indian* settlements. There were several *Indian* princes confined therein, who had been banished by the government of *Batavia*. And our author relates, that that these princes were obliged to support themselves by their own labour, during an exile of five years.

GOVERNOR *Simon Vander Stel* * attempted, for the security of shipping, a canal, four *German* miles long, to be cut from the *Salt river* to the bay *Falso*, and a great progress was made; but, finding that both monsoons must choak it with sand, the works were discontinued, and the remains are now called *The new Salt River*.

THE fortrefs called *Good Hope*, and the *Cape Town*, are situated in the *Table Valley*; the fort built by *Van Riebeck* stood a considerable time in the government of *Bax*, when this governor apprehending, from the great increase of settlers, and improvement in trade, that some *European* power might attack the settlement; and judging a new castle and stronger garrison necessary for the defence, and that the old warehouses were too small for the growing trade, transmitted to the directors in *Europe* the state of the *Cape*, who, approving of the representation and proposal for fortifying the *Cape*, dispatched full powers for erecting a new fort, in such place and model as *Bax* should judge expedient. *Bax*, in three years, finished a spacious, commodious, and strong fortrefs; governor *Adrian Vander Stel* made several additions to it, it is at present an exceeding strong and stately building, of large compass, and provided with necessary accommodations for a numerous garrison, completely covering the harbour, and of great defence towards the land: the governor and

* De hoc, vid. vol.*x. p. 474.

chief officers have magnificent apartments, and the company's warehouses are large, handsome, and commodious.

Cape
Town.

CAPE TOWN is large and regularly built, with spacious streets, and contains upwards of two hundred houses, many are stately and magnificent, with large courts before, and gardens behind; most one, and none above two stories high; built with stone, and plentifully supplied with water, by a stream that falls from *Table Hill*, which turning a mill at the foot of the hill, runs through large pipes into a square, and from thence, between the town and fortrefs, into the sea. There is a row of houses on the river, with beautiful gardens, vineyards, and corn-fields, farmed by the chief burgomasters at 1500 florins a year, payable to the town treasury. Building is greatly encouraged contiguous to the town, and in the country; the company gives gratis, sufficient land for house, court-yard, out-houses, and gardens. All houses that are sold are charged with a ground-rent, proportioned to the rent they would let at; if new, the 10th or 20th penny is paid, and if old, the 40th. Officers are appointed with salaries, to inspect chimneys, in order to prevent fire; neglect of duty is severely punished, and sailors and *Hottentots* are prohibited smoaking in the streets.

Govern-
ment of the
town and
colony.

THE present government of *Cape Town* and this extended settlement, stands upon eight establishments, instituted by *Riebeck* and succeeding governors: the Grand council, Court of Justice, Petty Court, Marriage Court, Orphan Chamber, and Ecclesiastical Council, a Common Council, and Board of Militia.

Grand
Council.

THE Grand Council consists of the governor, who is president, with a double vote, and eight principal officers in the company's service. This college of policy is the company's representative, and the interest of the settlement is their province. They direct trade and navigation, make war and peace with the *Hottentots*, and correspond with the directors in *Holland*, and the governors of *Batavia* and *Ceylon*. Registers of transactions, with all letters and copies of dispatches, are kept by the secretary. The garrison pays martial salutes to the members of this council at their entering or going out of the fort.

Court of
Justice.

THE Court of Justice, generally composed of the members of the grand council, hear and determine all civil and criminal causes of moment. Where one party is servant to the company, to avoid partiality, three regent burgomasters, magistrates at the *Cape*, have seats and assist the court; these are annually chosen amongst the inhabitants not in the service.

Appeals

Appeals lie in the first instance to the court at *Batavia*, and from thence to the supreme court in *Holland*, the last resource. Appellants are obliged to a deposit of one hundred florins, to be lodged where directed by the court, till final judgment is obtained ; which is then paid or returned, as the judgment is affirmed or reversed.

THE Petty Court, at present dependant on the court of *Petty justice*, takes cognizance of breaches of the peace, trespasses, *Court.* and small debts, and is composed of a member of the grand council, who presides, and reports the proceedings to the council, of three burghers, and four immediate servants to the company. A burgher is vice-president, and the clerk of the court one of the servants. The president and members are chosen biennially by the grand council, two or three of the sitting members being always re-chosen, for the instruction of the new-elected in the practice of, and proceedings before, the court. Copies of all proceedings, sentences, and decrees, of this and the court of justice, are transmitted by the grand council to *Holland*.

THE Marriage Court inspects the legality, before celebra- *Marriage* tion of marriage contracts, and issues warrants to the pastors, *Court.* authorising the publication of banns. This court is generally held at the castle. Previous to any examination in this court, the parties are obliged to a personal joint appearance, to ask the consent of the governor ; who gives to the man his mandate to the court, directing proper inquiries to be made concerning the parties, and signifying therein his conditional assent, provided the court finds no cause to the contrary.

SEVEN persons administer the affairs and interests of the *Orphan* Court of Orphans, the vice-president of the grand council pre- *Court.* siding in this chamber ; three of the company's servants, and three burghers are chosen biennially into this trust. A burgher is generally vice-president ; the secretary, who takes the minutes of the proceedings, and registers the transactions, is always in the company's service, with a salary and perquisites. No orphan can marry at the *Cape* under the age of twenty-five years, without the consent of this chamber.

THE Ecclesiastical Council, instituted for the government *Ecclesiasti-* of the reformed churches at the *Cape*, is composed of the *cal Court.* pastors, elders, and overseers of the poor, in each parish, who finally decree the temporal and spiritual concerns of the three churches ; and the offices and ceremonies in the worship of God are altered, diminished, and augmented by the decrees of this council. The surplus of collections is applied to charitable uses, repairs of the church, and maintenance of schools. The debates and resolutions of this council are re-

gistered, and at all times may be perused by any persons. There are occasional church councils held in each parish. These councils consist of a considerable parishioner, the pastor, elders, and overseers of the parish; half of the members are burghers, half servants to the company, and the pastor is always reckoned one of the last.

*Court of
Common
Council.*

UPON the great increase of the colony by *French* refugees, governor *Simon Vander Stel* established a court of Common Council in each colony, to be chosen biennially by the grand council, out of lists to be prepared and presented by the burghers. This council has no authority at *Cape Town*, the whole business being transacted by the civil courts above-named. Petitions are indeed presented by them in behalf of, and they collect the taxes laid upon, the burghers, by the grand council. The three regent burghers, who have seats in the council of justice, are magistrates of weight and respect; and the common council is of great authority in the courts of other colonies: the *Landroft*, or lieutenant of each colony, presides in the assemblies wherein debts, trespasses, and all matters not exceeding one hundred and fifty florins, are heard and determined: most crimes are punished by the councils in whose jurisdiction they were committed.

*Horse and
foot militia
instituted.*

SIMON VANDER STEL, upon the arrival of the refugees, instituted a horse and foot militia; and for their government erected two boards, each with two commissioners and secretary. A member of the grand council presides at the board for and in *Cape Town*. The other members are the principal military officers of the *Cape* colony. The *Landroft* of *Stellenbosch* is president of this board, and the other members are the principal officers of the united militia of *Stellenbosch* and *Drakenstein* colonies. The militia is employed in the pursuit of run-away slaves, or on hostile appearances from the *Hottentots*, and annually mustered.

*Table
Hill, its
situation
and
height.*

THE three hills which form the *Table Valley* are called the *Table Hill*, *Lion Hill*, and *Wind or Devil's Hill*. The *Table Hill*, called by the *Portuguese* *Taboa do Cabo*, or the *Cape Table*, bearing south from the center of the valley, and extending something to south-west, is 1857 feet high: on the top are several springs of water, clear as chrystal, and of a delightful taste. The summit, resembling the leaf of a table, appears at a distance level and smooth, but is uneven and craggy. In the middle is a large chasm, or rent, observed to increase in rainy seasons, and believed to have been made by the violent currents from the top, which wash down great quantities of earth. Stately trees grow in this chasm;
and

and the hill, in appearance rough and barren, is extremely fruitful. There are two gardens, called *Paradise* and *Hell*, between which a silver mine was discovered; but the ore *Silver* transported to *Holland* not yielding sufficient silver to answer *mine*. the working, the mine was closed and neglected. A white cloud hovers over this hill during the dry season, from *September* to *March*, and frequently in other months: from this cloud issue the south-east winds with incredible fury, shattering houses, endangering shipping, and greatly damaging the fruits of the earth. Upon discovering this cloud, the sailors instantly cry out, *the table's covered, prepare for the storm*, and work with as much activity as if it was begun^d.

THE *Lion Hill*, contiguous to the sea, extending northward, *Lion Hill*, and bearing west from the center of the valley, is separated from the *Table Hill* by a small chasm, called *Kloof* by the *Dutch*. In this *Kloof* two centinels are placed, to give notice of shipping making into the harbour: the smallest vessel may be discovered from the top of this steep hill, which is partly ascended by rope ladders, at the distance of twelve leagues. Upon the discovery of a sail the centinel in the head makes a signal to his comrade to set out immediately and inform the officers: if more appear, the flag is dropped, and a gun fired for every sail, which is accordingly reported. The proper officers are always prepared by this method to receive the approaching vessels^e.

THE republic or prince's flag is always hoisted to *Dutch* ships on their voyage to *India*, and two flags with devices to all ships returning to *Holland*. These flags for returning ships are annually changed by the directors in *Holland*, and sent to the *Cape*, with exact copies drawn upon paper for the governor general of *Batavia*, who distributes them to the commanders of returning ships. These commanders are to conclude, in case the devices at the *Cape* disagree with their copies, or if no flag should appear, that the *Cape* is possessed by an enemy, to steer away immediately, and make the best of their way to *Holland*. The prince's flag is hoisted, and a gun fired, at *Robin Eylan*, at the mouth of the harbour, for every ship sailing by, or standing in.

NOT far from the *Kloof* is a large tract of fine meadows, and another beyond the hill, at present common pastures for the neighbouring cattle, but capable of great improvement, the soil being extremely rich, and no scarcity of water.

^d LA CROIX, vol. iv. p. 86. KOLBEN, vol. ii. p. 12. vid. & RAMUS. vel Viaggi, vol. i. third edit. p. 119. & seq. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. plur ^e LA CROIX, ib. p. 28. KOLBEN, ib. p. 14. & al. sup. citat.

SIMON VANDER STEL erected upon a creek at the foot of this hill a small fort of four guns, to prevent clandestine trade, and for the better security of the harbour against enemies; who under cover of the fogs, which are frequent in the months of *June* and *July*, might land in small boats undiscovered. *Adrian Vander Stel*, his son and successor, judging this precaution unnecessary, the guns were remanded to the fortress, and the fort left to decay.

Wind
Hill.

THE *Wind Hill*, so named in wills, conveyances, and records, and vulgarly *Devil's Hill*, extending, like the *Lion Hill*, to the sea, is lower and narrower than the *Table* or *Lion Hill*, abounds in excellent pastures, with an extensive view over seats, gardens, and vineyards, as far as the *Salt River*, *Tyger Hills*, and adjacent deserts^f.

Round
Bush and
Newland
Gardens.

THERE are several beautiful seats, vineyards, and gardens, on every side of *Table Hill*, which surpasses all in number and delicacy of springs. *Round Bush* and *Newland Gardens* belong to the company; a magnificent pleasure-house for the governor was erected in the first, at the company's expence; both are well watered, and yield a considerable revenue. Most sorts of *European*, *Persian*, and vines from other countries, the *Japan* apple, with the most esteemed fruits, have been transplanted into these gardens, which the *Cape* soil and climate brings to the highest perfection. Between these gardens is an estate, called, from its fertility, *Bread and Wine*; and a brewhouse in the neighbourhood, well supplied with water, erected by *Jacob Lotwen*, who was transported with his family, at the company's expence, to introduce the *Deventer* method of brewing. The several currents of springs on *Salt River* side, uniting at the bottom of the hill, run in a strong stream into that river.

Constantia
built by
Simon
Vander
Stel.

NEAR this hill stands a delightful seat erected by *Simon Vander Stel*, called *Constantia*, in honour of his lady's name, commanding the most extensive prospect over this improved country, and *Table Bay*. In the way to *Constantia* is a rough stony road, leading over high and craggy mountains to *Wood Bay*: this wood is never cut down but in times of necessity; wood being scarce and valuable at the *Cape*. The company had several settlements in this country for raising cattle, which, being too expensive, were all sold; and all their demands have been supplied ever since by four licensed slaughter houses. In this quarter is a large tract of land, three days journey round, which governor *Vander Stel* had appro-

^f LA CROIX, vol. iv. p. 37. KQLBEN, vol. ii. p. 19. RAMPS.
& al. sup. citat.

priated to himself and family, and erected a magnificent seat and elegant stabling.

THE adjacent hills called *Tyger Hills*, from a coloured appearance, and spotted like the skins of those animals, are the most fertile about the *Cape*; the lands are all cultivated, excepting one small tract, in which is a spring, which, in dry seasons, supplies with water the neighbouring planters, and therefore not granted out by the company. These hills, formerly the haunts of deer, are said to owe their fertility to the droppings of those animals; and it is remarkable that all places frequented by deer surpass all others in fertility. There are twenty-two seats and estates, divided into corn-fields, vineyards, gardens, and meadow grounds, on these hills; the settlers are esteemed but middling, whose stocks consist of no more than 600 sheep and 100 large cattle; to be denominated considerable requires a stock of 1000 sheep, and two or three hundred large cattle; and there are settlers who are possessed of 1000 sheep and 1000 large cattle. The *Cape* settlement was supplied in the beginning with horses from *Persia*, whose breed is extremely increased, and the price greatly reduced, three beautiful strong horses being sold at an auction for eighteen *Dutch* schellings. The farthest of these hills, which are eight leagues in circumference, is four leagues distant from the *Cape*.

THE *Cow Hill*, about six leagues from the *Cape*, beyond the *Tyger Hills*, was next cultivated. There is no good water, the soil is poor, and the inhabitants but few.

THE *Blue Mountain*, so called from a bluish appearance at a distance, is about eight leagues from the *Cape*, and was next settled. The soil is equally fertile with those of the *Tyger Hills*, but, through scarcity of water, thinly inhabited. Elephants and deer furnish the settlers with wholesome and delicious provisions, and they gain considerably by their hides and skins.

IN the year 1712 this colony, divided from *Stellenbosch* settlement by a large desert bordering on *Cape Town*, was extended by the grand council as far as *Musbellbank River*, a conflux only of rain waters, forming a stream by the currents of adjacent mountains, uniting in this chanel, which run into *Salt Water River*, and thence into the sea. The source of this river, which receives several rivulets, and waters in its course many gardens and vineyards, and particularly *Round Bush* garden, belonging to the company, is on the summit of *Table Hill*: the water is clear and wholesome, and brackish only by the mixture of the sea-water at high tides, which gives it the name of *Salt Water River*.

THE

*Different
colours and
tastes of
water.*

THE waters of the *Table*, *Lion*, and *Wind Hills*, and adjacent vallies, have different colours and tastes, are cold and warm, heavy and light. Those whose springs are on the summits of mountains, are white and clear ; the brightness increases in the rapid descents over flints and pebbles ; and are extremely sweet and wholesome. Those whose descent is less rapid, and run over pebbles and flints more contracted, are of a dark red, the colour of iron stones. The waters of the rivulet flowing from the stone hills, through *Buffalo Valley*, into the *Sand Valley*, and from thence into *Table Bay*, are of this colour. Many are blackish, from the earth and mud through which they run ; such are the waters of a rivulet flowing by *Stellenbosch*, and of another running beyond *Stellenbosch*, out of *Mattergate* into *Stellenbosch River*.

MOST river waters preserve the sweetness of the spring throughout their course ; others lose the spring sweetness, whiteness, clearness, and become brackish, and some their liquidity. The remains of these waters are the finest salt. Some are brackish, yet palatable, at their sources, which, by standing, become too brackish for drinking ; the springs of the *Tyger* hills and vallies are of this kind. The waters that fall rapidly from hills, and run through channels never penetrated by the sun-beams, are extremely cold, and retain the coldness though kept in vessels. There are other waters that are warm and sometimes hot, and two warm baths about 30 miles from the *Cape*.

*Cape wa-
ters excel-
lent.*

THE waters about the *Cape* are esteemed beneficial in every case ; *European* physicians recommend them preferably to wine, brandy, and all strong liquors ; and their credit is so high at the court of *Denmark*, where they are esteemed the brightest, sweetest, and most wholesome in the world, that every *Danish* royal ship, returning to *Europe*, is ordered to touch at the *Cape* for a large cask of spring water for his *Danish* majesty.

*Sent to
Den-
mark.*

BEYOND the *Stone Hills* are several springs that water the adjacent country. In one of these hills is a stone quarry, discovered by *Vander Stel*, little inferior to marble, and made use of for stair-cases and floors.

*Stellen-
bosch colony
settled by
Simon
Vander
Stel.*

STELLENBOSCH colony, so called from *Bosch*, or *Bush*, and *Stel*, the name of the governor, was settled in the time and by the direction of *Simon Vander Stel*. The *Dutch* called this colony the *Wild Forest*, whilst covered with shrubs and bushes. In the principal valley, named *Stellenbosch*, stood a beautiful church, and council-house, which were destroyed in 1710 by an accidental fire : the village was handsomely re-built

built in four years, but the church and council-house remain in their ruins.

THERE are large barren sandy tracts between the *Cape* and this colony, whose four divisions are named *Stellenbosch*, *Mottergate*, *Hottentot Holland*, and *Bottelarg*.

ON the *Stellenbosch* head or eminence, in the road between the two colonies, were formerly planted a cannon and flag-staff, to give notice of *European* or *Hottentot* approaches; but the *Dutch* soon becoming too populous and strong for any hostile attempts, the cannon was carried to the fortress. There are two roads from the *Cape* to *Hottentot Holland*, over the sandy downs into the *Tyger Valley*, through the part called *Stellenbosch* is the most commodious; the most pleasant is through the *Kloof*, and over the mountains, commanding fine prospects of the bays and country, with views of *Mottergate*, *Hottentots Holland*, and *Falso Bay*.

FALSO Bay is formed by a chain of mountains; the *Falso Bay* mountains on the east side are called *Hottentot Holland*: one only, on the west side, contiguous to *Stone Hill*, has obtained the name *Norwegen*, from its extending six leagues in the sea, and running to a point, like the mountains on the coast of *Norway*. Those of *Hottentot Holland* are much higher, and, like the *Table Hill*, covered with a white cloud, during the reign of the south-east winds: the mountain terminating the bay, from its appearance at sea in the manner of a lip hanging over the chin, is denominated *Hang-lips*. This bay is ten leagues in circumference, and called *Falso*, from a false report that the bottom was covered with stones, and no safe lodgment for anchors. The bay was inspected, and the bottom tried in 1702, by order of the governor *Lewis Van Assenburgh*, when the ground was found to be no-where stony. There is a large rock in the middle of the bay, which has been since believed to have been the foundation of that groundless report. No ship can ride with safety in this bay, during the high south-east winds; many, moored with the strongest cables, having been torn from their anchors, stranded, and dashed to pieces against the rocks. The bay abounds in various kinds of exquisite fish, and there is great store at the mouths of *Stellenbosch* and *Hottentot Holland* rivers; but the greatest quantity is taken at the *Fish Huik*, under the rock named *Hang-lips*. The colonies might, with good management, be supplied by this fishery alone.

Hang-lips
mountain.

IN November 1710, a terrible hurricane at south-east, blew *Hurricane* the waters in floods up the country; several thousand bushels of fish remained on the land, on the retreat of the waters, and

Sea Cow
Valley,
why so
called.

and the sea frequently overflows the *Sea Cow Valley*, leaving infinite numbers of fish behind. This valley was formerly the haunt of sea cows, amphibious animals of prodigious size, that made frequent sallies up the country to feed on the grafs. None are seen now, being driven to more distant retreats, by the great destruction made amongst them by the first settlers, and other *Europeans*.

IN the center of *Hottentot Holland*, so called from being the place appointed for raising the company's cattle, stands the *Sheep Mountain*, always covered with grafs, and sheep constantly feeding thereon. The soil throughout this division is extremely rich, yielding abundant returns for what is sown or planted, and by much the most fertile and pleasant part of *Stellenbosch* colony. In the infancy of the settlement, a square fort was erected near the sea-side, mounted with four cannon, to protect the settlement on that side from the *Hottentots*, and to give notice of any appearance of enemies in *Bay Falso*; but the cannon have been carried to the fortrefs, nor are there any traces remaining of the fort or ruins.

THE division was formerly haunted by lions, tygers, leopards, elephants, the rhinoceros and elk, which have been for the most part killed, or frightened into more remote quarters by fire and ball; no animal now appearing but deer and goats. Three rivers, whose springs are in the adjacent mountains, run through this division; the source of the principal river is in the mountains contiguous to *Turn-again Hill*, so called from a way over it to *Drakenstein* colony, which, to avoid precipices, appears, by several turnings, to lead back again. This river overflowing, in rainy seasons, the adjacent lands, *Adrian Vander Stel* erected a large and deep basin, capable of containing the rain-water descending from the mountains; the lands, by this contrivance, were prevented from being overflowed in rainy seasons, and supplied in dry with sufficient water. This, and other rivers without names, whose springs are also in the mountains, having watered many improved estates in their course, discharge themselves into *Bay Falso*.

Soil fertile. MOTTERGATE division lies north of, and is surrounded by, *Hottentot Holland* and *Stellenbosch* division and river. The soil is fertile, the houses numerous, and the whole equally improved with other colonies. In rainy seasons the lands are overflowed, and all intercourse cut off amongst the inhabitants, the *Stellenbosch River* and other rivulets becoming impassable. Bridges would effectually remedy the great inconvenience and losses sustained by these floods; yet the inhabitants, who neither want money nor wood, could never be induced to think even of proper relief.

STELLEN-

STELLENBOSH division, of equal circumference with *Stellen-Hottentot Holland*, is fertile and pleasant. The mountains both *divi-* which surround this division are named *Stellenbosch*, resembling *fon*. in height and size, and like the *Table Mountain*, are covered each with a white cloud, during the south-east winds. These winds blow here in a different manner, no contrary winds opposing: the fury ceases from evening to midnight; whereas an hour at noon and midnight, are the only quiet time, during the whole season at the *Cape*. The cliffs of these mountains are woody; and various kinds of curious and uncommon herbs, whose properties are unknown, and abundance of beautiful flowers, grow on the summits. The vallies abound in corn-lands, vineyards, and gardens: the houses are well and commodiously built: there are several large ones on *Stellenbosch River*; and the whole division is in the most flourishing condition. This river, rising in *Stellenbosch* mountains, and become considerable by the streams in *Mottergate*, runs at length into *Bay Falso*. The bridge erected by the colony *A bridge* over this river being too narrow and dangerous, a more *built by a* stately and commodious one was built at the expence of a *private* private gentleman, who obtained leave, and, for the public *gentleman*. good, submitted to the restraint imposed by the grand council, that no toll should be paid for passing over, or through roads made on his own estate, for the service and use of the public. This bridge still remains in good condition.

BOTTELARY division, the most northern part of *Stel-* Bottelary *lenbosch* colony, borders on the south on *Stellenbosch*, on the *division*. east and west on *Drakenstein*, and on the north on *Musbell Bank*, and exceeds all the *Cape* colonies in the great quantities of hay; the grass in other parts being consumed by cattle on the grounds. The mountain, formerly the haunt of wild horses, which separates this division from *Drakenstein*, is called the *Horse Mountain*, and *Jossen Mountain*, named from *Jost* the first inhabitant, is covered with pastures, fertile fields, vineyards, and gardens, even to the summit.

THE company, being defrauded, sold the several nurseries for cattle, which they had intrusted to the care of the neighbouring inhabitants of this division, who are greatly distressed for wood and water, the settlers being frequently obliged to make use of rain water, collected into small lakes and ditches, that in summer becomes brackish. Lands granted by the company are subject to be forfeited, on neglect of planting with trees a certain number of acres; yet this condition has never been observed by the planters, though the company has planted numbers of oaks that have succeeded; and the punishment for cutting

cutting the least branch, being whipping by the common executioner.

Draken-
stein set-
tlement.

Inhabited
by refugees.

DRAKENSTEIN settlement, so named in honour of baron *Van Rheede*, lord of *Drakenstein* in *European Guelderland*, was first begun in 1675, in the government of *Simon Vander Stel*. Many artificers and others, whose times in the company's service had expired, had planted several tracts of land, when the company, to whose protection the States General had recommended the *French* protestants who fled into *Holland*, transported, at their own expence, numbers of families to the *Cape*, who, upon lands being granted by the governors, settled in *Drakenstein*, where some inhabitants are of *German*, but most of refugee extraction.

DRAKENSTEIN is as extensive as the *European Low Countries*, bordering on the south on *Turn-again Mountain*, on the east on a long chain of mountains named *Drakenstein*, on the north on *Saldanha Bay*, and on the west on the *Horse Mountain*, which divides it from *Bottelary*. This large country has neither village nor council house: the burgomasters elected in this, repair to *Stellenbosch* for the dispatch of public business, and act in conjunction with the burgomasters of that colony: the church and water-mill are the only public buildings; and the church, about fourteen *German* leagues from the *Cape*, in the center of the colony, is the meanest and most sordid building imaginable, covered with reeds, with walls not exceeding four feet in height, the inside bare walls and reeds, with a most shocking pulpit and desk, only a few plain forms to sit on, and these brought by the poorest people.

THERE are numbers of farms; and some, but few, sumptuous houses: the refugees, beginning the world under great incumbrances, the debts at first contracted remain still undischarged; and though some, whose success has been great, have erected superior buildings, the generality of their descendants remain in cottages, requiring no more than room and shelter from the weather.

THE *Mountain River*, so called from its spring rising in the mountains, receiving several rivulets in its course, is considerable near the church, with large farms on both sides, about half an hour's distance from each other; yet the inhabitants complain of the contiguity for want of sufficient pasturage between the plantations, and grass growing in plenty on both sides of the river. This fertile part, producing every growth of the *Cape*, is mountainous and stoney, and the mountains, like all about the *Cape*, in the depth of winter, are covered with snow, and often from *June* to *September*.

FROM

FROM *Turn-again Mountain* to the church is a road on the left, leading to *Stellenbosch*, truly named by the inhabitants *Bange Hunk*, or fearful, being narrow, stoney and steep, leading on edges of precipices, and pits of water, and infested with lions, tygers, and other wild animals. Many have perished by their horses starting into these precipices and pits upon the approach of these animals; yet the most elegant seats of the *Landroft* of *Stellenbosch* and *Drakenstein* colonies, and several others of note, are situated in this dangerous road.

SIMON'S Valley, so named in honour of *Simon Vander Stel*, who granted it to *Blesius*, the *Cap* fiscal independant, is laid out in corn-fields, vineyards, and gardens. Upon an ordonnance published in 1707, that burghers only should trade in corn, wine, and cattle, *Blesius* sold this estate to a favourite servant for 24,000 florins, to be paid by yearly payments of 2,000 florins. Near *Simon's Valley* is a high mountain, named the *Babylonian Tower*, extremely plentiful in corn and wine.

A MARKET is held near the church, for the sale of grocery and other small wares necessary for domestic use, bought at the *Cape*, and sold here at an advanced price. On both sides of the church, and road to *Mountain River*, lie several well cultivated and improved estates; and from thence to *Waggon-makers Valley*, and farther on to *Pearl Mountain*, so called from a large stone on the top, imagined by the common people to resemble a pearl. This mountain is rocky; the stone is proper for mill-stones; and many were hewn out by order of *Vander Stel*, and used in the mills of the colonies. The *Mountain River* passes through *Waggon-makers Valley*, so called from an *European* waggon-maker, the first inhabitant, in a serpentine manner, and runs above an hundred *German* miles from its source, through several *Hottentot* countries, into *St. Hellen's Bay*. This river, fordable in summer, when swelled by winter torrents running down the hills, overflows a considerable part of the adjacent country. Numbers of men and horses have been lost in attempting to pass it; and scarce a winter passes without some terrible catastrophe. The inhabitants are deprived of church service, and the benefit of the mill at the foot of *Pearl Mountain*; yet the intelligent inhabitants, provided long ago with sufficient cash to be laid out for the public good, have never thought of a bridge; the only thing wanting in the colony.

NUMBERS of *Hottentots*, who lately dwelt in this valley, abandoned their *Kraals*, and retreated farther up the country, upon the appearance of *European* planters. The plantation and

and buildings of these new settlers were not brought to perfection in 1731.

Riebeck's Castle. *RIEBECK's Castle*, so named from *Van Riebeck*, first governor of the *Cape*, is an extreme high and steep mountain. The plantations on and near it would be greatly increased but for the scarcity of water; one well only being dug at the expence of *Vander Bal*, a planter, for the relief of the neighbourhood, who enjoyed in common this advantage, till a *Tyger* planter obtaining from the government the sole property, the inhabitants are obliged at present, as formerly, to make use of rain water.

IN the beginning of the *Cape* settlement, barracks were erected here by the company for an hundred men, and as many horses; and a cannon was planted on an eminence near this post, to be fired on any hostile appearance from the *Hottentots*, as a signal to the next, and from thence continued to the *Cape*. The *Hottentots* afterwards desirous of friendship, and concluding a treaty of alliance with the *Dutch*, this guard was abolished, the cannon carried to the fortrefs, and the barracks and stabling went to decay.

Twenty-four Rivers.

THE *Twenty-four Rivers*, about a day's journey north of *Riebeck's Castle*, and thus called from the many streams with which it is watered, belongs to *Drakenstein* colony. The soil is extremely fertile, producing corn from 25 to more than thirty-fold, with great plenty of grafs and water throughout. No lands are granted here in propriety; on which account huts only, and not houses of expence, are erected in this part.

Honey Mountains.

TO this colony appertain the *Honey Mountains*, so called from the great quantity of honey made by the bees in the cliffs. The *Hottentots* climb extremely high, in great danger, in quest of honey and wax; which they afterwards barter with *Europeans*, for tobacco, brandy, and glaſs or braſs trinkets.

THE *European* inhabitants of these mountains, who are but few, and tenders of cattle only, like those of the *Twenty-four Rivers*, are settlers by licence; who, restrained from tilling more ground than what is thought necessary to yield sufficient corn for their support, make no use of that liberty; but, living without bread, eat meat with meat, as beef or mutton with ſmoaked or dried veniſon; are extremely healthful, and strangers almost to disorders; their drink is water, milk, and honey beer.

ABOUT a day's journey from the *Honey* lie the *Picquet Mountains*, so called from the game of picquet being played the

the whole day the *Europeans* first inspected this settlement : the inhabitants are feeders of cattle, who, with the people of *Honey Mountain*, drive their cattle to the *Cape* market. The *Hottentots* and these people live friendly together.

VAN Waveren colony, so called by governor *Vander Stel*, *Van Waveren* in compliment to the *Van Waveren* family of *Amsterdam*, to which he was related, was begun in 1701, is the youngest and most eastern settlement, about 25 or 30 *German* miles distant from the *Cape*, and separated from *Drakenstein* by *Red Sand Mountain*; the boundaries are hitherto unsettled.

THE *Red Sand Mountain*, whose top is a cone, is extremely difficult to pass, being high and steep, and the road across narrow and stony, with thick wood in many places on both sides. Waggoners are generally unloaded and taken to pieces, and, together with the goods, carried over in small parcels by the cattle and waggoners : the black land near this mountain is included in this colony : the soil is extremely fertile, yielding a vast increase of all sorts of grain that hath been hitherto sown, and promises equal fertility with the best lands about the *Cape*. No lands are granted in property, but are held by licence from the government from six months to six months : on this account the lands are hitherto made use of as pasturage ; nor are there any buildings superior to shepherds huts. There are no places for public worship ; the inhabitants frequent *Drakenstein*, and sometimes the *Cape* churches, to which they are obliged to repair for marriages and christenings, being under the *Cape* jurisdiction. All civil and criminal causes are determined by the magistrates of *Stellenbosch*. The country is well watered, and provided with two hot baths : the hot water of one becomes in two hours proper for bathing ; yet the healing virtues of these waters are quite neglected for another bath at a small distance. The hot bath behind the *Hottentot Holland* mountains is most frequented, and most justly recommended. This bath, and a large tract of fertile land, were granted by governor *Lewis Van Assembourg* to *Appel* and heirs, who make a considerable profit.

IN speaking of the living creatures of the *Cape*, we shall omit, as much as possible, describing those which are in common with other parts of *Africa*, and take notice only of such as have something remarkably particular, as different either in their nature, shape, &c.

THE *Hottentot* countries abound, from the lion to the monkey, in the greatest variety of the animal creation. The lion, the first in dignity, and the most noble beast, is extremely strong, the flesh has no ill taste, and eats like venison.

THE leopard, or panther, and the tyger, beasts of a like nature, and tyger.

nature, differing in nothing but the size and manner of the spots, are extremely fierce and ravenous; their flesh, which is exceeding white and tender, surpasses in taste the finest veal.

Elephants. THE *Cape* elephants are the largest, and, in proportion, the strongest in the world; their teeth weigh from 60 to 120 pounds; their flesh is coarse, and never eaten by *Europeans* but in great necessity; they make great expedition in travelling, and sleep lying upon the ground.

Rhinoceroses. THE skin of a *Cape* rhinoceros, whose sense of smelling is remarkably wonderful, and in constant enmity with the elephant, is almost impenetrable by the sharpest knife: the horn in the snout, with which he rips up the belly of a surprised elephant, is known not to endure poison; the fresh blood is hung up in the guts by *Europeans*, to dry in the sun, and taken afterwards in wine, coffee, or tea, to open obstructions, and for inward sores. *Kolben* eat the flesh with great satisfaction.

Wild dogs. BESIDES the different kinds of *European* and *Cape* domestic, there are wild dogs, that, like the *Kongo* *Mabian*, are mortal enemies of every quadruped species, that range in bodies of thirty, forty, and upwards, encountering lions, &c. and always conquering by numbers. Both *Europeans* and *Hottentots* follow and rob these dogs of their prey after the chase. The *Europeans* salt for their slaves, and the *Hottentots* eat, what they get.

Tyger wolves. THERE are the common *European* and tyger wolves, of the size of an ordinary sheep, with broad heads like bull-dogs; their jaws, nose, and eyes, are large, the teeth edged, with frizled hair, short tails, and spotted like a tyger. The lion, tyger, and leopard, that know and pursue by the howl, are great enemies to the tyger wolf.

Buffalos. THE *Cape* buffalos are larger than the *European*, and hard to be killed without fire-arms; their flesh is neither tender nor fat, like that of an ox.

EMs. THE *Cape* elks, about 400 pounds weight, are much larger than *European* or *American* elks; their flesh tastes like good beef, either boiled or roasted.

Wild asses. THE wild ass is spotted and streaked in that beautiful manner as has been described in other places, with white, chestnut, or brown, and surpasses a horse in swiftness, and therefore extremely difficult to be taken.

Wild horses. THERE are wild horses in the *Cape* countries, but none in the *European* colonies; the settlement having been supplied, in the beginning, with horses from *Persia*.

Sea horses. THE sea-horse, as has been already described in a former chapter, is here in great plenty and request. The flesh, boiled

boiled or roasted, being esteemed delicious food, and sold at 12 *d.* and 15 *d.* *per* pound; the fat, likewise bearing the same price, is used in most sorts of victuals, and sometimes spread upon bread like butter.

THESE are tame blue and spotted goats; the blue goats *Different* are shaped like the tame *European*, of the size of a hart, and *kinds of* of a delicate blue colour; the flesh, though seldom fat, is well *goats.* tasted, and the skins equal in goodness those of the deer. The flesh of the spotted goats tastes like venison; and that of another beautiful sort of goats, without name, far surpasses the best: there are yet diving and rock goats, whose flesh, though lean and tough, is esteemed a dainty at the *Cape*.

THERE are at the *Cape*, besides the stinkingem, a most *Stinking* stinking and offensive animal, like a ferret in make, and of the *sem and* size of a middling dog, baboons, mountain cats, moles, *In-other wild* *dian* mice as large as cats, rattle mice, that sometimes make a *animals.* rattling noise with their tails; ermins, whose flesh is wholesome, and agreeable to the palate; the fox, hares, harts, rabbits, cats, and *European* rats, carried by shipping.

FOUR sorts of eagles are seen in the *Hottentot* countries: *Eagles:* the bird simply called eagle, of the ignoble kind, according to *Gesnar* and *Ludolphus*, from their feeding upon fish and dead animals; the duck-eagle, or *Aquila Anatoria*, whose prey are ducks; the *Ossifrage*, or bone-breaking eagle, that carry up and let the land tortoises fall from a great height in the air, to break their shells; and the *Haliæetus*, so called by naturalists, or sea eagle.

THE *Phœnicopterus*, so named by Mr. Ray, called by the *Phæni-* *Dutch* *Flamingos*, and by the *French* *Flammant*, is the most *copterus,* beautiful bird at the *Cape*, larger, and the neck much longer, *or* *Fla-* than that of a swan. Both head and neck are white as snow; the *mingos.* bill extremely broad, the upper mandible crooked, and longer than the nether, which is thicker and hollow, and filled with a large and fat tongue, that eats like marrow; the bill of a dark blue, black at the point, and furnished with short sharp teeth, the lower parts of the wing feathers are black, and the upper of a high flame colour, the feet like those of a goose, and the legs half as long as the legs of a stork, of an orange colour: their flesh is wholesome, and well tasted.

BESIDES the tame, there are three sorts of wild geese, the *Wild* *hill*, or mountain, the crop, and the water goose, which differ *geese,* in size and colour. The hill or mountain goose, whose feathers on the head and wings are of a bright shining green, are larger than the *European*; the crop goose is a large bird; and the water goose, of the same size, is distinguished from

the *European* tame by a brown streak, intermixed with green, on the back : their flesh is esteemed extremely delicate.

Knorhans. THE knorhan, upon discovering a man, gives warning to other birds, by making and continuing a loud noise, to the great disappointment of sportsmen : the flesh has an agreeable taste.

Sea crows. THE flesh of a sea crow is delicate food, much esteemed at the *Cape*, where their feathers, which are exceeding soft, are used in bedding and cushions.

Pelicans. THE spoon-bill, or pelican, and the *Malagos*, are larger than geese : the sea-gulls are numerous, and their eggs, as large as duck eggs, are most delicate food, whose white never hardens by boiling, but remains like a jelly. The pinguin, or pinguinan, of the size of a goose, is an extreme fat bird ; the flesh, being of a fishy taste, is of no value ; but their eggs, which are likewise the most delicious food, are always esteemed and looked upon as fine presents.

Ravens. ONE sort of ravens is totally black, another totally grey, and a third sort has the belly feathers white, the feathers on the head black and white, and the rest quite black.

Ostriches, and other birds. OSTRICHES are numerous at the *Cape* ; their eggs are reckoned good eating, and one a tolerable meal for three or four persons. These large birds are equally careful in hatching, the male and female alternately sitting on the eggs, and diligent in feeding their young as other birds. There are several sorts of falcons ; and the pheasants are the same as the *European* : owls are of the same size, but of different colour ; the feathers are red and black, intermixed with grey spots, which make a beautiful appearance. There are tame, and several sorts of wild, ducks ; the yellow-hammer, lark, the chloris, or greenfinch, of the size of a nightingale, with long and pleasant notes ; and a bird, called *Edolio* by the *Europeans*, resembling in size, make, and colour, the *European* cuckow ; this bird, which keeps in thick bushes, and on high trees, cries and repeats often, in fine weather, in a low and melancholy tone, *c.bolio, edolio*.

Bluebirds. THERE is a blue bird, whose flesh is delicious food, described by *Raphael Seuler*, of the size of a starling, with blue feathers ; those on the neck and thighs of a sky blue, but somewhat darker than those of a king's fisher ; the beak and wing feathers of a dark blue, with a pointed bill about four inches long, and the nether mandible of a dark red. Several sorts of birds, tho' of different colours, having the same notes, are called by *Europeans* black-birds : the wagtails, finches, and bats, are the same as *European*.

Black-birds.

BESIDES

BESIDES all kinds of *European* finches, there is a sort peculiar to the *Cape*, larger than a chaffinch, whose feathers are of an ash colour in winter, to which succeed a new plumage in summer : the feathers on the head, belly, wings, and tail, are black, on the neck and back of a high scarlet, and the bill, which is short, strait, and pointed, is yellow. The nest of this bird is of peculiar contrivance, made impenetrable by any weather, of small twigs, interwoven with cotton, in the closest and tightest manner, with two apartments, and but one entrance ; the upper is the apartment for the male, and the female lodges in the undermost.

THERE are gnat-snappers, and a bird called long-tongue, *Gnat-Canary* birds, and the *Serinus*, so called by *Heuslines*, extremely destructive to seed plants ; they are much shot, and their flesh is greatly esteemed by the *Cape Europeans*, who relish it more than their notes.

THE ægithus, hawfinches, or grosbeaks, the upupa, or *Ægithus*, hoopoe, the stone pecker, and starling, are numerous about the *Cape*. There are tame and wild pigeons, called the hill, or mount, the bush, and sea pigeons ; with three sorts of swallows, the prey, house, and sea swallow, named *Apus* by naturalists.

THE asp, of an ash colour, and speckled with red and yellow, and several yards long, and many kinds of serpents, are seen at the *Cape* : the eye serpent, called the dart and shoot serpent, darting fiercely at, and shooting from, an enemy, with wonderful speed ; the tree serpent, being generally in and about the branches of trees ; the blind slow-worm, with black scales, speckled with brown, white, and red ; the *Dipsas*, or thirst serpent, about three quarters of a yard long, with a broad neck and black beak, whose bite inflames the blood, and causes a painful thirst ; the hair serpent, called by the *Portuguese Cobras do Cabello*, about a yard long, and three quarters of an inch thick, whose poison is the most malignant, causing, unless an antidote is instantly applied, immediate death. House serpents, about an ell long, and an inch and half thick, whose bite has no ill consequence ; the *Cerastes*, or horned serpents, with many others.

MOST *Europeans* have artificial serpent stones, made by *Indian Brachmans*, who alone possess, and remain inflexible in preserving the secret of the composition ; these artificial stones, shaped like a bean, the matter in the middle being white, and the rest of a sky-blue colour, have admirable virtues, and are esteemed the most effectual remedy against poison.

Sea, river, and land insects. THERE are sea, river, and land insects; the sea flea, of the size, shape, and scaled like a young shrimp, is provided with a sting; the sea louse is covered with a hard shell, and having many legs, ending in hooks, are great plagues in stinging and sucking of fish. Among the several sorts of worms that keep continually in the sea, is a worm that might be properly called the sea-horse; the head, mouth, neck, and breast, are shaped exactly like those of a horse; the hind part runs to a point, about six inches long; the body is flat, and with ribs; the back is yellow, and the belly white. There are leaches, of a dark red, speckled with black; and water snakes, about six inches long, and as thick as a swan's quill.

Ants. THE land insects are numerous in the *Cape* countries, where there are various sorts of ants, some like *European*; the valleys are covered with their hills: others differ in size, being much larger, whose hills likewise are larger: there is a sort about half an inch long, whose heads are red, with brown backs, and ash-coloured belly and legs; and another with red wings, that frequently fly up the highest hills, extremely nimble and industrious.

Bees. BEES abound throughout these countries, and are the same, in every respect, with *European*: they lay their honey in hollow trees, in cliffs, and on the tops of high rocks; the rock honey has a finer flavour than that of the hive, which are but few, the *Hottentots* supplying the colonies with that commodity. Amongst the many kinds of flies is one that raises a blister like *Spanish* flies, which the *Cape* surgeons, who get great quantities, make use of.

Flies. *Fleas, nits,* THERE are fleas, nits, earth-flies, beetles, lice, bugs, snails, and grasshoppers, of several sorts; that in great hosts damage gardens, orchards, and corn-fields. There are as many sorts of butterflies as caterpillars, both with beautiful and lively colours. Scorpions are also numerous, between two and three inches long, of a dark green speckled with black, resembling the small cray-fish in every part but the tail, which is longer and narrower; their sting is exceeding painful and dangerous.

Moths, wasps, &c. THERE are moths, wasps, rainworms, woodlice, weavels, toads, spiders, and millepedes, or thousand legs: the spiders differ in size, shape, colour, and in webs; some are poisonous; the *Cape Europeans* are extremely cautious in regard to the smallest sort, no bigger than a white pea; this little spider is black and active, the bite is poisonous, and causes death unless antidotes are used immediately; a serpent-stone extracts the poison.

poison. The *Cape millepedes* are red and white, about half as *Bite of* thick, and a finger in length, downy like the caterpillar, with *millepedes* two moving horns on the head; but no eyes have been discovered in this insect, whose bite is as dangerous as that of the scorpion; the serpent stone is an effectual remedy, and roasted onions.

THE sea and rivers abound in great plenty and variety *Blower*. of fish; the blower, so called from blowing itself up in a globular form, is smooth, without scales, with a dark yellow back, and white belly, a small mouth, with four broad teeth; is reckoned pernicious, and here avoided.

THE bennet, about the length and thickness of a man's *Bennet* arm, and from six to eight pounds weight, is dry, but an agreeable food, and easy of digestion.

THE brown-fish, a great devourer of the flying-fish, is 15 *Brown* or 16 feet long; the body is as thick as an ox, and the back *fish*. is somewhat raised.

THE flesh of cabeliau, of which there are several sorts, is *Cabeliau*. tender, delicate, and nourishing.

THERE are several kinds of dolphins, whose flesh is good, *Dolphins*. and the tongues and livers are esteemed delicious eating at the *Cape*.

THE spawn of the elst, a bony fish, and whose flesh is dry, *Elst*. is in high esteem.

THE different kinds of flying-fish are of the size and shape *Flying* of a herring, excepting the wings: some have two large *fish*. wings only, others with two large and two small wings, like those of a bat. These fish, whose flesh exceeds in taste the freshest herrings, are greatly pursued and harassed by numbers of enemies: they are always in shoals, and fly extremely swift in numbers out of the water.

THE *Cape* gold-fish, about a pound weight, are a foot and *Gold fish*. a half long; their meat is exceeding wholesome, of a delicate taste, and a great cleanser of the blood.

THERE are two sorts of sharks, from 12 to 16 feet long; *Sharks*. both sorts are extremely ravenous, and are said to hanker after human flesh more than any other food. The *Cape* pikes, boiled *Pike*. or broiled, are greatly esteemed, and found only in salt water.

BRASSEMS, called *Hottentot-fish* by Europeans, about a *Brassens*. pound in weight, are reckoned wholesome and well tasted.

THE red-stone brassem, equally wholesome and nourishing, *Red stone* has a most delicate taste. *brassem*.

THE pilot-fish, so called from being the pilot or guide to *Pilot fish*. the shark, of a dark brown colour, spotted with blue, and a black streak along the ridge of the back, with several others

running down to the belly, with gold colour about the eyes, and lower jaw like a saw, is extremely difficult to take. This fish is said to master the shark, and to smell land, and when in scent, to turn about and make off to sea.

Sea-lions. A SEA-LION was killed in *Table Bay* in 1707 : this animal was 15 feet long, and the same in circumference ; his head was like that of a lion, but without hair or scale upon any part ; the tongue, of 50 pounds weight, was all fat ; the skin was of yellowish colour, with two short fore legs, ending in feet like those of a goose, with two broad thick fins, each of eighteen inches long, in the place of hind legs ; the body was taper to the tail, which ended in the shape of a half moon.

Porpoisses and whales. THERE are porpoisses, or sea-hogs, and whales ; the lesser, called grampus, is frequently seen in the *Cape* sea ; two dead grampusses were drove ashore in stormy weather, in 1707, and 1709 ; one was 50 feet long, 24 broad, and 12 high ; the other was 45 feet in length, 12 feet in breadth, and in height 18. The tongues of each weighed 600 pounds weight.

Silver-fish. THE silver-fish, of the size, make, and taste of a carp, about a pound in weight, keeps mostly in the sea, but sometimes come in shoals into the rivers.

Cramp-fish. THE cramp-fish is a curiosity at the *Cape*, of the cartilaginous kind, and small, about a quarter of a pound in weight, with small eyes, whose irides are a mixture of black and white ; the mouth, though small, is furnished with teeth, and is shaped like a half-moon ; above the mouth are two little holes, or nostrils ; the back is orange colour, and the belly white ; the tail like that of a turbot, and the skin is extremely smooth without scales ; the brains are seen when the fish is opened ; the gall is large, and the liver white and tender.

THE *Cape* fishermen decline touching the cramp-fish ; and most authors justly agree, that whoever touches this fish is affected with smart pains, cramped, and convulsed ; but the duration is not lasting, the convulsion being at the height in a minute or two, when it gradually abates, and in half an hour goes quite off.

Barbels, carps, &c. THE barbels, carps, eels, gudgeons, lobsters, crabs, and oysters, are in every respect the same as *European* ; and the rock-fish taken in holes of sea rocks, about six inches in length, and two round, are of the most agreeable taste, and much valued.

THERE

THERE are two sorts of water-snails, the porcupine and *Water-sea-porcupine*; the shells of both are variously and beautifully coloured, but lose the colour when the snail dies.

THERE are kegel, or ninepin snails, klip, koufen or nabel snails, pearl snails, screw snails, and shell-fish called sea-suns, and sea-stars; their shells, which are extremely beautiful, are chiefly gathered for presents to strangers, and preserved in many cabinets of curiosities.

THE sea-spout is a strange and surprising production of nature, resembling a sponge or lump of moss, sticking to sea rocks, unmoved by winds or waves; of a greenish colour, with water or humour continually dropping from a fleshy substance within, not unlike a gizzard; there is no life perceivable in this creature, but, when touched, fine streams of water spout out from two or three small holes, which is repeated as often as touched, till the stock is exhausted.

THE muscle crabs are like, but smaller than, lobsters, and inhabit another besides the coat-shell, from which they go in and out, never separating themselves quite from the shell, with great ease.

THERE are land, sea, and river, or fresh water, tortoises, four-legged, whose bodies are guarded with the hardest and strongest shells. The sea and river tortoises, that lay and leave their eggs, of the size between the pigeon and hen egg, in the sand, to be hatched by the heat of the sun, are found at *St. Jago* and *Mauritius*; 200, and sometimes 300, eggs are laid in one nest, which, with the flesh, are agreeable to the palate. The land tortoises are plentiful at the *Cape*; their flesh is fine and white as snow, and their eggs are of an exquisite and delightful taste; the land tortoise feeds upon roots, herbs, corn, &c.

THE vegetables of the natural growth of the *Cape* countries, whose virtues are topical, and many of no use in medicine, are too numerous to be inserted: in *Kolben's* account there are 28 sorts of aloës, many of them being planted in the company's garden; their flowers are of different colours, some white, others red, and many curiously speckled, are very delightful to the eye; five sorts of *African alaternoides*, and eight of *African dogs-bane*; ten of *Aster Africanus*, or *African starwort*; seven sorts of bell-flowers; twenty of *African broom*; and twenty-one of *cranesbill*: sixteen of *ragwort*; eleven of *Thymaloc Africana*, or *African spurge laurel*; and six and thirty sorts of *Ficoides*, or *African fig marygold*s: the

* Id. ibid. p. 186.

Argyrodendros Africana, or silver-tree, whose fruit is conical like the pine-apple, grows both in vallies and on hills : the *Spiraea Africana* is called by the *Hottentots Buchu*, who gather and dry the withered leaves in the sun, then beat them to powder for use. : this powder is of a gold colour. There are trees of the size of an oak, called stink-wood by *Europeans*, from a filthy and nauseous scent while under the tool, and hardly to be endured by workmen, whose smell goes off in some time; and the wood, which is beautifully clouded, makes useful and ornamental pieces of furniture, and enters likewise into the *Cape materia medica*, being given with success in many cases.

Exotic vegetables. THE exotics are also numerous: fir plants were carried from *Europe* in 1690, for ornament, and to supply the colonies with wood, and are now from 36 to 40 feet high.

GARDEN sorrel was planted chiefly for the advantage of mariners, being good against the scurvy. There is abundance of garden garlic, common alder, and *China* rose; the green leaves of the *China* rose, whisked in water, make a lather which the *Cape Europeans* prefer to soap for washing the face and hands.

THERE are large tracts of land planted with almond trees, of which there are four sorts, yielding a considerable profit.

Pine-trees, &c. THE pine-trees, originally from *America*, were transplanted from *East-India*: there are three sorts, *Jajama*, *Bonjama*, and *Jajagna*: the *Jajama* apple is the largest and best, from six to eight inches long, and thick; the outside colour is red and dark yellow, the inside near a perfect yellow; the inside colour of the *Bonjama* and *Jajagna* is white; that of *Jajagna* tastes like rhenish wine.

GARDEN parsley, asparagus, red and white beerwort, were carried from *Holland*, and grow in great plenty. There are abundance of red and white cabbages, of 40 pounds weight and upwards, and cauliflowers, of which great quantities are sent to *Ceylon* and *Batavia*.

THERE are four sorts of camphire trees, one transplanted from *Borneo* island, the others from *Sumatra*, *Sunda*, *China*, and *Japan*.

GARDEN asparagus, wild and garden hemp, and *carduus benedictus*, of great medicinal use, grow in the *Cape* countries.

THE cinnamon-tree grows as high as a *Spanish* olive-tree. Clove-gillflowers, horse-chestnuts, common onions, and garden chervil, and artichokes, were carried from *Holland*; white and grey pease from *Germany* and *Holland*; and the silberd-tree from *Germany*.

THERE

THERE are several sorts of cherry-trees, the trumpet-flower, flower-fence, and common cucumbers in great plenty, surpassing *European* in goodness.

THE *American* passion-flower bears a fruit like the golden-russetin, and of an agreeable taste.

GOURDS were brought to the *Cape* from *Europe* and the *Indies*; there are several sorts, and great numbers are disposed among the shipping, being extremely serviceable in long voyages.

THE male cyprus-trees were carried from *Europe* into *India*.

CORN-BOTTLES were brought to the *Cape* with the first corn; they are of a white, blue, and carnation colours; the flower of one sort, in the company's gardens, is extremely fragrant and beautiful.

THE *Cape* is supplied yearly with wild *Cytisus* from *Holland*; the crops at the *Cape* never holding the seed against the south-east winds.

THORN-APPLE plants, brought from *India*, were rooted up and destroyed by the government; the reason is concealed, as the publication might be attended with bad consequences.

THERE are *European* and *Madagascar* beans, the *Indian* fig-tree, torch-thistle, and common fennel, strawberry-bushes, and *Indian* wheat; *Indian* jessamin, and parficher-tree, whose flowers are yellowish, and of an agreeable smell; the *Indian* pallet settangan, with a white double flower, like the *Rosa Sinensis*, and jonquils, whose smell is so greatly esteemed by the *European* ladies.

SPARRY, gooseberry-bushes, white hyacinth, and the juniper-tree, were brought from *Europe*: there are the *Indian* white guava, and a shrub transplanted from *Madagascar*, called by the *Cape Europeans* *Kazschobyring*, and *Kutchings* by the *Japanese*, who make a yellow colour of the seed for dyeing.

THE *Indian* gold-tree, about six feet high, with yellow leaves speckled with red, is extremely beautiful, and is generally ranged in gardens amongst other trees.

THE *Cape Europeans* make pickles of the leaves of *Indian* bay-trees; there are cabbage-lettuces of every *European* sort, common marjoram, stock-gilliflowers, and the white crown imperial. Great plenty of apples and quince trees; the *Maslietz* and *Caslietz* of *Batavia*, and other *Indian* parts, make pomado for colouring and curling their hair, of the quince kernels.

THE

THE Mastick, pomegranate, citron, sweet and sour limon, *China* and *Indian* orange trees are plentiful; these trees are extremely large, and called *Mosban*, or tyger-oranges, by the *East-Indians*, the first being spotted like the skin of that animal.

ROSEMARY, basil, balm, garden mint, sage, garden turnips, oaks, plum and pear trees, were brought from *Europe*; parsnips, medlars, common alder, and walnut-trees, were carried from *Germany*. There are black mulberry, myrtle, peach, pine, and date trees, garden-poppies, netted and musk melons, white daffodils, favine, tulips, violets, tamarisk-trees, and garden-tarragon, winter wheat and rye, with grape-vine, carried from the *Rhine*, *Persia*, and other places: and the garden-navew, by which the inhabitants make considerable profit.

WE have by this time dwelt long enough on the vast plenty and variety of native and exotic productions of this rich and fertile spot, to raise a desire in our readers to know what share of them these new landlords dispense among their dispossessed vassals, in return for their so readily yielding it to them; and whether they are treated with greater generosity, on all these accounts, in this *African* settlement, than those we have had occasion to mention in some former volumes, in our account of their *Asiatic* conquests †. To all which we can only answer in general, that no country or climate we know of, hath as yet been able to make any change for the better in the subjects of that ungrateful republic; and that, with respect to those *Hottentots* who live under the dominion of the *Dutch* company here, their condition is the most wretched and miserable not only of their whole nation, but, we may safely add, of all the *Africans*. They are, says a judicious author *, reduced to such an abject degree of servitude and indigence, as to be glad, for the sake of a little tobacco, a piece of bread, or a glass of brandy, to submit to the lowest and basest offices; and happy do they think themselves, who live near their towns and settlements, as most at hand to be employed in that servile druggery for so small an encouragement; whilst the rest of their compatriots, who live more at large, and enjoy a greater share of liberty, detest and abhor them for their base subjection and abject meanness. The author above-quoted hath interlarded his account with many other curious and useful remarks, which there is less need for us to dwell upon, as his book is in our own tongue, and in every curious reader's possession.

† De his, vid. int. al. vol. x. p. 301, & seq. 333 & seq. 452, & seq. & al. plur. * DAMPIER'S *Voyage*. vol. ii. p. 212, & seq.

ON the other hand, if our readers would know what high account the rest of the *Hottentot* nation make of these new masters, or rather, as they style them, invaders and interlopers, in the midst of their vast affluence, their luxury and outward grandeur, they look upon them as a band of poor indigent vagabonds, whom mere necessity had forced out of their native country, to seek their bread which it could not afford them at home, and for the sake of which they are content, nay glad, to cross the widest seas, wander into the most distant countries, expose themselves to the greatest dangers and fatigues, the most opposite and inhospitable climates, and intrude themselves upon every nation and government that will grant them admittance, upon any specious pretence, though so much afraid and mistrustful of all the rest of mankind, that they cannot think themselves and their effects in any safety, unless both are secured by high walls, and strong bolts and bars. How much freer, happier, and nobler, is our race, who can range at will under the whole cope of heaven, wherever our wants or inclinations lead us, and find every-where a rich supply ready prepared for us by the kind hand of nature, without our care or labour, who want neither store-houses nor magazines to secure our provisions and properties, nor castles and high walls to protect us and our families, but can live and sleep safe and fearless in our low huts or caves, or even under the open canopy of the skies, eat, drink, smoke, sing, and dance, race, hunt, and pursue every pleasure of life unrestrained and uncontrouled, whilst even our superfluities, and what would otherwise lie neglected and despised by us, are more than sufficient to attract those mercenary and indigent slaves to come so far to purchase them from us, and bring us, in exchange for them, all that their country, art, or industry, produces, that may contribute to our use, our ornament or delight †. And if, whilst we here roam at large, enjoying all the blessings and sweets of our happy land in peace and plenty, those *Would-be Lords* are glad to bring us such variety of additional conveniencies and delights, through so many hazards and fatigues, for so small a return as we make to them, who are greater, happier, and more to be envied than we? who are more base, despicable, and more to be pitied than they ‡? Thus they think, and thus they balance the account between them and their masters; which, however strange and rhapsodical it may appear to us, we are assured, from a multitude of authentic witnesses, is the common language, not

† De his, vid. sup. p. 507, & alib. pass.
voyage to Siam, p. 94, & seq. of the Paris edition.

‡ TACHARD'S

only of the *Hottentots*, but of the generality of the *Africans*, even of those, who, through the tyranny of the government they live under, are doomed to a still worse state of slavery and misery, and without those real advantages and comforts which this *Hottentot* nation enjoys, to countenance their fond conceit, that they are the happiest and noblest, and the *Europeans* the most miserable and abject people that the sun shines upon. Some instances of which we shall have occasion to shew in the subsequent chapters.

WE shall leave it to our readers to make their own remarks on their uncommon notion of happiness compared with that of their *Dutch* masters, and which would receive an additional degree, if what *Tachard* and other writers relate of them were true; viz. that they expect no after-reckoning in another world; but, as we have lately shewn, from surer evidence, this to be amistake, and that they really believe a future life and retribution †, we hope we need not tell our readers, by this time, which of the two nations seems to act most conformably to it, or to reap the greatest gain from the contrary one. Yet we cannot dispense subjoining some singular instances of moral virtue in the one, which as plainly spring from a persuasion of the former, as the contrary vices do from the latter. The *Hottentots* are trusty and faithful to the highest degree; insomuch, that even the *Dutch* give them free admission into their houses and warehouses, and trust them with any business or important affair, without fear or danger of being wronged or defrauded. They are of an hospitable and beneficent temper, and ever ready to assist one-another; and so generous in their low state, that if any thing be given to any one of them, whether it be of eatables, apparel, tobacco, or brandy, which they are most fond of, they readily divide it amongst their friends and compatriots, even to the reserving the least share to themselves; and when obliged to any high degree, never cease expressing, upon all occasions, sentiments of suitable gratitude, as long as they live. It must be owned that this character is very different from that which the *Dutch* writers have given us of them, who have as generally as unjustly confounded them with the savage and inhuman nation of the *Quassers* lately described ‡, and probably with no other view than to palliate their ill treatment of, and tyrannising over, them.

WE shall now conclude this chapter with a short estimate of the charges which the *Dutch* company is at for the maintenance of this important settlement, and of the revenues out of which they are raised.

† See before, p. 528, & seq.

‡ See before, p. 485, & seq.

THE revenues for defraying the vast expence of this settle-^{Expence}ment, the most flourishing in *Africa*, whose interest and safety of the have engrossed the care and application of *Dutch East-India* ^{Cape set-}company, and stood them in a million of florins yearly, for ^{tlement:} the first twenty years after its establishment, and the present annual expences of which amount to 400,000 florins, arise from the tenth of the produce of lands possessed by *Europeans*, from ground-rents, from duties on wines and beer, produced at the *Cape*, or imported; on tobacco and distilled liquors, on rum, of which there is great consumption, by other means, and from the profits of trade.

THE tenths of the produce of lands, and ground-rents, are computed at 14,000 florins *per annum*. The duties are farmed at 70,000 florins *per annum*. and punctually paid by the farmers; and the neat produce of 30,000 florins, laid out annually in merchandize for the *Cape*, at a profit of 75 *per cent.* is 225,000 florins.

THOUGH the revenue and profits are not hitherto brought to a par, the company is at present near reimbursed the expence; and has a near prospect of enjoying shortly an immense clear revenue from the settlement, the colonies improving and increasing daily, by the taking in of new lands for culture and tillage.

A GREAT number of fine *Persian*, and horses from other countries, are kept in a range of stables, at *Cape Town*, capable of containing several hundreds, for the use of the company and parade of the governor; whose train is magnificent, having a master and under master of horse, a body and other coachmen, sadler, &c. in his retinue.

THE company's servants are about 600 in number: all ^{Number of}officers in the administration are called qualified, and the ^{the compa-}foldiers, artificers, and common servants unqualified, great ^{ny's ser-}part of these and the petty officers are lodged in the town in ^{vants.}different buildings, belonging to the company; the governor and chief officers reside in the castle, as has been related, whose garrison consists of 200 soldiers.

The END of the FIFTEENTH VOLUME.

